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NOTES

The New Year

The Old Year has come to the end and we are now facing another year. He would indeed be a bold prophet who would venture to read the presages and declare the prospects of the New Year.

The world is in a calmer mood today than it was a twelve-month back, and, although the 'spirit of Geneva' proved to be evanescent, the two rival Blocs are now in a much more sober mood, ready to solve by negotiation and diplomacy the problems that were thought to be incapable of solution except by the stark process of war. But nevertheless the rivalry and jealousy are there, making the field very hard of going for the more peacefully inclined.

Colonialism is passing, but it is dying hard, causing endless misery to millions of people and blackening the records of those of the once mighty peoples of the West who still refuse to face the inevitable. In Africa, the Mediterranean, and South-East Asia, the seeds of war still remain in such areas.

It is not that the civilized world is unaware of the implications in the persistence of colonial methods and in the violent passions that rise out of racial strife and racial domination. It is only the question of material gain that clouds the issues, and it is doubtful indeed as to whether the coming year will bring us any nearer to the final solution.

At home we are still racing after the goal of material advancement regardless of the cost in moral values. Indeed, it is here that the darkest shadows obscure the future.

Indeed it is as if in "Ring out the Old" we have progressively, every year, discarded more and more of the guiding tenets and basic principles that were enunciated during those years of trial when we were trying to attain freedom and to develop maturity as a nation. Gandhism has become a profession in the hands of the Super-Brahmins, and the Congress has veered from the path of Truth and Justice to such an extent that it no longer can lay claim to respect from any right-thinking man. Power, party-politics and corruption are the Trinity that are receiving daily worship from those who are in power, while the helmsman basks in the sunshine of world adulation!

Very recently our President seems to have become aware of this lamentable state of affairs, which led him to declare at the All-India Educational Conference that the country had come to worship Mammon in place of the gods of its fathers. We reproduce the news report below:

"New Delhi, December 28.—The President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, said here today, that the steps taken to change the country's system of education to suit present-day life were 'not adequate.'

"The President, who was inaugurating the 30th All-India Educational Conference, said: As far

as I know, we have not succeeded till now in this work of changing the education system to suit the needs of independent India. I would even say that we have failed to put in the efforts.

"The education system, in existence for 125 years, was started with a particular aim in view. But that aim no longer holds good now.

"In reforming the system, the most important stage was the field of primary education. After tackling this, they should go to the secondary and higher secondary stages. We have to dovetail the three parts into each other so that no difficulty may arise for a student from going from the first stage to the second and third."

"The President, who devoted the major part of his speech in condemning the 'new cult of supremacy of money' in Indian society, said it had created a vicious circle. All those who desired any place in society had perforce to turn from intellectual pursuits and honest work to the gross pursuit of Mammon.

"The disease crept into the educational field also. The teacher, who occupied a high and honoured place in Indian life in the past despite his basic poverty, was today the worst sufferer of all. Today he was not held in respect and honour because he was poor. He had, therefore, not only to face the prospect of making money through extra work to be recognized by society but also to keep his head above the subsistence level."

We recognise in this statement the spirit of that humble follower and the beloved disciple of the Father of the Nation. It is late in the day, but we are still delighted to see that Shri-man Rajendra Babu has not been completely stifled and metamorphosed into another Lotus Eater.

But why excoriate the teacher and the professor? Where, in what field, do we find the people clad in the pristine glory of the primal virtues? Adulation and love of power have corrupted the few in power that are still above monetary considerations, and as for the rest, the less said the better. We face Moral Bankruptcy of a truth, and we do not know where this downhill progression will take us to, in 1956.

It will take us decades to get over the moral degradation the controls brought. And we are being faced with the mass corruption that would follow prohibition and controls on production.

We are all for the eradication of the evil of drink and the drug habit. But only a big fool would accept at its face value the statement of the Prohibition Enquiry Committee that they received a "countrywide demand for prohibition at an early date." The very few persons they interviewed and the little they saw of the main problems, certainly do not warrant this statement. We have the history of prohibition and the working of the Volstead Act in the U.S.A. before us, and we cannot blink at either. Some other way must be worked out, step by step, by a more experienced and less smug group of investigators.

Let us turn back to the outside world. We have had a whole host of visitors from foreign lands. The world reaction to the visit of those from the U.S.S.R. has been so powerful, that we feel that we must put a survey of their visits in our editorials for record.

The reaction in the U.S. has been particularly violent and vicious in certain quarters, although there are signs now, that they are willing to accept our stand for neutrality. The following editorial taken from the *New York Times* for December 28, International Edition, shows that they are re-focussing and interpreting Pandit Nehru:

"Prime Minister Nehru has launched an attack on the Indian Communists which is of special interest because it extends to the philosophy of all Communists, including that of his erstwhile Soviet guests. Mr. Nehru, who regards himself as a democratic Socialist and still sees in socialism the wave of the future, denounces the Communists as being not the 'progressives' they profess to be but rather as being reactionaries of the worst type—an epithet which the Communists themselves apply to their arch enemies.

"Mr. Nehru further accuses the Communists of clinging to outmoded and outdated theories and doctrines that have no relation to the facts of today in any free society. He even challenges the patron saint of all Communists and most Socialists, Karl Marx, and declares that Marxist teachings were based on temporary conditions in Europe arising from the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century and without validity in the twentieth.

"Mr. Nehru has attacked—and jailed—Indian Communists as foreign-oriented, foreign-financed and foreign-mastered. But his present

attack is on a far broader front that reaches beyond India. One might wish that he had based this attack not merely on doctrinal issues but also on the moral values involved.

"Whether Mr. Nehru himself, in his enthusiasm for a 'socialistic pattern of society' based on progressive nationalization of industry, is really the progressive he thinks he is, at a time when European socialism is abandoning nationalization as a panacea, is a moot point. But at least he has reaffirmed his allegiance to democracy, and if he calls for something really 'dynamic and revolutionary,' that something can only be the revolution of freedom. In such a revolution Asia and the whole free world would gladly welcome Mr. Nehru as a leader."

In another editorial, in its December 30 issue, the *New York Times* includes Goa in its retrospect of colonialism in 1955. We reproduce the first three paragraphs verbatim below:

"As one thinks of the world in the now ending year of 1955 and the great forces that swayed its major developments, colonialism—or some would say anti-colonialism—certainly played a major role. It is one of those basic themes that have to be identified and grappled with if one is to hear the new world symphony of 1956 with any true understanding.

"Vast movements of this type can, of course, only be put into the strait-jacket of a 365-day year by force. They naturally have a long background and will keep going well beyond 1956. As has often been pointed out, we are seeing the results of an emotionalism that burned deeply into the hearts of all peoples who in a material, social and political sense were retarded for some reason or other. We call this emotion nationalism. These people were awakened to their retrogression (and this is the cause of which nationalism is the result) by the impact of Western civilization and all it meant in a technical sense and in the exhilarating doctrine of liberty—especially individual liberty.

"So we have seen an extraordinary ferment that in 1955 took a variety of forms in a variety of countries—Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, the Sudan, the whole of Africa south of the Sahara, Malaya and Singapore, Cyprus and Goa. These and other localities have cropped up in the news incessantly in 1955 and will do so again in 1956. These peoples are on the

move—and there is only one direction to go, given the irresistible impulse to freedom behind their movement and the powerful emotion of nationalism which is yet, in this post-war era, to meet a barrier capable of damming its force for more than a brief period."

But we still have to solve that problem in our own way and with our own resources.

Let us end this with hopes for the future and good wishes for all in the coming New Year. If we remain staunch and true to our principles then however much the travail of the journey we shall reach the end with good cheer. Let us then hope that in 1956 our leaders will awaken to realities. The President has already spoken, and that is a good omen.

U.S. and the Psychological War

It is not that all Americans are blind to the deeper aspects of the situation in South-East Asia as the following message indicates:

Asheville (North Carolina), December 23—Evangelist Billy Graham said here yesterday that "India hangs in the balance between Communism and freedom. If India goes to the Left, all of Asia will go with it, and if all of Asia goes, no power in this world will stop us from soon beginning to hear the tramp, tramp, tramp, of the hungry peoples of the world on the march."

"Mr. Graham, who leaves for a three-week tour of India on Jan. 15, added that the U.S.A. was losing the "psychological war." He called the recent tour of India by Soviet leaders 'a mass brainwashing scheme, unprecedented in the history of the world'."

We have no doubt that Mr. Graham will see much in India during his short tour, which will convince him that it is not so easy to brain-wash 360 millions of a free people. Indeed, the Soviet leaders did not even attempt that impossible task.

Miss Martha Graham

We feel that we should put on record our deep appreciation of the visit of another guest from abroad, namely, the famous dancer from the U.S. Miss Martha Graham. There is neither space nor scope for a comprehensive critique of the exposition of the art of Miss Martha Graham and her artistes, in these editorials. But we have seldom seen, either here or in the West, such an inspiring—and intriguing—display of emotions and passions through the medium of the ballet.

Large-Scale vs. Small-Scale Industries

~~Of late a controversy is going on whether~~ small-scale industries will be a panacea for solving the growing unemployment problem in this country. In the Central Cabinet difference of opinion prevails over the issue. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, the Union Commerce Minister, favours the development of large-scale industries, while Mr. Nanda, the Planning Minister, supports the development of small-scale industries even at the cost of large-scale industries. The recently published report of the Karve Committee on small scale and cottage industries has recommended crying a halt to the progress of certain large scale industries.

India is an underdeveloped country and our economic planning is being directed to make up the arrears of work in the field of industrial development which lay untapped during the British rule. Planning presupposes making rapid strides within a definite time with co-ordinated resources. Economic planning aims at achieving the best results in the shortest possible time. Further, planning is linked up with providing employment, in other words, planned employment with planned production—that is economic planning. It is not merely employment, nor merely production—it is productive employment. What is production? Of course, it is not merely engagement of labour. Those who have a craze for cottage industry in India misunderstand engagement of labour for production. Economic production involves engagement of labour, but it is not all and every kind of labour, it is socially useful labour.

The socially useful labour is to be determined not in terms of national standards, but in terms of international standards—simply because we are not living in a closed economy. The modern age is the age of technical superiority, it is the age of large scale production. Without technical development, no country in the modern world can hope to achieve economic prosperity. The USA, the USSR and India are the three countries in the world which have ample natural resources and are rich in man power. These three countries are almost self-supporting in their natural resources and as such they are destined to be great, provided their potential resources are turned into realities. The USA has achieved this in her own way, that is why she is a great power. The USSR has also done wonders in a period

of nearly twenty years and now she is not merely a great power, she is a close rival to the USA in economic and scientific developments and in political power. In 1920, Russia was an agricultural and industrially backward country, but today her industrial development remains surpassed by none. Russia bears a close analogy to Indian conditions. From a backward agricultural economy, the USSR has leaped into a condition of great industrial development. India is also an agricultural and industrially backward country and she now strives to achieve industrial greatness. India must therefore follow Russian technique in the field of industrial development.

During the budget discussion at the recently held session of the Supreme Soviet, there was demand for further speeding up technical progress. It may be recalled that Five-Year Plans in the USSR are directed towards developing large scale industries. One of the main causes of Malenkov's resignation from premiership was that he favoured the development of smaller industries for the production of consumption goods. In other words, the economic planning in Soviet Russia is synonymous with large scale production and technical progress.

In India it is deplorable that the authorities have no clear-cut idea as to which object the planning should be directed at. Sometimes they call it as providing employment, sometimes as increased production, sometimes as raising national income and sometimes as spending money for spending's sake. Too many cooks spoil the broth and too many thinkers spoil the Plan. When it is everybody's idea, it is nobody's idea and when it is everybody's responsibility, it is nobody's responsibility. Moreover, economic planning should be pitted against the background of larger political outlook and international canvas. India must not only be economically developed, she must also be politically great. With that end in view economic planning should be directed and followed.

To be a great political power, a country must have the pre-requisite of large-scale industrial development based on technical progress. For the last two thousand years India was the country of cottage industry and agricultural economy, but she wallowed in poverty and dirt and ignorance. India in the past was a great and rich country inhabited by the poor, mainly because she lacked technical progress and knowledge. While the

industrial development of the western world was striding on steam wheels, India was trudging on bullock cart. The result has been that notwithstanding her potential greatness, India remains a backward country. It is the technical progress, the progress of large scale industry which is essential for raising India to the height of great power. Without the development of large scale industry, India cannot desire to be economically and politically great.

We are certainly not against small scale and cottage industries. (They also have a part to play in the economic development of India—but not as rivals to large scale industries. The role of the small and cottage industry in this country should be merely complementary to the growth of large industries and thereby it will supplement the productive enterprises of the country. It is reactionary, anti-national and conservative to say that henceforth only the small scale and cottage industries should be developed and the productive potentialities of large industries should be pegged at the present level. To do so will be suicidal for our national economy. The scope of these two kinds of industries is distinctly different—the large scale industry forming the base, the small scale industries forming the superstructure and filling up the gap. In the end they are complementary—not rivals.)

We are, therefore, not opposed to small and cottage industries. They have a distinct role to play in India's economic development, but they will play a subsidiary role, not a substantive. We are amazed at the Karve Committee's conservative attitude which calls for severe reprimand when it goes to recommend that all the increased demand for cloth during the second Plan period should be met by expansion of handloom production. This will involve limiting production by mills and powerlooms to the level already reached, namely, 5,000 million yards (assuming an export target of 1,000 million yards) and 200 million yards respectively in order that handloom production may increase from an estimated 1,550 million yards in 1955-56 to 3,200 million yards by 1960-61.

The cotton mill industry is the largest organised industry in India with a paid up capital of Rs. 113 crores, representing 15 per cent of total paid-up capital of all joint stock enterprises. Its annual output is worth Rs. 335 crores, being 35 per cent of the total industrial output

estimated at Rs. 980 crores. On an average, the industry consumes annually nearly 38 lakh bales of Indian cotton, besides some 7½ lakh bales of imported cotton. The value of all cottons, Indian and foreign, consumed by the industry per year is estimated at Rs. 200 crores, of which Indian cotton accounts for over Rs. 150 crores. The cotton textile industry is a large consumer of fuel, electricity and lubricants, valued at Rs. 11 crores.

Besides, the cotton textile industry supports a number of ancillary industries producing dyes and chemicals, mill stores, sizing and packing materials. The value of such goods consumed by it is estimated at Rs. 26 crores a year. The industry pays more than Rs. 40 crores per year by taxes and levies to the Union and State Governments. It provides employment to nearly 7½ lakhs of workers. The annual wages and salaries bill of the industry aggregates nearly Rs. 80 crores. The industry is also the mainstay of the handloom industry which gets all its yarn supplies from the mills. The cotton mill industry provides employment to the vast army of men and women engaged in cotton, yarn and cloth trades and in the transport services. In the export trade of India, the export of mill-made cotton manufactures occupies third place, coming next to the export of tea and jute manufactures. In 1954-55, the total value of exports of cotton manufactures stood at Rs. 66.40 crores.

There is immense scope for expansion of internal consumption of mill-made cotton textiles. The average per capita annual consumption of cotton textiles is only 12 yards in India as against 70 yards in western countries. That means, we are at present under-clothed in comparison with western consumption of textiles. The Indian cotton mills are restricted in their production of dhuties, there being a cut of 40 per cent in dhuti production and this step was taken by the authorities in order to give encouragement to the production of handloom-made dhuties. But ultimately it has benefited the millowners who reap a higher margin on dhuties against limited supply.

Under the First Five-Year Plan, the target for cotton mill textiles was 1,640 million lbs. of yarn and 5,000 million yards of cloth by 1955-56. The 1954 production was 1,572 million lbs of yarn and 5,025 million yards of cloth. In fixing the target for the Second Five-Year Plan,

the bias is in favour of handloom cloth, which is proposed to be raised to the production level of 3,200 million yards, while mill-made cloth is assigned a modest target of 5,500 million yards per annum, that is, an increase of only 500 million yards during the coming five years.

The Union Commerce and Industry Minister is in favour of establishing a few more cotton mills in order to maintain the export market on an increasing volume of supply and also for the purpose of supplying yarns to the handloom industry. But the protagonists of the cottage industry are very eager to put forward the claim of Ambar Charkha for the development of which a pilot scheme is going to be launched. We have no objection to the widespread use of Ambar Charkha, but it should not be directed to play a rival role against the cotton mills. The other day the Prime Minister of India pointed out the difficulty in making organisational set-up for the thousands of Ambar Charkha which will be scattered over millions of homes. (It is yet to be seen how far the standard of yarn will be maintained by so many hands and what will be the organisational set-up in collecting yarns regularly.)

In our craze for cottage industry we should not forget the strategic importance of large scale industry. It is needless to point out that the second world war, though fought physically in the European battlefields, was fought primarily in the American factories. So a modern war is a war of factories. If India has to play a leading role in Asia, undoubtedly she must be a country primarily of large scale industries with advancement in technical knowledge. It is a wonder that 17 crores of people in the USA with their technical superiority not only supply the needs of their domestic markets, but they dominate the world trade to the extent of nearly 60 per cent. That is an amazing feat of achievement no doubt. Those who talk of unemployment with the expansion of large scale industries think in terms of static conditions with an unplanned economy. More and more industries of diverse kinds are to be established to provide employment. In a planned economy, it is the duty of the State to set up new industries to provide employment in an increasing scale,—a Sindri or a Chittaranjan is not enough either to meet the country's needs nor to provide employment. Why should not the State undertake upon itself the task of setting up

hundreds of new textile mills, sugar mills, machine tool factories and the like? That is the proper method of solving unemployment. The production will create its own supply both in the internal and external markets.

Sugar Production

In 1955 India had a record production of sugar amounting to 15.86 lakh tons as against 10.86 lakh tons in the preceding year. At the end of the present sugar season, there will be a carry-over of nearly 5 lakh tons. For some years past the sugar industry in India has been playing a none too creditable part. Ever since the attainment of independence, it has been reaping a rich harvest of profits taking advantage of the rising demand in the face of the constant or falling internal production. The Tariff Board in 1949 recommended withdrawal of protection from the sugar industry because of its anti-social attitude and activities. The sugar situation in the country became so precarious with persistently falling output that the Government of India was finally compelled to import sugar from abroad. This evidently had a corrective influence on the domestic production and hence we have the record production. So long the Government and the Sugar industry have been preaching statistics that the internal need of the country for sugar stands somewhere near 18 to 20 lakh tons per year. The import of sugar in 1953-54 was 7.63 lakh tons. In 1955, the import, which forms part of old commitments, is about 6 lakh tons. The internal consumption, therefore, at present is to the extent of nearly 16 lakh tons and this quantity can be had from domestic production. But the authorities should be on the guard, because if they altogether stop imports, the industry may play false to the country as was the case in 1954 when the production fell by nearly 4 lakh tons.

The target for sugar production in the second Five-Year Plan has been fixed at 22.50 lakh tons per year on the basis of anticipated increase in consumption due to increase in population and improvement in national income. The installed capacity of the mills has to be increased by another 5 lakh tons to achieve this target. In order to have increased production, the Government have increased the production capacity by 5.50 lakh tons by grant of licences for 35 new sugar factories and also for substantial expansion of 38 existing units. The new factories are

expected to give an additional production of 3.30 lakh tons. Out of this newly licensed capacity, nearly 1 lakh tons will be available in 1955-56 season.

The yield of sugarcane in the current season was 554.6 lakh tons and the area under cultivation 39.32 lakh acres. Corresponding figures for the previous year were 446.4 lakh tons and 34.98 lakh acres. The target for cane production in the Second Five-Year Plan has been tentatively fixed at 770 lakh tons as against the target of 610 lakh tons fixed in the First Five-Year Plan. Construction of roads in the factory areas, minor irrigation works, supply of improved seeds, intensive manuring of crop, plant protection, training of technical personnel and compost drive are some of the measures which are contemplated for development of sugarcane production during the Second Five-Year Plan. A provision of Rs. 5 crores is being made for financial assistance to States from the Centre for implementing this scheme of intensive development of the area under sugarcane.

In 1953 there were 170 sugar factories in this country employing 92,000 workers. Under the expansion scheme, both the number of factories and the volume of employment have increased. Next to Cuba, India is the largest sugarcane producing country in the world. Yet the expansion of the industry began only after 1932 when it received protection. In 1932 there were 31 factories employing 33,900 workers. U. P. and Bihar account for 68 per cent of the factories and nearly 75 per cent of the labour force employed in the industry. The other important States are Bombay, Andhra and Madhya Bharat.

Goa Before The International Court

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Cunha told a Press Conference in Lisbon on December 22, 1955, that Portugal on that day moved law action at the Hague International Court of Justice against India for occupying the Portuguese territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in India since July 21, 1954. Legal action at the International Court is only possible now that Portugal has become a member of the United Nations, thanks of course to the intervention in the matter of "package deal" by the Indian Prime Minister. In other words, it is only through the initiative of India that Russia agreed to withdraw her veto in the Security Council and in consequence Portugal

along with 15 other countries has become a member of the United Nations. Now she is repaying the debt by bringing this colonial issue before the International Court. Portugal is taking action against India for the occupation of these territories by Indian hands. She also complained of the Indian Government's alleged refusal to allow Portuguese forces or unarmed officials to cross Indian territory to reach the territories in dispute so that they could make contact with the Portuguese population and restore Portuguese sovereignty.

Portugal has asked the International Court (a) to recognise and declare that Portugal has right of access from her territory of Damoa (by the sea) to her enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and from the latter to Damao and that this right includes the right of transit of people and goods without restrictions; (b) to recognise and declare that India has prevented and continues preventing the practice of Portuguese rights mentioned above, thus offending Portugal's sovereignty and violating her international obligations; (c) to determine that India cease immediately this situation, giving Portugal facilities for the practice of her right of access.

The present International Court of Justice is the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice which was part of the League of Nations. The International Court consists of fifteen judges, elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council each acting independently of the other. The jurisdiction of the Court, like that of its predecessor, comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in the Charter of the United Nations or in treaties and conventions in force.

The jurisdiction of the Court, under Article 36, is of two kinds: general, based upon the Statute, and special, derived from treaties and conventions to which particular states are parties. This general jurisdiction is supplemented by an optional compulsory jurisdiction which covers four classes of legal disputes concerning (i) the interpretation of a treaty, (ii) questions of international law, (iii) the existence of facts involving a breach of an international obligation, and (iv) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

Under the former Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, this compulsory

jurisdiction was accepted by Britain on behalf of India. The same has also been continued automatically under the present Statute. In the event of a dispute as to whether the Court has jurisdiction, the matter shall be settled by the decision of the Court. Recently Portugal has accepted this compulsory jurisdiction. Now the question is whether a colonial issue can be a subject-matter of dispute before the Court and whether a State can be made a party before the Court without its consent. Thirdly, whether the Court has jurisdiction over the territorial sovereignty of a State.

This is the first time that the International Court is called upon to give its opinion on an issue of colonialism. In the present case, the issue is not so much the right of Portugal as that of a Portuguese colony of access across an independent territory, to a subsidiary colony entirely surrounded by independent territory, that is, India. The right of domination over a colony cannot be claimed as a matter of international law nor can it be a justiciable right under international law. That would be a dangerous precedent undermining the very basis on which the United Nations rests. If every big State tries to establish its right over a colony through the machinery of the International Court of Justice, that would herald the end of the United Nations. That would result in war as was the case with the first and second world wars.

Portugal invokes Article 94 of the United Nations which lays down that each member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party. It must, however, be remembered that the jurisdiction of the International Court rests of course on the consent of the parties, that is, of member States. The consent can be either general, referring to a certain class or category of future disputes, or special, contemplating one or more concrete existing disputes.

The Court recognises State sovereignty as the basis of international relations. According to the definition which it has approved, international law governs relations between independent States and is an emanation of their own free will. Conversely, it has held that the principle of the independence of States is a fundamental principle of international law; and it has defined this independence as the continued existence of a State, within its present frontiers, as a separate State, with sole

right of decision in the sense that its sovereign will is not subordinated to will of any outside Power or Powers.

The Court accepts the principle of the territoriality of State sovereignty. It has laid down that a State has jurisdiction over all persons and things, national or foreign, within its territory. So it is quite out of the question that the International Court can ask India to grant Portugal the right of passage through the Indian territories to reach her enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli.

Soviet Leaders' Indian Tour

Shri Nikolai Alexandrovitch Bulganin, and Shri Nikita Sergievitch Khrushchev, Members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, came on a State visit to India on November 18 at the invitation of the Government of India. The Soviet leaders toured different parts of India from November 18 to November 30 and then went to Burma where they were the guests of the Government of Burma from December 1 to December 7. Then they resumed their Indian tour which came to an end with their departure for Afghanistan on December 14. At the conclusion of their visit to India and Burma the Soviet leaders signed two separate joint statements with the Prime Minister of India and Burma.

Welcoming the Soviet guests on their arrival on November 18, Prime Minister Nehru expressed the hope that just as his earlier visit to the Soviet Union had helped in bringing India and the Soviet Union closer to each other the visit of the Russian leaders would also strengthen the bonds of friendship and co-operation. "I trust that your stay here will be pleasant and fruitful to both of our countries and help the great cause of peace and co-operation between nations," Shri Nehru added.

Greeting the people of India Shri Bulganin said in a short speech at the Palam aerodrome, "We are getting down to the ancient land of India with joyful emotion of the deepest feeling of respect and feeling which the Soviet people have towards talented and hardworking people of India, creator of great original culture.

"The heroic struggle of peace-loving Indian people for re-establishing independence of their Motherland has always been responded with understanding and warm sympathy of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The establishing

of the Sovereign Indian Republic was met by the Soviet people with feelings of great satisfaction and joy.

"There is a deep belief among our people in creative strength of Indian people which are playing the growing role in the international sphere and in strengthening the universal security and peace. The Soviet Government fully understand and appreciate the efforts of the Indian Government to secure peace and to reach progress of their country's economy.

"The Soviet and Indian people have many common tasks. India and Soviet Union are putting forward huge efforts for maintenance and strengthening peace and stand for the settlement of disputable international questions by peaceful means and by negotiations, and considerable results have been already reached in this field.

"Mutual efforts of India and the USSR aimed at broadening of their friendly relations are an important contribution to the cause of lessening of the international tension.

"We would like to use our visit to India for direct acquaintance with Indian people, its customs and traditions, with the results of its efforts to develop the economy and national industry.

"We do hope that our meetings with the Indian people and the widening of the contacts with the statesmen will bring the fruitful results for the cause of the further development of the mutual understanding and friendship of our countries.

"May I express to you our sincere thanks for warm and heartfelt welcome.

"Long live the friendship of the people of India and the Soviet Union."

The Soviet leaders were accorded a civic reception by the citizens of Delhi on November 19 at a meeting presided over by Premier Nehru. The address of welcome by the citizens of Delhi said: "Your Excellencies' visit at the present juncture in world history on the invitation of our Government and the Indian people, is of deep significance. It confirms and enhances the growing friendship between India and the Soviet Union. We are convinced that this friendship is not only good for our respective countries but will help in advancing the cause of world peace and co-operation which we have so much at heart. Our friendship is not aimed against any country or people. The

objective that India has sought to keep before her and to serve is to have friendly relations with every country, even though there might be differences of opinion in regard to policies. We venture to think that this policy has been of some service to the cause of peace and understanding."

"The people of India have deeply appreciated the many steps which your Excellencies' Government has taken to further the cause of peace and to relieve the tensions and fears that unfortunately envelop the world. Already, there has been an improvement in the world situation though many very difficult problems still await solution. But it is recognised by all thinking people today that war is no solution and indeed is in itself a confession of defeat, which may well bring ruin to present-day civilisation. We know that the Russian people are devoted to peace and their endeavours have been to build up their own great country so as to ensure their well-being and advancement. We have watched with great interest and high appreciation the success of these constructive efforts which have brought the Soviet Union in the forefront in science and the applications of science.

"Our two countries differ in some ways in their political and social systems. Yet, there is much in common between us and the objectives we have, and there is a great field of co-operation. We are happy that this co-operation is growing in the fields of science, technology and trade."

In reply, Shri Bulganin referred to the traditional friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union and said: "At present the Soviet Union and the Republic of India are building their relations on stable and reliable foundations—on the principles of mutual respect toward territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in the internal affairs of each other on any pretext, whether of an economic, political or ideological nature, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and also on the basis of peaceful co-existence.

"First proclaimed by India and the Chinese People's Republic, these five principles, which you call *Panchashila*, have now received the approval of all peace-loving people and are fruitfully implemented in practice by a number of States."

Shri Bulganin thereto referred to Indo-Soviet co-operation in the international field. He said: "What is common to the people of the Soviet Union and India—is that they are both peace-loving and hardworking peoples; to both peoples the ideas of racialism and colonialism are foreign. They actively stand for preserving and strengthening peace, for friendship and co-operation between all countries, for national sovereignty and international security."

He also referred to the favourable factors for the growth of Indo-Soviet economic co-operation.

From Delhi the honourable guests went to Agra. After their visit to the Tajmahal and the Agra Fort the honoured guests were entertained to a lunch by Shri K. M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh, who also presented the guests with gifts. Pointing to a model of Tajmahal among the gifts Shri Khrushchev said: "This wonderful present bears witness to the greatness of the country and the craftsmanship of the Indian people. It is priceless. We are your friends not only in pleasant weather when sun shines pleasantly. We are your friends in any kind of weather. And if there is ever a gale or a draught harmful to the health of the Indian people, remember us and we will never forget you."

While addressing the Indian Parliament on November 21, Shri Bulganin stressed the common objectives of Soviet and Indian foreign policies and said: "In the long run we are striving for the same objectives: to lessen international tension, to preserve and to strengthen peace, to prevent war, and to save mankind from its horrors, to guarantee the undisturbed work and joys of peaceful life for the peoples throughout the world. What could be more noble than that?"

"We also have much in common in settling the tasks put forth by the internal life of our countries. When our people won the October Revolution they set before themselves an aim to achieve economic and cultural change in our Motherland, to convert our country into an industrial and socialist State. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the Soviet people have successfully implemented this historic task.

"You are following your own road. You also have the objective of converting your Motherland, which has for ever overthrown

colonial domination, into an advanced state with a developed national economy and high enough standard of living. It is with complete understanding and sincere sympathy that the Soviet people regard your efforts directed to the achievement of these objectives.

"In our opinion at present there are all the possibilities for further expanding of Soviet-Indian co-operation in the fields of economy and culture as well as in the field of scientific and technical research.

"We are prepared to share with you our economic and scientific experience. This corresponds to the wishes and aspirations of our peoples."

Shri Khrushchev also made a speech before the Parliament on the same day. He said: "India's achievement of State sovereignty and national independence is a fact of great historical significance. The Soviet people note with feelings of profound satisfaction and joy that the road of free and independent development is opened up before the peoples of India. Developing their independent state they will be able to achieve well-being and the cultural and economic progress of their country. The implementation of these great tasks is within the abilities of the Indian people.

"The Soviet people fully understand the aspirations of the Indian people to maintain stable and lasting peace for these tasks could be fulfilled only under conditions of peace.

"It is proved by the course of social development itself that in order to become really independent and to secure the well-being of the people every country must have its own developed economy which does not depend on foreign capital. The historical experience shows that colonizers' methods to suppress an under-developed country may have a variety of forms. They are trying to hinder by all possible means the development of national industries in these countries, fearing that the establishing of their own national industries, the creation of their own intelligentsia, raising the people's standard of living would strengthen the formerly dependent country and help it to move along the path of independent development.

"We welcome clairvoyance of the leaders of India who realize this, who see where the dangerous threat to India's independence might

come from and who are waging a struggle against such threats."

Refuting the allegations of Soviet interference in the internal affairs of other countries, Shri Khrushchev said that the Soviet people considered the way shown by Lenin as the best one and had achieved great successes in their development marching along the chosen path of socialism. "But we have never compelled anybody and are not compelling to accept our ideas of the reconstruction of society." It was one of Lenin's teaching that the people of each country had the right to live in any way they like without interference in their affairs by the other States.

Shri Khrushchev said that the reasons why such slanderous propaganda was being carried against the Soviet Union was that the reactionaries "want the peoples to know less truth of our country because the truth about the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is fatal for the reactionary forces, for colonizers, for those who would like to perpetuate the suppression of one people by another to perpetuate the exploitation of one human being by another."

Shri Khrushchev recounted the constructive efforts of the Soviet people and of the conspiracy of the enemies of the Soviet people to crush them by setting "upon our country a wild dog—Hitlerite fascism" and the subsequent efforts of the Soviet people to heal the war wounds. He said: "I speak all this not because I wish to enforce upon you the Soviet way of development, but in order to give you a more complete understanding of the difficult way that our people have been following. This is a noble way, and by having taken it our peoples have attained great achievements and victories. During these years we have gained great experience. And if you would like to use in some degree our experience in any of the fields of economy or culture, we shall selflessly and willingly, as friends do, share it with you and shall give you every possible assistance."

Shri Khrushchev then referred to the threat of atomic bomb meted out to the Soviet Union immediately after the conclusion of the Second World War and said that it could not, however, be effective as the Soviet scientists also were not far behind in getting to the secrets of the atom bomb.

On November 22, the two honoured guests

together with the persons accompanying them visited Bhakra-Nangal, Punjab State. In reply to a reception there Shri Khrushchev said: "We have different political outlooks. You have your own outlook and your own philosophy and we have ours. There is no need just now for clarification as to on what questions we differ. It is important to state that we agree on the basic question—that is on the question of war and peace. These questions cannot but agitate people. Every honest person cannot but desire peace and fight for it. We seek friends in the struggle for peace, independence, among all whether great or small States, irrespective of their political views, of race and religious faith. What is important is that we want to strengthen peace but as far as the question of what sort of State structure any one has got is concerned, that is the internal affair of each country. And as for views, that is the affair of each person. That is why we ourselves do not interfere and ask others not to interfere in each other's internal affairs."

Expressing full support for the principles of peaceful co-existence proclaimed by Premier Nehru and Chou, Shri Khrushchev added: "As regards political structure, of course, we have very clearly defined views but we have no intention of forcing them on others. But it is different with questions of economic construction and technique. These are international questions. N. A. Bulganin rightly observed here that it pleased us to inspect the construction of this power station. But it was even more pleasant to see the people, their bright eyes and the enthusiasm with which they work."

During the visit to the Bhakra-Nanga Project Shri Bulganin and Shri Khrushchev were presented with two ancient swords decorated with gold and silver by the Maharaja of Patiala.

They arrived at Bombay on November 23 where they were accorded a civic welcome. Replying on behalf of Shri Bulganin and himself, Shri Khrushchev referred to certain people who at heart wanted war would not openly say that, and said: "Some of those who now say that they stand for peace, of course, wouldn't mind if they could achieve their ends without war, they would have liked such peace in which they would be able to subjugate one

people to another. But the people do not want this. In this lies the essence of the matter and the key to all differences."

Speaking before a meeting organised by the Bombay branch of Indo-Soviet Cultural Society on November 24 in honour of the Soviet guests, Shri Khrushchev said: "There are in the world people who ask: 'Is co-existence possible?' It seems that there is no question about this since States are in practice co-existing. But this question is still raised."

"I want to tell you that it depends on Papa and Mama whether the child is to be born but it does not depend on them as to on what day, or at what hour he will appear or whether he will be as they want him to be."

"How is it possible to attempt to stop the development of history and to prevent the birth of new social forms? As the sun rises every morning, so in place of outmoded social forms, new and more progressive forms appear."

"That is how our Soviet State was born. It was the first proletarian State in the world, the State of the workers and peasants. The birth of this State was met by all other States without the ringing of bells."

The capitalist countries made various futile attempts to throttle the young socialist State. Those forces were still active in keeping up world tension. But considering all factors the Soviet Union reaffirmed its adherence to the policy of peaceful co-existence of States with different ideologies and political structure. Because, said Khrushchev, "in the present conditions, in peaceful co-operation between the capitalist and socialist systems we will win, socialism will win."

"The Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, also declared that India also was taking this socialist path. This is good. Of course, we have a different understanding of socialism, but we welcome such a declaration and such an attitude."

"And so the socialist system exists and for this ask for no one's permission. We not only exist, but we are able also to defend our existence."

In conclusion Shri Khrushchev said that co-existence was inevitable and was not something that could either be demanded or given by anybody. "We actually exist as much as capitalist States do. No one can transplant us

to Mars, even scientists have not discovered the means for this. Evidently, the capitalist States too don't want to transplant themselves to Mars. That means we have to live on the same planet, and to live means to co-exist."

The Soviet leaders went to Bangalore on November 26. There also they were accorded a civic welcome. Speaking at the reception Shri Khrushchev referred to the disarmament issue and said: "We tell statesmen of the Western Powers: if you are afraid to disarm, to destroy your stock of bombs, then let us give a true gentleman's word that none of us will ever use atomic weapons. They answer that they cannot give such a word, because they apparently need the hydrogen and atomic bombs for a 'balance of power' . . ."

In such circumstances the Soviet Union could not reduce her armaments one-sidedly to the peril of her own security, he added. Though the Soviet Union had to develop atom bombs, Shri Khrushchev went on to say, "We are inspired not by this. With great satisfaction we work so that we can produce more and different types of machines, tractors, ploughs and to grow more wheat, rice, cotton and that there is an abundance of meat, vegetables, fish and other products for the population. This is what we want and for which we work."

From Bangalore the guests went to Madras. From Madras they came to Calcutta. Replying to the civic reception on the Calcutta maidan on November 30, Shri Khrushchev referred to the diehards in the imperialist camp who did not want to recognise the lessons of history. Such countries refused to recognise the resurgent Asia. "I have in view Portugal, which does not want to leave Goa, to free this legal territory of India from its rule. But sooner or later this will happen and Goa will free itself from foreign rule and will become an integral part of the Republic of India."

"The solidarity of the peoples of Asia—this is a mortal blow to the colonial system."

He then referred to the "great understanding" showed by the public of Bengal in the struggle for the independence of India and greeted the people of West Bengal, "which suffered greater sacrifices in the struggle for the independence of India more than any other Indian State."

From Calcutta the Soviet leaders went to

Burma from where they returned to India on December 7. They visited Asansol in West Bengal, Jaipur and then arrived at Srinagar in Kashmir on December 9.

Later in a speech at the luncheon given by Sadar-i-Riyasat of Kashmir Shri Bulganin said: "We think that talented and industrious people of Kashmir together with all peoples of India will achieve new successes in the economic and cultural construction."

On December 10, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, Prime Minister of Kashmir, arranged a reception in honour of the guests. Explaining the Soviet attitude to the Kashmir question, Shri Khrushchev said in a speech on that occasion: "Our position with regard to this question is absolutely clear and precise. The Soviet Union has always considered this question regarding the State of Kashmir as one which should be decided by the people of Kashmir themselves since this would be in accordance with the principles of democracy and would strengthen friendly relations among the peoples of this region . . ."

"The question of Kashmir as one of the States of the Republic of India has already been decided by the people of Kashmir . . ."

Sudan becomes Independent

The Sudan, which had been under Anglo-Egyptian condominium since 1898, becomes independent on this New Year's Day. The independence of the country has already found recognition from the co-dominion powers, Britain and Egypt.

The Sudan Chamber of Deputies (Lower House of Parliament) unanimously passed a resolution on December 19 declaring that the Sudan was to become a "fully sovereign Republic" and requesting the Governor-General, Sir Knox Helm, "to ask the co-dominion powers to recognize it forthwith."

The Chamber of Deputies passed another resolution setting up a five-man commission to assume the powers of Head of State replacing the Governor-General until a President was elected to head the Republic. By another resolution the Chamber provided for the setting up of a Constituent Assembly to draw up a Constitution for the new Republic.

The formal proclamation of independence is to be made on January 1, 1956.

Cyprus

The island of Cyprus with its 3,572 square miles of territory and 514,000 people has in the recent past attracted considerable attention both of the world press and politicians. For three centuries after its conquest by the Turks in 1570 the island had remained a part of the Ottoman Empire until in 1878 the Turkish Government was forced under a 48-hour ultimatum to place it under British "temporary administration," which lasted until after the outbreak of the First World War, when the British annexed the island to the British Empire. The annexation was confirmed by the Treaty of Lausanne, July 24, 1923 and was recognised by Turkey and Greece. The British Government proclamation of Cyprus as a British colony was made on May 5, 1925.

The population of Cyprus is overwhelmingly Greek, only about 18 per cent being of Turkish origin. The Ethnarchy or the Greek Church in Cyprus had traditionally headed a movement for liberation from Moslem rule and this became identified with the idea of union with Greece ('Enosis') after the establishment of an independent Greece in the nineteenth century. The movement for Enosis has continued to gain strength even after formal British annexation in 1914 and assumed such proportions that it has now become an international question of great importance.

Internationally the future of Cyprus has become the particular concern of three States, Britain, Turkey, and Greece, with which the Cypriots want to be united. For political and strategic reasons Britain, while she was willing to concede some concession in the way of internal administrative autonomy to the people of Cyprus, is firmly committed to oppose the 'Enosis' idea. Turkey, Cyprus being by far nearer to her coast, favours the *status quo*, but in the event of British withdrawal wants the island to be given back to her. Greece, on the other hand, would like to see Cyprus independent so that its future could be decided by means of a plebiscite.

The British rule has been little better than the Turkish rule. Britain at first tried to keep up a representative government in the island but by October, 1931, the Legislative Council was abolished. The Governor now exercises all

authority subject to the overriding authority of the British Crown. An Executive Council comprising four official members and not more than three others appointed by the Governor, of whom one, in practice, has always been a Moslem, advises the Governor on new legislation and on the exercise of the powers granted to the Governor-in-Council under existing British laws. After the Second World War, the British Government set up a Constituent Assembly, but nothing came out of it.

The Cyprus issue has assumed its present complicated character because of the strategic calculations of Britain and the Western Powers. The island is well situated, strategically close to important Mediterranean Sea lanes and astride air routes linking Europe with the Middle East and North-east Africa. "The importance of Cyprus," the British Secretary of State for Colonies, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, told the House of Commons in May, 1955, "depends on the Middle East as a whole in our world-wide strategy. I do not think that this can be denied. The Middle East is the land bridge between Europe, Asia and Africa, the centre of the Moslem world and the keystone of our defence against Communist infiltration into Africa and an essential link in our chain of strategic and military bases . . .

"It is . . . the only place where we can provide permanently, with freedom from externally imposed restrictions on our military requirements, a peace-time location for our Middle East land and air headquarters, where we can keep troops permanently to meet sudden emergencies of any kind. Geographically it is very well placed for this purpose and airfield facilities will be of first importance . . ." He then proceeded on to add that the maintenance of British sovereignty over Cyprus was an essential prerequisite for the fulfilment of British Government commitments under the NATO and Middle Eastern Defence Treaties.

The Greek Government's claim to Cyprus is not without historical support. At the time of the First World War, Britain promised, on October 18, 1915, to cede Cyprus to Greece if she would abandon her neutrality. Greece refused. However, two years later Greece joined the war against Germany but Britain then preferred not to raise the question again. During

the Second World War, Greece was too dependent on British help to raise any such claim. After the Second World War, the movement for union with Cyprus gained great strength in Greece itself. The Greek Government tried to get the British Government enter into negotiations about Cyprus. Failing in their efforts they then brought the question of Cyprus before the Ninth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations with a suggestion that, under United Nations supervision, the principle of equality and self-determination of nations should be applied to the population of Cyprus. By vote of nine against three, with three abstention the General Committee of the General Assembly recommended on September 23, 1954, that the Cyprus question be put on the agenda of the Ninth Session. USSR and Czechoslovakia supported the motion, Britain and France opposed it while the USA abstained. Meanwhile pressure was brought to bear against Greece by the USA and other colonial powers to withdraw that resolution. Nevertheless Greece presented a draft resolution on December 14, 1954, for consideration of the General Assembly. But instead of considering the Greek resolution the political committee took up a resolution moved by the New Zealand delegate with British and U.S. and Turkish support. With minor amendments the New Zealand resolution got adopted and the General Assembly with Greek support passed a resolution on December 17, 1954, to postpone consideration of the Cyprus issue. The Greek Government tried to raise the question of Cyprus again in the Tenth Session of the General Assembly in 1955 but this time on 23rd September, the matter failed of adoption as one of the items of agenda even.

Meanwhile forced by circumstances the British Government had to modify its previous stand of complete refusal to discuss the question of Cyprus with Greece and called a conference in London for a discussion of the matter. However, the British Government also invited the Government of Turkey to send a representative ostensibly in the hope that the irreconcilable differences between Greek and Turkish attitude could be utilised to further British ends. The conference was held in London from August 29 to September 17, 1955, and as expected was inconclusive.

Malayan Peace Talks

War has been raging in Malaya for the past eight years under the guise of suppression of "terrorism." According to authoritative British statements it was costing £65 million annually to maintain troops in Malaya. Since 1948, when the war started, five British Commanders-in-Chief have taken over the task of "annihilating the terrorists," but by all accounts each one of them has been equally unsuccessful in that effort. The present Director-General of operations against the insurgents, Lt.-General Sir Geoffrey Bourne, has said that to end the Emergency is a "political job."

In view of the military impasse the May 1, 1955 Declaration of the Malaya People's Liberation Army Command, on its readiness to bring hostilities to an end through negotiation, came as a welcome news. On July 4, 1955, the People's Army Command repeated the offer for a negotiated peace. The Colonial Government still remained silent. But after the popular government headed by Tengku Abdul Rahman came to office as a result of the July elections, the new Government in consultation with the British Government in UK declared an amnesty on September 8 calling upon the insurgents to surrender their arms either to the police or to the civilians. "There will be no general 'cease-fire,' but the Security Forces will be on the alert to help those who wish to accept this offer (of surrender) and for this purpose local 'cease-fire' will be arranged."

"The Government will conduct investigation on those who surrender. Those who show that they genuinely intend to be loyal to the Government of Malaya and to give up their Communist activities will be helped to regain their normal position in society and be reunited with their families. As regards the remainder, restrictions will have to be placed on their liberty; but if any of these go to China their request will be given due consideration," the amnesty offer said.

Apparently convinced of the inadequacy of the amnesty offer the Malayan Government at last agreed to discuss with the leaders of the Liberation Army. Agreement on cease-fire talks was reached in Kuala Lumpur on December 24 following which a meeting took place at Baling in North Malaya on December 28 and 29 be-

tween the Government representatives of Malaya and Singapore on the one side and the Communist leaders on the other. On the "anti-Communist" side were Tengku Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister of the Federation of Malaya, Mr. Marshall, Chief Minister of the Singapore Colony and Sir Chen Lock-tan, President of the Malayan Chinese Association. The Communist delegation consisted of Chin Peng, Leader of the outlawed Communist Party, Abdul Rashid, Bin Madin and Chan Tian.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malaya met in the middle of December to decide on the holding of cease-fire talks. In addition to the communique a manifesto was also issued after that meeting. The manifesto said that on the termination of the Second World War the Malayan people eagerly awaited independence but the British colonial authorities instead unleashed a reign of terror of repression. "They treated their wartime allies—the Malayan Communist Party and the Malayan people—as enemies . . . In 1948, they even enforced 'emergency regulations' and unleashed the colonial war against the people." Under such circumstances the manifesto added, the Communist Party took up the only honourable path before them of leading resolutely the people's armed resistance. Failure in their efforts to crush the Malayan people's resistance had induced the British Government to "make some concessions and reforms in the system of colonial rule."

"In view of this the Malayan Communist Party wishes to declare considerably that we are always of the opinion of stopping the war through negotiations."

The manifesto also called for Malayan independence at the earliest opportunity and negotiations to settle relations between Malaya and the Commonwealth.

Tengku Abdul Rahman, Chief Minister of Malaya, declared on December 25 that he would not bargain with the Communists or go beyond the amnesty offer of September 8 in his talks with Chin Peng.

Given such irreconcilable rigidity on both sides the prospect of the success of the talks between the Government and the Communists were not quite bright. The outcome clearly turned out that it was not so.

The talks on the first day (December 28)

revolved round three points: (a) Recognition of the Malayan Communist Party; (b) Restriction of Movement; and (c) Investigation after surrender. Tengku Abdul Rahman and Mr. David Marshall made it quite clear that the Communist leaders and their followers would not be allowed to go free immediately after cease-fire and that the Communist Party of Malaya would have to be dissolved.

The Communists refused to accept investigation of their loyalty after "surrender" or repatriation to People's Republic of China.

The two Chief Ministers, Rahman and Marshall, tried to impress the Communist leaders that the former were not "stooges or running dogs" of the British. The Communist leader, Chin Peng said that the fact that they had come to meet the Chief Ministers proved that they did not consider them to be stooges.

Mr. Rahman and Mr. Marshall drew attention of the Communist leaders to the futility of conducting the war which had brought so much misery. The Communists also reciprocated their sentiments and said that they had been fighting previous Governments because they had been British but now that there was a representative government, they (the Communists) too wanted peace.

In the second day's meeting on December 29, Mr. Chin Peng told the Government leaders that the Communists would lay down their arms if the Federal Government of Malaya took over from Britain complete control of internal security and all the armed forces in the country. But this statement, according to Chen Tian, Communist Party propaganda chief, was not the same thing as accepting the September 8 amnesty terms.

The talks thus ended inconclusively and the Communist leader left saying: "We will never accept surrender at any time and will continue our struggle to the last man."

There is, however, hope of fresh talks taking place in near future.

After the failure of the talks with the Communists it was officially announced on December 30 in Kuala Lumpur that the amnesty offer would come to an end on February 8, 1956.

The general conclusion in London, where Tengku Abdul Rahman was shortly arriving for discussion on constitutional matters con-

cerning Malaya, was, reports the *Statesman*, "that the Baling Conference would not leave things just as they were and may prove to be an occasion from which more important developments will follow."

The *Manchester Guardian* writes: "Even if the jungle war is resumed it is not likely to be resumed in exactly the same way as before. It will become more political and less military. By military means the Government cannot hope to suppress the Communist rebellion entirely, nor can the Communist hope to seize the Government: thus each side may be forced towards some political settlement."

War, The Old Order Changeth

In view of the present liquid state of the 'cold war,' the following commentary on the urge for peace would be of interest. It appeared in the *Worldover Press* some four months back:

Berlin.—It was well over a year ago that Sir Winston Churchill, in the House of Commons, said that after the Pacific H-bomb tests all our military thinking of the past, even of the previous year, was obsolete, obsolete, obsolete.

At about the same time, the U.S. Secretary of Defense said he was able to bring together a powerful army of 10 million men. Immediately he was asked where that army would be concentrated. Because, wherever it would be, it was in danger of extinction from a single H-bomb. It would have to be dispersed throughout the United States or elsewhere, in which case it would lose much of its military effectiveness.

Now the Russians, with their characteristic sense of reality save when the doctrines of Marx are concerned, have reached the conviction that the vast Red Army is no longer a real asset. Mass armies in general are obsolete, obsolete, obsolete. The generals of NATO have a green light to make a war atomic. It is not sufficiently realized in the West that in Russia and its satellites, this development caused something like a panic. It meant that war with conventional weapons is "out"—and yet, it was precisely in that field that Russia had been superior.

The air manoeuvres over West Germany called "Carte Blanche" have proved the Soviet fear justified. Over 50 atomic bombs would have been dropped, while 36 atomic cannon on German soil would have spewed out their wholesale extinction.

Any Russian concentration on German soil would have been uselessly sacrificed. Farewell, strong Red Army! It was then that the Russians became champions of disarmament. Their plan to reduce their forces by 640,000 represents a substantial cut, but it is a reduction in an army which had already become obsolete.

Two recent events, when thoughtfully analyzed, confirm the chief reason—though not necessarily the only reason—for the Russian change of policy. When the Bonn government announced that conscription was imminent, the Grotewohl regime in East Germany announced that any West German war resister or conscientious objector would be welcome in the East (which needs manpower for industry), and would be granted not only the right of asylum but full citizenship. At once, West German pacifist youth—of whom there are many—inquired whether citizenship included the duty of military service on the other side, which would be repugnant. The answer was that the query was irrelevant, for there was no intention of introducing conscription in East Germany.

Many observers thought this was insincere. But it was probably sincere in this sense: it corresponded to reality. The East German army would hereafter have its main usefulness in preserving internal "order" against attempts to overthrow the Communist-controlled government. Why force unwilling and unreliable Germans into such an army by a draft? Besides, the absence of conscription enables the East Zone to boast of itself as a liberal area without militarization.

For another tip-off on the change, it is worth while to look at the results of the World Peace Council's second big conference, this year held at Helsinki. The West has paid little attention to it, because the Vienna conference, two years ago, pulled out all the typical Communist stops for the habitual "peace line." But this year's conference was entirely different. It was held in a country considered as Western in orientation. A Finnish cabinet minister opened it. It was sponsored by such personalities as Edouard Herriot and the Brazilian de Castro, whom no one has ever remotely thought of as Communist in sympathy. And with the Communist delegations still powerful, the conference, mostly unanimous, adopted resolutions in which the West was not at all accused of bellicose intentions. Note this:

"The effective abolition of nuclear weapons cannot be achieved as an isolated action. This is

now clear. It should be incorporated into the frame-work of general disarmament. The achievement of general disarmament on a large scale is not only necessary for its own sake, but also in order to diminish the tensions currently existing in the world. . . .

" . . . Necessity of an understanding amongst all European states, regardless of difference of regimes, to safeguard their economic and cultural collaboration. *The United States, having an alliance with the countries of Western Europe, should be invited to take part in this system of collective security.*"

It is remarkable that such resolutions were adopted at a gathering of 1,841 from 68 countries, with Americans comparatively absent and their influence at a minimum. Has it not always hitherto been the fierce endeavor of all Soviet politics to keep the U.S. out of any influence in Europe? Here they are urged to join all Europeans. The shift is basic.

Let us, however, not be over-idealistic in measuring the change. The new Russian attitude is not based on sentimental considerations. It comes from the stark fact, most of all, that the Red Army is no longer an asset. But exactly because it is a change based on reality, it can be regarded as reliable and politically "sincere." For that matter, what is true for the Russians is true for everybody. No wonder Germans are asking of what actual use will be the planned West German army, when 50 atomic bombs would render the country uninhabitable?

The Pope and Colonialism

The Pope's Christmas message, which we quote, displays a clear and profound understanding of the colonial issue:

Vatican City, Dec. 24.—Pope Pius XII in his seventeenth Christmas message to the world today referred to "colonialism" and the conflict between European nations and their overseas territories struggling for independence.

He called upon European colonial Powers to show "a spirit of impartial justice and even of generosity" in dealing with dependent peoples aspiring to full political independence.

The Pope warned that, if these "disputes" were allowed to run their course, "a third party" might gain advantage. Let not these peoples be denied "a fair and progressive political freedom," His Holiness said.

The Pope said: "In last year's Christmas

message we indicated the points of dispute noted in the relations between Europeans and those non-Europeans who aspire to full political independence.

"Can those disputes be allowed to run their course, so to speak, a procedure which might easily increase their gravity, sow hatred in man's souls, and create the so-called traditional enemies?"

"And might not a third party come to profit from such enmities, a third party which neither of the others really wants, and cannot want?"

"At any rate let not those peoples be denied a fair and progressive political freedom, and hindered in its pursuit."

"To Europe, however, they will give credit for their advancement—to that Europe without whose influence, extended to all fields, they might be drawn by a blind nationalism to plunge into chaos or slavery."

"On the other hand, Western peoples, especially those of Europe, should not in the face of such problems remain passive, in futile regret over the past or in mutual recrimination over colonialism."

"Rather they should set themselves constructively to work to extend, where it has not yet been done, those true values of Europe and the West which have produced so many good fruits in other continents."

"The more Europeans strive for this, the more help will they be to the just freedom of young nations, which in turn will be saved from the pitfalls of false nationalism. This in truth is their real enemy, which would pit them one day against each other to the advantage of third parties."

"Such a forecast, not unfounded, cannot be neglected or forgotten by those who handle the problems of peace at congress—where, unfortunately, there gleams the splendour of a unity that is external and predominantly negative."

"We think that in such considerations and in such modes of procedure there is a valuable assurance of peace, in some respects even more important than an immediate prevention of war."

India's Policy of Neutrality

Fandit Nehru reaffirmed our stand on the issue of neutrality in the context of foreign reactions to the Soviet leaders' visit, as the following news indicates:

Bombay, Dec. 22.—Mr. Nehru today

expressed India's determination to pursue her own independent policy "internally in the domestic sphere and externally in the international sphere."

"We shall make friends with all who are friendly to us, and we shall also continue to be friendly with those who do not want to be friends with us," he said. "Our contacts will be closer with those who are friendly than with those who refuse to be friendly. But we do not want to be hostile or inimical to any country."

"Now great controversies have arisen in other countries about the consequences of the visit of the Soviet leaders to India. They ask: Is India aligning or tying herself with the Communist countries and with the Soviet Union? Is India giving up her policy of non-alignment and neutrality?" Some people in the West are very angry.

"People in many parts of the world seem to think that, if you are friendly with one person, that means you are hostile and inimical to the other as if you can only be friendly with one in order to be hostile to another. The area of friendship should not be confined by a wall of hostility. That is our national and international outlook and that is the real basis of what is called the policy of neutrality or non-alignment that India follows."

"India has an individuality and soul, not of today but of the last 2,000 years," he said. "We have a mind of our own, and we have a soul and spirit of our own. Regardless of what we are, some may have misunderstanding of what India has been and is going to be in the future. But India will pursue her own independent policy."

Psychology of the Near East

The British on their side have made a major mistake in trying to hurry Jordan into the Baghdad Pact. Prolonged rioting with considerable loss to life and property followed the visit of the British Commander-in-Chief, resulting in the collapse of the Government as the following message shows:

Amman, Dec. 20.—King Hussein today accepted the resignation of Mr. Mahali's Government amid renewed demonstrations against the Baghdad Pact.

"But Mr. Mahali was asked to remain in office until a replacement has been installed at the head of a caretaker Government, which will supervise general elections early next year."

"King Hussein dissolved Parliament and called general elections last night in an attempt to stabilize the political situation.

"Security forces are patrolling the streets, guarding embassies and foreign establishments. Earlier today, Civil Servants, doctors and lawyers joined demonstrators in demanding the immediate resignation of the Government.

"Mr. Mahali himself said in a statement over the radio that his Government had resigned to give the nation a chance to decide the issues before them."

India and the S.E.A.T.O

Sri Menon has clearly stated our official view of the S.E.A.T.O., to which the Baghdad Pact is linked, in the following assertion:

"U. N. H. Q., Dec. 9.—India today asserted that the South-East Asia Treaty Organization constituted an 'attempt to infringe on our sovereignty.'

"Mr. Krishna Menon made the statement in the Political Committee during a blistering attack on military alliances. He branded all these as contrary to the terms of the U.N. Charter, and declared that India was being 'encircled. We are ringed in by these war pacts and highly armed nations.'

"Referring to the alliance between China and the Soviet Union, Mr. Menon said that China had a powerful war potential which India had no reason 'up to now, to think will be used against us.'

"He spoke of 'the organization which is euphemistically called, or was called, the South-East Asia Defence Organization.' He understood it was now the South-East Asian Treaty Organization. 'The question is how many teeth has it?'"

New Members of the U.N.

The package entry of 18 nations to the U.N. was wrecked in the beginning by the vetoing of Outer Mongolia by Nationalist China, despite requests by even the U.S. Russia retaliated by vetoing the entry of the West-sponsored nations. It is now confirmed by the U.N. Assembly President, Dr. Jose Maza, that at Pandit Nehru's request M. Bulganin, who was in India at that time, intervened with the results noted below in the following messages:

"New York, Dec. 15.—Thunderous applause went up from the crowded benches of the U.N.

General Assembly late last night when 16 new countries, including Ceylon, were formally declared members after five years of deadlock.

"The Assembly met to elect the 16 candidates a few hours after they had been approved by the Security Council where the Soviet Union suddenly reversed her position on the vetoes she had cast against the West-backed countries at the previous day's meeting.

"Russia decided to drop the candidature of Outer Mongolia, which Nationalist China had vetoed, and Japan 'for the present session.'

"Unanimous voting was given to many of the new members—Albania, the Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Cambodia, Laos and Spain.

"The Soviet Union was among sponsors of the resolution. In separate voting by roll-call on each applicant, Albania was the first state to be formally elected—48 to three with five abstentions. Ceylon was elected unanimously by 57 members present.

"Dr. Jose Maza of Chile, the Assembly President, told the Assembly it had 'given life to a deep desire which has existed for several years in the General Assembly; to overcome the obstacles that have impeded the development of U.N. towards an international organization which represents all the peoples of the world and which enjoys true universality among its members.'"

The Muslim League in India

Pandit Nehru has at last clarified his view of the Muslim League as the following news indicates:

Calicut, Dec. 27.—Mr. Nehru today launched a strong attack on communal organizations, specially the Muslim League, which has recently been revived here after a lapse of years.

Addressing a public meeting here, he said: "In Malabar, I am told, there is a remnant of the old Muslim League. It is amazing that this discreditable organization—that worked against Indian freedom and brought misery to India—should raise its head in the Malabar area."

Christian Missionaries in India

Religious toleration has been an age-old tradition in India prior to the advent of the Muslims, with only a few instances of intolerance. This has been declared as a definite

policy of the present day by our President, as indicated in the news below:

"Dec. 19.—The President made a forthright declaration in New Delhi on Sunday that it was not the intention of the Government of India to curtail the freedom of Christian missionaries or to come in the way of their true mission.

"Presiding over a meeting at the Constitution Club grounds to celebrate the 1,903rd anniversary of the arrival in India of St. Thomas, Dr. Prasad declared that the missionaries were welcome to place the true teachings of Christ 'before our people.'

"Dr. Prasad said that what was demanded of Christians, as well as of other people, was loyalty to the country and not to a dogma. It was India's traditional policy, he added, to give equal respect to all.

"The President gave an assurance to Christians that it was the intention of the Prime Minister and all others in responsible administrative positions to be fair to all.

"It was not an accident, the President declared, that Mahatma Gandhi owed as much to Christianity as to Hinduism in the making of his personality. He stated: 'In India it has been our firm faith that God can be reached by innumerable paths. Each man is and ought to be free to pursue the path that suits him best and whoever does so honestly will ultimately reach God.'

Aftermath of the S.R.C. Report

The S. R. C. Report has given rise to reactions all over the States concerned. Pandit Nehru has formulated a new proposal to allay the consequences. We reproduce it below without comments, as the final decisions on the report have not materialised yet:

"New Delhi, Dec. 21.—A proposal to form five Zonal Councils each of five or six States to consider mutual economic, developmental and border problems was suggested to the Lok Sabha by Mr. Nehru today and welcomed with prolonged cheers.

"To begin with, Mr. Nehru said that the proposed Councils—with which the Centre could be associated—might have an advisory status. They could develop more powers subsequently, if well received.

"He suggested setting up five such Councils, one each for the Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central areas of the country. They would not be created on linguistic principles.

"He agreed with a member's suggestion that in some Zones the constituent States could share a common High Court and Governor.

"The proposal for Zonal Councils as a means to develop greater co-operation and goodwill among neighbouring States came at the end of nearly an hour's speech on the S.R.C. Report in which Mr. Nehru emphasized that he was expressing his personal views and was not speaking on behalf of the Government.

"He frankly stated his opposition to the principle of linguistic States while at the same time emphasizing the need to give each language full opportunity to develop.

"He did not see how a language could be developed by putting up walls between it and other languages. Personally, he would prefer to live in a multilingual State in order to appreciate other cultures more fully, he said.

"The most important part of the report was the chapter on safeguards. They could be increased if regarded inadequate, and even laid down in the Constitution so as to ensure a fair deal to every language everywhere.

"Even more important than a decision was the way in which it was reached and accepted. Unless the country and all sections in it adopted the democratic method of discussing issues fully and then accepting the majority view, even if it did not suit a particular group it would be encouraging violence."

Institute of Asian-African Relations

The "Institute of Asian-African Relations" recently came into being in Calcutta with the blessing of the leading statesmen and scholars of India. The object of the institute is to promote a deeper study of the cultural problems of Asia and Africa in the context of world peace and Gandhi World Fellowship.

The peoples of Asia and Africa who constitute more than half of world's total population and who possess unbounded natural resources had so long been blatantly denied, to quote Dr. Kalidas Nag, the Secretary-General of the Institute, "not only self-government but even fundamental human rights."

Of late there has been a welcome awakening on the part of the United Nations to the urgent need of asserting its authority in the interest of the colonial peoples. But the colonial spirit of domination dies hard as would appear from the recent debates in the Economic and Social Council.

RUSSIA IN ASIA

By DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D.LITT. (Paris)

THE name Russia is rather recent, but the vast territory stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific has yielded evidences of ancient culture from the Neolithic to the Bronze age synchronising with the archaeological remains of North Iran (Kuban area of 4/3 mill. B.C.). Between the Volga and the Dnieper rivers, Red Ochre Graves have been found and in the Ukraine Chalcolithic sites have been excavated in Tripolje A and B (2500-1500 B.C.) and in Anan (Turkestan, 4000-3000 B.C.) which offer striking parallels to our Indus Civilization (early and late) and also to the Yang-Shao Chalcolithic pottery culture of China.

Between 600-500 B.C. when the Assyrio-Babylonian empires were devastated by the Medes and the Persians a new race came with a new art and culture—called Scytho-Sarmatian—from the proto-Russian zones over which the Indo-Iranian and other Indo-European races have moved and left linguistic traces in South Russia, considered (by Peter Gills, etc.) as the so-called cradle of the Aryans!

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The Nordic Aryans or the Battle-Axe (Parasurain?) culture folks, already settled in North Russia and the Baltic, also influenced the proto-Russians who—between 700-800 A.D.—came under the protectorate of the Turkish Khazar tribes ruling the lower Volga valley, over the Eastern Slavs who spoke Sanskritic Slavonic dialects. Then (800-900 A.D.) North Russia came to be penetrated by the Scandinavian king named in old Russian chronicles as the Varangians or Rus giving name to greater Russia. The founder of the Russian princely dynasty was Rurik or Rorick who ruled in Novgorod (850 A.D.) whence they raided the Byzantine capital, Constantinople. In 957 the Russian Princess Olga visited Constantinople and was converted to orthodox Christianity which thus, in 1957, completes one thousand years of Christian regime in Russia. By 1000 A.D. mass conversion to Christianity took place, under Vladimir the Saint (978-1015).

But up to 1000 A.D. the old Slav languages (studied by Meillet) retained pre-Christian Asian

culture and Sanskrit forms. By 1200 we find South Russia invaded by the Nomads (Turks?) of the East—under Sabutai from Trans-Caucasus—and ruled by them for two centuries (1250-1450). The Turco-Mongol Khans of the Golden Horde were masters of whole Russia and of China from Kiev to Peking (founded by Kublai Khan). These Asian strains in Russian ethnography and culture have been well established and in that light we should read the 14th. century Russian traveller to India, Nikitin. The disruption caused by Tartar domination was stopped by Ivan the Great (1462-1505) who in 1472 married Zoe (Sophia), niece of the last emperor of Constantinople (taken by the Turks in 1453). Ivan took up the Byzantine concept of the autocrat Caesar or Tsar ruling from the grand Ducal palace of Kremlin in Moscow. Ivan won over the Khan of Crimea and thus creating disunion among the Tartars baffled their last attack on Moscow (1480). In 1492 by invading Lithuania, Ivan resumed diplomatic relations with Western Europe.

Ivan the Terrible (1533-84) ruled for half a century and opened the way for Russian expansion in Asia by conquering Kazan and Astrakhan from the Tartars. The Russian traders (who began coming to India with Nikitin) and Cossacks under Ermak began the conquest of Siberia (1580-83). In 1589 the Russian Church declared independence of Byzantine. Christian patriarch Michael Romanov (1613-45) began the Rumanov dynasty (1613-1917) and under him the Cossacks took the fort of Azov from the Crimean Tartars and Russian Pioneers crossed the whole of Siberia reaching the Pacific Ocean (1637). Peter the Great (1689-1725) opened his career by resolving Russo-Chinese conflict over the Amur region, by a treaty (1689). He also recognised the Turkish title over Azov (1711) stopping war, as also made a treaty with Sweden (1721) and opened the Russian window on the Baltic as a European Power. Catherine II (1762-96) began again the war with the Turks (1768-72) winning victories and annexed Crimea (1783) from the weakening Turkish empire. During the French Revolutionary

wars Russia became ally of England (1798) and Turkey. Henceforth Russia would try to extend her empire in Asia, now as an ally then as rival of other "imperialist powers of Europe."

Between 1804-13 Russia fought Persia which ceded Daghestan and Shemankha and recognised the Russian annexation of Georgia (birth-place of Stalin). Persia was again defeated (1826-28) and obliged to cede part of Armenia with Erivan.

In 1844 Russia abandoned Russian settlement in California and sold to U.S.A. Alaska in 1867. In 1875 Russia ceded the Kurile Islands to Japan in exchange of South Sakhalin. The Populist movement and Land and Liberty Secret Society began threatening Tsarism with the growth of Pan-Slav movement in 1867-1879. Alexander II was murdered in 1881.

Under Alexander III (1881-94) Russia conquered the whole of Central Asia up to Afghan frontiers thus threatening British India. England began helping Japan who defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) lowering the prestige under Nicholas II (1894-1917). The last Tsar was forced to abdicate and was killed in 1918 after the outbreak of Revolution in 1917.

ASIAN PLANS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

In the Middle East: Armenia, Azarbaijan and Georgia declared independence in 1918 and war broke out also in Siberia but temporarily stopped when the Japanese removed from Vladivostok (1922) and Soviet Russia set up a buffer State—the Far Eastern Republic with its capital in Chita. After the great famine of 1921-22 Russia began the New Economic Policy leading to a series of Five-Year Plans. Lenin died in January, 1924. England and Japan recognised the Soviet and New Asian Republics were added, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakistan, etc. (1925). Stalin became the top leader and Trotsky was expelled (1929). In December, 1936 the new "Democratic" Constitution was adopted and the Soviet Federation was recast as follows: (1) Russia (Moscow), (2) Ukraine (Kiev), (3) Belorussia (Minsk) in the West, and in the East (4) Azarbaijan (Baku), (5) Georgia (Tiflis), (6) Armenia (Erivan), (7) Turkmenistan (Ashkhabad), (8) Uzbekistan (Tashkent), (9) Tazikistan (Stalinbad), (10) Kazakistan (Alma Ata), (11) Kirghizistan (Frunze).

To these are added the following three areas in Asia:

The Far Eastern Region stretching from Vladivostok to the Behring Straits along the Pacific (Population: 1,593,400 in 1931); the country is rich in fur-bearing animals, fishery and forest products.

The Yakutsk Republic (Population: 400,544 in 1939) is rich in gold mines, also silver, lead and coal. Chukchis, Chuvans and Eskimos live here.

The Buriat Mongol Republic (Population: 542,000) maintains itself by cattle-breeding, poultry, etc.

The Tuva Autonomous Region (Population: 65,000) incorporated in 1944 is situated to the north-west of Mongolia. The people are Turki by race using good pastoral land with deposits of gold and asbestos.

The Sakhalin, taken totally from defeated Japan (1945), has an area of about 14,000 sq. miles with 340,000 population, mostly Japanese, who developed herring fishery, farming, etc. Coal, petroleum and gold also abound. When Japan came to be rebuilt into the biggest American base in the Pacific, they discovered what valuable strategic centres were given over by the Allies to Russia. Now Japan is demanding a few of the Kurile Isles. The Siberian regions are divided into Western (Population: 8,767,200) and Eastern (Pop: 2,568,400), largely unsettled forest to the north and fertile lands to the south. East Siberia yields gold and great mineral resources and thus has developed iron and engineering industries. West Siberia has coal, timber, orchards, etc.

The Arctic Soviets, remote and largely unknown 'regions' and 'areas' (like autonomous republics), are regularly governed by Executive Committees elected by the local Congress of Soviets elected by the citizens for two years. Ships tonnage are moved freely between the Baltic and the Far East via the North-East Passage opened after completing the grand canal (141 miles) between the Baltic and White Seas. Soviet Naval Air Force is under 3 principal Commanders, the Black Sea, the Baltic and the North Pacific (facing Alaska, Canada and U.S.A.). In 1941 Air lines were opened between Moscow and Anadyr (East Siberia) and in 1946 air service was opened between Moscow, Vladivostok, Chukotsk, Tashkent, Stalinbad and Alma Ata, capitals of the Central Asian Soviets, which we describe finally.

SOVIET CENTRAL ASIA

This vast area known as Turkestan was conquered by Russia in 1860, Tashkent in 1866, Samarkand in 1868, Khiva and Bokhara in 1870. Their feudal groupings were reformed into regular Soviets in 1924-25.

(1) Kazakistan (Capital, Alma Ata, former Verny; incorporated, 5th. December, 1936).

It is bounded on the west by Russia and the Caspian, on the East by China, on the north by Russia and on the south by Uzbek and Kirghiz Soviets. It makes (after Russian Soviets) the second largest Republic with over 6 million people (1939). Land of Nomad Kazakhs have now been developed by the Soviet Academy of Sciences (1944) into industrial areas with coal and copper. A very big hydro-electric station and Dam has been built in Kyzyl Orda (1944) irrigating 100,000 acres of rice. So sugar, rubber, etc., are grown with orchards and vineyards; also medicinal plants and grasses for sheep giving best quality wool. They are exploiting also the rich mineral resources like copper, lead, zinc, coal, tungsten and oil (along the river Emba), gold and big iron ores have been found in 1946. High grade aviation oil comes from Emba and Aktyabisk.

(2) Turkmenistan: Joined in 1924 as the Turkmen Republic occupying the former Trans-Caspian Region taken by Russia (1881). The population 1,252,000 is mostly Sunni Moslems speaking the South-West group of Turkish languages. Capital Ashkhabad has 126,580 souls. It is famous for horses and sheep and long-fibred cotton. Subterranean water is being utilised to reclaim the Kara Kum desert (with coal and minerals) where our Rajputana Desert Scientists should go and work with Russian geologists. Amu-Darya waters are also utilized and fishery practised in the Caspian. Sulphur, salt and oil are also utilized. Nabit-Dag is an oil-town and Kara Bogaz has a sulphate industry. Cotton, wool and Astrakhan furs bring money.

(3) Uzbekistan: Formed in 1925 out of ancient Turkestan, Bokhara and Khonezm (known to Alberuni and Avicenna). The old States of Khiva and Bokhara, the provinces of Samarkand and Ferghana (known to the Turco-Mongols like Chengiz, Taimur, Babar) belonged to the Uzbeks, the ruling race of Central Asia dominantly Buddhistic from the Age of Kanishka to Kublai Khan. The Uzbeks met the Afghans (to the

South) who also were Buddhistic till Sunni Muslims conquered them. Pop. 6,282,450 maintain themselves by intensive farming based on artificial irrigation, etc., devised by their Academy of Sciences with 46 Research Institutes, promoting yields of cotton, silk, fruit and rice. In 1919 the Kyzyl Kum desert was afforested by means of sowing from aeroplanes. From that advancing desert the Bokhara and Karakul oases are protected by afforestation. Tashkent the Capital contains the richest collection of Turco-Mongol art—specially paintings which should be studied by all those who know something of the so-called Mughal school. Timur died in 1405 (after meeting the greatest Poet of the age, Hafiz) and his fourth son was Shah Rukh (1377-1417), a peace-loving son of a savage warlord. Shah Rukh removed the capital from Samarkand to Herat and restored ruined cities to prosperity and patronized scholars and artists, who flocked to his court. His son Ulugh Beg (1394-1449) was hailed by western scholars as the illustrious personification of Tartar Astronomy, Philosophy and Sciences like Geometry, Mathematics. He as Crown Prince ruled over Khorasan, Mazandaran and Transoxiana and made Samarkand the centre of Muslim civilisation assimilating the scientific and cultural discoveries of the savants of Iran and India. Why not hold an All-Asian Cultural Conference at Tashkent with modern amenities!

(4) Tajikistan joined USSR in 1929: for centuries well known for farming, cattle trading and horticulture, the land to sow yielding valuable minerals like oil (in the north), sulphur, zinc, lead, uranium, etc. Thus big industries are growing for food, textile, silk, chemicals and electrical items. In 1950 an Academy of Sciences was founded and its observatory at the capital city of Stalinbad has recently discovered a new Comet in the Pegasus Constellation. Population: 1,485,000 mostly Tajiks speak an Iranian dialect close to modern Persian and the Tajiks are considered to be the Christians of the original Aryans of Central Asia, where Indo-European speeches have been traced. The highest mountains are named now the Stalin Peak (about 7600 metres) and Lenin Peak (7,127 metre-), they slope down to the lowest valleys of the Pamirs (3500 metres), the "roof the world." It is the Asian Soviet closest to India and Kashmir.

(5) Kirghizistan was reconstructed into a republic in 1926 with a population of 1.1/2 million and capital city Frunze (former Pishpek).

The state is situated on the Tien Shan range and borders on China to the East, Kazak-Uzbek lands to the West and Tazikistan to the South. The Kirghiz Academy of Sciences, opened in 1943, now operates 23 research institutes which develop agriculture, livestock and over 500 industries relating to sugar, cotton, textile, wool, silk, and coal, oil and rare minerals like gold, silver, lead, mercury, arsenic, etc.

A large new canal is being built in the east Tien-Shan ranges, opening new possibilities. Where Asia merges into Europe, there also we find three republics of Asian language and culture :

(5) Armenia : Capital Erivan. Area: 11,640 sq. miles. Population : 1,281,100 of whom 85% are Armenians and the rest are Jews (mostly settled in the town of Birobidzhan in the Far Eastern Region), Kurds, Persians, Turks and Georgians. Their Academy of Sciences runs 43 institutes with schools and colleges. The mineral deposits feature copper, aluminium, zinc, etc., fostering chemical industries, fertilizers, synthetic rubber, etc. Mt. Ararat is famous in Biblical history and the persecuted Armenians—like the unfortunate Jews—found asylum in the Soviet Republic rejecting creedal and racial discrimination.

(7) Azerbaijan : Area 33,460 sq. miles. Population : 3,209,700 mostly of the Turks group with Armenians, Georgians and Russians. It formed with Georgia and Armenia, Trans-

Caucasian Soviet, washed by the Caspian in the East and South—thus bringing complications to South Caspian regions of Iran, which it resembles in productions like rice, vine, silk, tea, cotton, tobacco, horses, camels, and buffaloes. Iron, copper, zinc, lead, etc., are found, but the richest industry is that of oil in the Baku region (known to Indian Fakirs for centuries) where Soviet Russia held its first All-Asian Congress (1920). Baku Oil-field is connected by a double pipeline with Batum on the Black Sea which washes Rumanian oil-fields also Baku oil output in 1940 was 25 million tons, much enlarged in the last 15 years.

(8) Lastly Georgia, the birth-place of Stalin, originated National Council 1917-18 and became Sovietised in 1921-22 with capital at Tiflis. Area : 37,570 sq. miles and population 3.1/2 million. Iron and steel and motor works develop industries and metallurgical plants, manganese mines, sulphur springs, etc. The highest peak of the Caucasus overlooking and protecting it in the north and in the west, the Black Sea offers sub-tropical areas growing tea (tea machinery), bamboo and tobacco. No wonder Stalin called himself an 'oriental' and when he died in 1952 I found rabid American papers crying him down as an 'oriental savage' ! But one should remember that what the exploiting Colonial Powers of the west could not do in four centuries (1500-1900) Soviet Republic has done in four decades (1920-50) to bring food, clothes and hygiene to millions of the neglected orientals.



SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(VII) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom (*Continued*)

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I

In our preceding article¹ in this series we have dealt with Clause (1)(a) and Clause (2) of Article 19 of our Constitution. We shall now deal with the other Clauses of this Article. It may incidentally be pointed out here, in a slight modification of what we have stated² in our preceding article, that the number of these "other Clauses" is now, according to *The Constitution of India (As modified up to the 1st May, 1955)*,³ five and not four. This will be shown hereinafter at the appropriate place.

II

Under Sub-clause (b) of Clause (1) of Article 19 of our Constitution, all citizens have the right "to assemble peaceably and without arms." We may describe this right as the right to freedom of peaceful assembly. This right, however, is subject to the following qualification :

"(3) Nothing in sub-clause (b) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State (as defined in Article 12 of the Constitution) from making any law imposing, in the interest of public order, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right confirmed by the said sub-clause."

Thus any restriction on the exercise of the right conferred by Sub-clause (b) of Clause (1) of Article 19 must be reasonable and, therefore, *justiciable*. In our preceding article we have explained⁴ the implication of the expression "reasonable restrictions" in connexion with Clause (2) of Article 19. As that explanation will apply wherever the expression "reasonable restrictions" occur, we need not repeat it in connexion with the remaining Clauses of Article 19 except where it comes incidentally. We should only like to add here that the

question of the reasonableness of any restriction imposed by a law may, as will be shown hereinafter in connexion with Sub-clause (d) of Clause (1) of Article 19, "arise as much from the substantive part of the law as from its procedural portion."

We may refer in this connexion to the corresponding position in the United States of America so far as the "privilege of assembly" is concerned. The First Amendment to its Constitution lays down, among other things : "Congress shall make no law abridging the right of the people peaceably to assemble." This provision "is, of course, only a limitation on the federal government, yet," says Professor Willis,⁵ "all but four state constitutions contain" a similar guarantee. Now, what does this guarantee really mean ? It does not mean, he further says, "that either the United States or the individual states are forbidden to exercise social control of assemblages of people in the interest of the common good. For this reason disorderly assemblages may be forbidden." "What constitutes an unlawful assembly is," however, "likely to elude precise definition, but," he has observed, "there are two elements which serve as a guide in the solution of particular problems. In order to be lawful the purpose of the assembly must be to do no unlawful act, and the assembly must be conducted in a manner which is not tumultuous."

It may perhaps be interesting to note here, in connexion with the question of arms, that an attempt had been made by Shri H. V. Kamath, member of our Constituent Assembly, to insert, in Article 13 of the Draft Constitution of India, which corresponded to Article 19 of our present Constitution, an additional fundamental right, namely, the right "to keep and bear arms," together with a new clause providing for "restrictions (on the exercise of this right) in the interests of public order.

1. See *The Modern Review* for July, 1955.

2. See *ibid.*, p. 25.

3. Published by the Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1955; also see *The Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order*, 1954, dated 14th May, 1954.

4. See *The Modern Review* for July, 1955, p. 34.

5. See Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, p. 506.

6. See *ibid.*, pp. 506-507.

peace and tranquillity." The attempt failed⁷ as it was feared that very often the right to keep and bear arms might be gravely abused in our country. Speaking on behalf of the Drafting Committee, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said⁸ by way of a reply to Shri H. V. Kamath:

"Now, with regard to the question of bearing arms about which my friend Mr. Kamath was so terribly excited, I think the position that we have taken is very clear. It is quite true and everyone knows that the Congress Party had been agitating that there should be right to bear arms. Nobody can deny that. That is history. At the same time I think the House should not forget the fact that the circumstances when such resolutions were passed by the Congress no longer exist. It is because the British Government had refused to allow Indians to bear arms, not on the ground of peace and order, but on the ground that a subject people should not have the right to bear arms against an alien government so that they could organise themselves to overthrow the Government, and consequently the basic considerations on which these resolutions were passed in my judgment have vanished. (sic) Under the present circumstances, I personally myself cannot conceive how it would be possible for the State to carry on its administration if every individual had the right to go into the market and purchase all sorts of instruments of attack without any let or hindrance from the State."

And referring to the proposed proviso of Shri Kamath regarding restrictions on the exercise of the right to keep and bear arms, as mentioned above, Dr. Ambedkar observed:⁹

What does the proviso say? What the proviso can do is to regulate, and the term 'regulation' has been judicially interpreted as prescribing the conditions, but the conditions can never be such as to completely abrogate the right of the citizen to bear arms. Therefore regulation by itself will not prevent a citizen who wants to have the right to bear arms from having them. I question very much the policy of giving all citizens indiscriminately any such fundamental right. For instance, if Mr. Kamath's proposition was accepted, that every citizen should have the fundamental right to bear arms, it would be open for thousands and thousands of citizens who are today described as criminal tribes to bear arms. It would be open to all sorts of people who are habitual criminals to claim the right to possess them. You cannot say that under the proviso a man shall not be entitled to bear arms because he belongs to a particular class I am explaining the position that has been taken

by the Drafting Committee. The point is that it is not possible to allow this indiscriminate right.¹⁰

Apparently, it was a case of conflict between theory and realism, or rather between an abstract right and political expediency. And the Constituent Assembly agreed with the point of view presented by Dr. Ambedkar, and rejected the motion of Shri Kamath for an additional fundamental right, namely, the right to keep and bear arms with some safeguards. The safeguards, it was apprehended, might ultimately prove to be illusive, in view of our other fundamental rights.

We may also refer in this connexion to the position in the United States of America in respect of the possession of arms. The Second Amendment to the American Constitution which was adopted in 1791 and which actually came into force on 15th December¹¹ in that year, lays down:

"A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed."

This amendment does not, according to Corwin,¹² "cover concealed weapons, the right 'to bear arms' being the right simply to bear them openly." Moreover, the arms referred to in it "are those of the soldier."¹³ The amendment appears to have originated from a distrust of "a standing army"¹⁴ and from the desirability "of a free and peaceful nation (like the United States) depending for defence chiefly or wholly upon locally organized militia drawn directly from the people."¹⁵ But under it the American people "have a right to arm themselves for protection against both domestic disorder and foreign dangers."¹⁶

Early writers on American constitutional law attached a great importance to the amendment. According to Judge Cooley,¹⁷ it is a safe-

10. Also see *ibid.*, for Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar's speech in this connexion. Shri Ayyangar had practically taken the same view as Dr. Ambedkar.

11. See Ogg & Ray, *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Ed., p. 1103n.

12. Corwin., *The Constitution and What It Means Today*, 9th Ed., p. 160. It may also be noted here that the right "to bear arms," being a right of citizenship in the U.S.A. rather than of a person, "may be denied aliens, at least on reasonable grounds," —*ibid.*

13. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

14. See Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 498-99.

15. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 163; also see Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

17. See Cooley, *op. cit.*, pp. 498-99.

7. *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 1st and 2nd December, 1948.

8. See *ibid.*

9. See *ibid.*

guard to liberty. And Justice Story¹⁸ has observed :

"The importance of this article (i.e., the Second Amendment) will scarcely be doubted by any persons who have duly reflected upon the subject. The militia is the natural defence of a free country against sudden foreign invasions, domestic insurrections, and domestic usurpations of power by rulers. It is against sound policy for a free people to keep up large military establishments and standing armies in time of peace, both from the enormous expenses with which they are attended and the facile means which they afford to ambitious and unprincipled rulers to subvert the government or trample upon the rights of the people. The right of the citizens to keep and bear arms has justly been considered as the palladium of the liberties of a republic, since it offers a strong moral check against the usurpation and arbitrary power of rulers, and will generally, even if these are successful in the first instance, enable the people to resist and triumph over them."

A modern writer on American Government and Politics like Professor Harold Zink, however, is not so enthusiastic about the utility of the Second Amendment.

"The Second Amendment of the federal Constitution," he writes,¹⁹ "specifically provides that 'the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.' For many years this was also regarded as a fundamental right by the states, but the increasing congestion of population, the rise in the crime rate, and (the) establishment of a professional army and police have served to render the keeping and bearing of arms *not only unnecessary but a public menace*."²⁰ Increasingly, therefore, it has become customary for the states to limit the keeping of many types of arms to those who receive a permit from the police. All others are regarded as illegal possession of such weapons and may be dealt with accordingly."

And we also find in Frederic Ogg and Orman Ray:²¹

"Under the police power, the 'bearing' of arms intended for private use may be regulated and restricted by both the federal government and the states; and, as is well-known, there are *plenty of laws forbidding the carrying of concealed weapons*"²² (pistols, revolvers, dirks, bowie-knives, sword-canes, etc.) and the sale, possession, or use of sawed-off

shot-guns and other weapons not employed for military purposes but habitually used by criminals."

Professor Willis corroborates these views.

"What is the extent," he asks, "of the personal liberty guaranteed by this provision (i.e., the Second Amendment)? It does not guarantee the individualism which many people think it does. Probably the purpose of this limitation was to guarantee the general security through the use of militia as against a standing army. For this reason the arms referred to are those used by the militia. The prohibition of weapons used in private affrays, or of the carrying of concealed weapons is not forbidden."²³

It is evident from these views that, notwithstanding the Second Amendment, the right of the people to keep and bear arms is not so unrestricted in the United States as it appears from the text of the Amendment.

III

Let us now pass on to Sub-clause (c) of Clause (1) of Article 19. This Sub-clause declares that "all citizens shall have the right to form associations or unions." This right also is subject to the following qualification:

"(4) Nothing in Sub-clause (c) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State²⁴ from making any law imposing, in the interests of public order or morality, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said Sub-clause."

As in other cases shown before, the reasonableness or otherwise of any restriction imposed on the exercise of the right conferred by Sub-clause (c), is ultimately subject to judicial determination and is, therefore, justiciable. But the provision for the imposition of restrictions on the right of citizens to form associations or unions is not peculiar to our Constitution only. Apart from some other Constitutions, such restrictions are permissible under American constitutional law, for the common good.

"The right of assemblage," says Professor Willis,²⁵ "includes only the physical meeting of many in one place. The right of association presupposes organization and a relation of some permanence between many persons. For the maintenance of political liberty the right of association is fully as important as the right of assemblage. The right of assemblage and the right of free association are parts of the per-

18. See Justice Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, 5th Ed., Sections 1896-97.

19. See Harold Zink, *Government and Politics in the United States*, 1947, p. 93.

20. The italics are ours.

21. See Ogg & Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

22. The italics are ours.

23. See Willis, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

24. As defined in Article 12 of our Constitution. Also see in this connexion my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954.

25. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 755.

soral liberty of individuals, both protected by the due process clause and one²⁶ by a separate clause. But in the exercise of the police power where these forms of personal liberty do not tend to aid general political progress, governments may regulate them for the purpose of protecting the members of the association and of the public. Primary election laws and other laws for the regulation of political parties are exercises of this form of social control. For the protection of this social interest secret organizations, like the Ku Klux Klan, may be compelled to file lists of members."

Further, "the social interest in general economic progress has been held sufficient for the exercise of many different forms of the police power . . . Sometimes individual freedom, if left alone, will itself take the form of monopoly, and then economic progress may require the regulation of monopolies. Anti-trust laws are illustrations of social control which aim to further economic progress by enforcing competition."²⁷

Thus, freedom of association may be controlled in the United States "for the protection of general economic progress" as well as other social interests. And we also find in the judgment²⁸ of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Thomas V. Collins* :

"That the State has power to regulate labour unions with a view to protecting the public interest is, as the Texas Court said, hardly to be doubted. They cannot claim special immunity from regulation."

Thus, as Mr. Justice Das of our Supreme Court has very rightly observed in the course of his judgment in *A. K. Gopalan V. The State of Madras* :

"Restraints on liberty (of action) should be judged not only subjectively as applied to a few individuals who come within their operations but also objectively as securing the liberty of a far greater number of individuals. Social interest in individual liberty may well have to be subordinated to other greater social interests. If a law ensures and protects the greater social interests then such law will be a wholesome and beneficent law although it may infringe the liberty of some individuals, for it will ensure (sic) for the greater liberty of the rest of the members of the society."

IV

We shall now deal with Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) of Clause (1) of Article 19. These Sub-clauses lay down as shown below :

26. Namely, "the right of the people peaceably to assemble." See the First Amendment to the Constitution of the U.S.A.

27. Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 756-57.

28. 323 U.S. 516 (1945).—See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, p. 994.

29. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 292-93.

"All citizens shall have the right—

(d) to move freely throughout the territory of India ;

(e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India ; and

(f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property."

But these rights are not absolute. They are subject to the following qualification:

"(5) Nothing in Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing reasonable restrictions in the exercise of any of the rights conferred by the said Sub-clauses either in the interests of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe."³⁰

We may note here what Mukherjea J. of our Supreme Court has stated with reference to the above, in the course of his judgment³¹ in *A. K. Gopalan V. The State of Madras*.

"In construing Article 19(1) (d)," he has said, "stress is to be laid upon the expression 'throughout the territory of India,' and it is a particular and special kind of right, viz., that of free movement throughout the Indian territory, that is the aim and object of the Constitution to secure. In the next sub-clause, right to reside and settle 'in any part of the territory of India' is given and here again the material thing is not the right of residence or settlement but the right to reside or settle in any part of the Indian territory . . . The meaning of sub-clause (d) of Article 19(1) will be clear if we take it along with sub-clauses (e) and (f), all of which have been lumped together in clause (5) and to all of which the same restrictions including those relating to (the) protection of the interest of any scheduled tribe have been made applicable. It will be remembered that these rights are available only to citizens. To an alien or foreigner, no guarantee of such rights has been given. Normally³² all citizens would have the free right to move from one part of the Indian territory to another. They can shift their residence from one place to any other place of their choice and settle anywhere they like. The right of free trade, commerce and intercourse throughout the territory of India is also secured. What the Constitution emphasises upon (sic) by guaranteeing these rights is that the whole of (the) Indian Union in spite of its being divided

30. The term "Scheduled Tribes" "means such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution" (i.e., the Constitution of India). See in this connexion Articles 342 and 366(25) of the Constitution of India.

31. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April & May, 1950, pp. 258-59.

32. See Article 370 in this connexion in regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

into a number of States is really one unit so far as the citizens of the Union are concerned. All the citizens would have the same privileges and the same facilities for moving into any part of the territory and they can reside or carry on business anywhere they like; and no restrictions either inter-State or otherwise would be allowed to set up in these respects between one part of India and another."

Further :³³

"So far as free movement throughout the territory is concerned, the right is subject to the provision of clause (5), under which reasonable limitation may be imposed upon these liberties in the interests of the general public or protection of any scheduled tribe. The interests of the public which necessitates (*sic*) such restrictions may be of various kinds. They may be connected with the avoidance of pestilence or spreading of contagious diseases; certain places again may be kept closed for military purposes and there may be prohibition of entry into areas which are actual or potential war zones or where disturbances of some kind or other prevail.³⁴ Whatever the reasons might be, it is necessary that these restrictions must be reasonable, that is to say, commensurate with the purpose for which they are laid down. In addition to general interest, the Constitution has specified the protection of the interests of the scheduled tribes as one of the factors which has got to be taken into consideration in the framing of these restrictions. The scheduled tribes, as is well known, are a backward and unsophisticated class of people who are liable to be imposed upon by shrewd and designing persons. Hence there are various provisions disabling them from alienating even their own properties except under special conditions. In their interest and for their benefit, laws may be made restricting the ordinary right of citizens to go or settle in particular areas or acquire property in them. The reference to the interest of scheduled tribes makes it quite clear that the free movement spoken of in the clause relates not to general rights of locomotion but to the particular right of shifting or moving from one part of the

Indian territory to another, without any sort of discriminatory barriers."

This view has been practically endorsed³⁵ by Das J. of the Supreme Court in the course of his judgment in the same case. He has added :

"In sub-clause (d) (of Clause (1) of Article 19) the real emphasis is on the words 'throughout the territory of India.' The purpose of Article 19(1) (d) is to guarantee that there shall be no State barrier. It gives protection against provincialism. It has nothing to do with the freedom of the person as such."

It may perhaps be interesting to refer here to the (majority) judgment of our Supreme Court in *Dr. N. B. Khare vs. The State of Delhi*.³⁶ The case arose out of "an application for a writ of *certiorari* and *prohibition* under 32" of our Constitution. The application prayed for the quashing of the "externment order made by the District Magistrate of Delhi, against the petitioner Dr. N. B. Khare, on 31st March, 1950, by which the latter was directed to remove himself immediately from the Delhi District and not to return to that District so long as the order remained in force." The order was to remain "in force for three months." The grounds for the order were stated as follows:

"Your activities generally and particularly since the recent trouble in East and West Bengal have been of a communal nature tending to excite hatred between communities and whereas in the present composition of the population of Delhi and the recent communal disturbances of Delhi feelings are roused between the majority and minority communities, your presence and activities in Delhi are likely to prove prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order, it is considered necessary to order you to leave Delhi." (*Sic*.)

The order had been issued under the East Punjab Public Safety Act, 1949. This Act had come "into force on 29th March, 1949," and was to remain in force till the 14th of August, 1951. Its object, as stated in its Preamble, was "to provide for special measures to ensure public safety and maintenance of public order." The material provisions of the Act, so far as this case was concerned, were Sub-Section (1) (c) and Sub-Section (3) of Section 4 of the Act. They ran as follows :

"4 (1) (c). The Provincial Government or the District Magistrate, if satisfied with respect to any

33. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II and III, April & May, 1950, p. 259.

Or, as Das J. of our Supreme Court has observed :

"The free movement of citizens may have to be restricted in the interest of the general public. A person suffering from an infectious disease may be prevented from moving about and spreading the disease, and regulations for his segregation in the nature of quarantine may have to be introduced. Likewise, healthy people may be prevented, in the interests of the general public, from entering a plague-stricken area. There may be protected places, e.g., forts or other strategic places, access whereunto may have to be regulated or even prohibited in the interests of the general public. The point to be noted, however, is that when free movement is thus restricted, whether in the interest of the general public or for the protection of the scheduled Tribes, such restriction has reference generally to a certain area which becomes the prohibited area but the right of free movement in all other areas in the Union is left unimpaired."—See *ibid.* p. 302.

35. See *ibid.*, pp. 301-302.

36. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 519-36.

particular person that with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the public safety or the maintenance of public order it is necessary so to do, may, by order in writing, give anyone or more of the following directions, namely that such person shall remove himself from, and shall not return to, any area that may be specified in the order."

"4 (3). An order under Sub-section (1) made by the District Magistrate shall not, unless the Provincial Government by special order otherwise directs, remain in force for more than three months from the making thereof."

The contention of the petitioner who was then the President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, was that the particular provision of the East Punjab Public Safety Act, 1949, under which the order had been "made," become "void and ceased to be operative after the new Constitution of India" had come into force as it was inconsistent with his fundamental right guaranteed to him by Sub-clause (d) of Clause (1) of Article 19 of the Constitution read along with Clause (5) of the Article. He also contended that the grounds of the order served on him were "vague, insufficient and incomplete." Further, he alleged that the order was *mala fide* and illegal as it had been issued with a view to suppressing "political opposition" to the Government policy of appeasement in respect of Pakistan and as he and the Hindu Mahasabha were against that policy.

The Supreme Court by a majority³⁷ dismissed the petition of Dr. Khare. In doing so, it held, among other things:

- (a) that there was nothing unreasonable in the provision contained in Sub-section (1)(c) of Sec. 4 of the East Punjab Public Safety Act, 1949, "empowering the Provincial Government or the District Magistrate to make an externment order, and making their satisfaction as to the necessity of" issuing such an order final, or in the provisions contained in Sub-Section (3) of Section 4 of the Act that an order of a District Magistrate might remain in force for three months and that the Provincial Government might "make an order, or keep alive an order made by a District Magistrate, for a period exceeding three months without fixing any time limit," and

- (b) that the restrictions imposed by the above-mentioned provisions of the said Act of 1949 upon the fundamental right guaranteed by Article 19 (1) (d) of the Constitution were not, therefore, unreasonable restrictions within the meaning of Article 19 (5) (thereof) and the provisions of the Act were not void under Article 13 (1) (of the Constitution), and the order of externment was not illegal."

Further, Kania C. J. declared³⁸ that the grounds for the externment order on Dr. Khare could not be "described as vague, insufficient or incomplete."

"Apart from being vague," he continued, "I think that these grounds are specific and if honestly believed can support the order. The argument that the order was served to stifle opposition to the Government policy of appeasement has little bearing because the District Magistrate of Delhi is not concerned with the policy of the Government of appeasement or otherwise. The order is made because the activities of the petitioner are likely to prove prejudicial to the maintenance of law and order and the grounds specified have a direct bearing on that conclusion of the District Magistrate. I therefore think that this contention of the petitioner must be rejected.

"The result is that the petition fails and is dismissed."

Fazl Ali and Patanjali Sastri JJ. agreed with this view.

The Supreme Court also held by another majority³⁹ in this case:

"Whether the restrictions imposed by a legislative enactment upon the fundamental right guaranteed by Article 19 (1) (d) are reasonable within the meaning of Article 19 (5) of the Constitution would depend as much on the procedural portion of the law as (on) the substantial part of it, and in considering whether such restrictions are reasonable the Court is not therefore bound to confine itself to an examination of the reasonableness of the restrictions in the abstract with reference to their duration and territorial extent. The Court can also consider the reasonableness of the procedural part of the law and the circumstances under which, and the manner in which, the restrictions have been imposed."⁴⁰

Thus the Court is entitled, said Kania C. J., to consider whether the restrictions on the right are reasonable throughout India, i.e., both as regards the

38. See *ibid.*, pp. 527-28.

37. Consisting of Kania C. J., Fazl Ali and Patanjali Sastri JJ. Mukherjea and Mukherjea JJ. dissented from the decision of the majority.—See *ibid.*, p. 520.

39. Consisting this time of—Kania C.J., Fazl Ali, Mukherjea JJ. Patanjali Sastri J. "did not express a view on this point."—See *ibid.*, p. 521.

40. See *ibid.*, pp. 521, 524 and 532.

41. See *ibid.*, p. 524; also p. 532.

and the duration, are reasonable or not. The law providing reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by Article 19 may contain substantive provisions as well as procedural provisions. While the reasonableness of the restrictions has to be considered with regard to the exercise of the right, it does not necessarily exclude from the consideration of the Court the question of the reasonableness of the procedural part of the law. It is obvious that if the law prescribes five years' externment or ten years' externment, the question whether such period of externment is reasonable, being the substantive part, is necessarily for the consideration of the Court under Clause (5). Similarly, if the law provides the procedure under which the exercise of the right may be restricted, the same is also for the consideration of the Court, as it has to determine if the exercise of the right has been reasonably restricted. I do not think by this interpretation the scope and ambit of the word 'reasonable' as applied to restrictions on the exercise of the right, is in any way unjustifiably enlarged. It seems that the narrow construction sought to be put on the expression, to restrict the Court's power to consider only the substantive law on the point, is not correct."

With regard to the importance of Sub-clause (f) of Clause (1) of Article 19 quoted before, namely, the right "to acquire, hold and dispose of property," it will we believe be quite enough if we only quote here what Professor Yashwant Rai⁴² stated in the Constituent Assembly on 2nd. December, 1948, with reference to Sub-clause (f) of Clause (1) of Article 13 of the Draft Constitution of India which corresponded to the former.

"The Harijans of the Punjab," he said,⁴³ "are very much indebted to the Chairman of the Drafting Committee for having included Article 13 in the Constitution." At present it is the custom in the Punjab that only one particular community can purchase land and take to agriculture. But the Harijans, 90 per cent of whom are cultivators, are not permitted to purchase land to cultivate, or to build houses. When this article receives the assent of the House, they will have the facility of purchasing land for building their houses, as also land for agricultural purposes if they have the capacity to do so. I hope that the many handicaps from which the Harijans suffer in (the) Punjab, causing the clashes that are taking place in almost every village between them and the landlords, as a result of which they are kept

confined to their houses in some villages, as also their other difficulties will not have to be faced by them in future. . . Therefore Clause (f) of Article 13 is very necessary because it provides the facilities we wanted. I think that the difficulties with which we are faced today will soon disappear. I therefore support this article."

We also find in the speech⁴⁴ of Shri Chaudhari Ranbir Singh in the Constituent Assembly on the same day :

"I come from East Punjab, and there is a law which is known as the Land Alienation Act, according to which certain classes are debarred from acquiring land, by law. I agree with my friends, specially Harijans who advocate that the Harijans and other persons who are actually the tillers of the soil should have the right to acquire land."

Such disabilities as these are now incompatible with Sub-clause (f) of Clause (1) of Article 19, subject, however, to the provisions of Clause (5) of the Article.

There is, however, one objectionable feature in Clause (5) of Article 19 as quoted before. It empowers "the State" to enact laws imposing reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the rights conferred by Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) of Clause (1) of the Article, either in the interests of the general public or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe. As we have seen before,⁴⁵ under Article 12 of our Constitution the term "the State" means not merely the Government and Parliament of India, but also the Government and the Legislature of each of the States and all local or other authorities within the territory of India, etc. This means, further, that such matters as come within the scope of Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f) are, under Clause (5), within the legislative competence of a State legislature or even of a local authority. Moreover, the expressions "in the interests of the general public" and "for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribe" in Clause (5) are not very definite in their connotation. There is, therefore, a danger implicit in Clause (5) that under it, and notwithstanding the judicial safeguard provided for in it, laws may be enacted, say, by State legislatures acting under the influence of narrow, parochial considerations. Thus Clause (5) may contribute to the growth of provincialism and inter-State ill-will in our country. The Parliament of India alone should

42. East Punjab: (General).

43. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 2nd December, 1948, pp. 761-62.

44. In fact, it was the work of the Drafting Committee as a whole.

45. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 2nd December, 1948, pp. 757-58.

46. See *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 376-77.

have been empowered to enact laws contemplated by Clause (5). This would have also ensured uniformity of legislation in the country in regard to matters covered by Sub-clauses (d), (e) and (f).

V

Let us now pass on to Sub-clause (g) of Clause (1) of Article 19. This Sub-clause declares that

"All citizens shall have the right to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business."

As in the case of other rights, it is also subject to a qualification. And this qualification *now*⁴⁷ runs as follows:

"(6) Nothing in Sub-clause (g) of the said Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it imposes, or prevent the State from making any law imposing, in the interests of the general public, reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said Sub-clause, and, in particular, nothing in the said Sub-clause, shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to—

(i) the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising any profession or carrying on any occupation, trade or business, or

(ii) the carrying on by the State or by a corporation owned or controlled by the State, of any trade, business, industry or service, whether to the exclusion, complete or partial, of citizens or otherwise."

It should be evident from this that, subject to the requirements of the qualification contained in Clause (6) of Article 1 as quoted immediately above, Sub-clause (g), in effect, provides, positively, for freedom of business, occupation and contract, and declares, negatively, against what is generally known as the *law of status*. Thus the career of an Indian citizen is to be determined by his worth and not by his birth. Further, his position in society will be a matter of choice or voluntary arrangement by and for him. His blood will not "make his life" as under the *law of status*. This is quite in consonance with the principles of democracy. But this freedom of choice or occupation is subject to the requirements of social interest. It is true that there is a social interest in the maintenance of the freedom of choice or occupation; but this freedom may

have to be restrained, as, for instance, in the United States of America,⁴⁸ for the protection of other social interests which may be considered to be more important than the former. Thus the social interest in the maintenance of freedom of choice or occupation will have "to take its chances along with other social interests." And this is what Clause (6) of Article 1 provides for. What Shri Algu Rai Shastri⁴⁹ stated in this connection on 2nd December, 1948, in our Constituent Assembly,⁵⁰ is worthy of note in this connexion. Referring to Article 13(1)(g) of the Draft Constitution of India, which corresponded to Article 19(1)(g) of our present Constitution, he observed:⁵¹

"Under this article there would be no compulsion for any person to follow any particular occupation. This article as a matter of fact, instead of prescribing the compulsory pursuit of any occupation, provides for unrestricted freedom to every individual to follow any vocation he pleases. I think that the freedoms granted under Sub-clauses (f) and (g) need clarification. In Sub-clause (f) is specified the right of a person to acquire, hold and dispose of property; while in Sub-clause (g) it is stated that there is freedom of a person to practise any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade or business or other means of livelihood of one's choice. It is true that the State has been authorized to restrict this freedom in Sub-clauses (Clauses?) (5) and (6). But a little reflection would show that it was necessary to limit the freedom so widely provided for in Sub-clauses (f) and (g) of Clause (1) of Article 13. Such unrestricted freedom as is provided in these two Sub-clauses could not be free from grave danger. For instance, we have in our society the practice of prostitution. Is this to continue in future also as it has done till now? It should not in any circumstances be permitted to continue. Evidently there must be some provision whereby its practice may disappear by providing for a profession worthy of being adopted. Evidently restrictions have to be imposed on it . . . Again, begging is a common profession in our society today. Should it be permitted to continue as it is? I submit that there should be a good arrangement for bringing it to an end."

Similarly, freedom to earn one's livelihood by the sale of intoxicants may be restricted or even abolished as a result of the enforcement of Prohibition by the State. Thus social interest in individual freedom may well have to be subordinated to the requirements of other

47. I.e., since the enactment of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951 (Section 3).

48. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 743-46.

49. United Provinces (formerly): General.

50. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 2nd December, 1948.

51. See *ibid.*, pp. 768-69.

greater social interests. But any restriction on the freedom guaranteed by Sub-clause (g) of Clause (1) of Article 19 must, under Clause (6) of the Article, be reasonable, and, as we have seen in the case of the other Clauses, "the question of reasonableness is a justiciable matter⁵² which has to be determined by the Court" of Law. If the restriction imposed by a law is held to be reasonable there is certainly no remedy. If, on the other hand, it is held to be unreasonable, Article 13 of our Constitution imposes⁵³ a duty upon the Court to pronounce the law to be invalid and void to the extent it is found to be inconsistent with the fundamental right guaranteed by Sub-clause (g) read along with Clause (6), referred to above. We may refer in this connexion to the judgments of our Supreme Court in what are known as *Rashid Ahmad vs. The Municipal Board, Kairana*, and *Chintaman Rao vs. The State of Madhya Pradesh* and *Ram Krishna vs. The State of Madhya Pradesh*, dated 19th May, 1950, and 8th November, 1950, respectively.⁵⁴ Briefly speaking, the facts of these two cases and the Supreme Court's judgments thereon are as follows: *

(The first case, namely, *Rashid Ahmad vs. The Municipal Board, Kairana*, arose⁵⁵ out of "an application under Article 32 of the Constitution of India made by Rashid Ahmad" for the "enforcement of his fundamental right to carry on his business" which, it was submitted, had been guaranteed to him by Article 19(1) (g) of the Constitution, and which was "said to have been completely stopped by the respondent, the Municipal Board of Kairana" (in the District of Muzaffarnagar in the State of Uttar Pradesh). Now bye-law 2 of the bye-laws of the Municipal Board "pertaining to contract of vegetables" which had come into force only "on and from 1st January, 1950," laid down that "no person shall establish any new market or place for wholesale transaction without obtaining the previous permission of the Board

and no person shall sell or expose for sale any vegetable, fruit, etc., at any place other than that fixed by the Board for the purpose." And bye-law (4) of these bye-laws "permitted the grant of a monopoly to a contractor to deal in wholesale transactions at the place fixed as a market." Under these bye-laws "the monopoly right to do wholesale business in vegetables for three years" had been auctioned⁵⁶ by the Municipal Board and granted to the highest bidder, Habib Ahmad, and a place had also been fixed as the market where such business could be carried on. The petitioner Rashid Ahmad "who had been carrying on wholesale business in vegetables at a rented shop within the Municipality for two years before the bye-laws came into force applied for a license to carry on his business at his shop, but this was rejected on the ground that there was no provision in the bye-laws authorising the grant of any such license," and "he was prosecuted for (the alleged) contravention of the bye-laws."

"The fact," we find in the judgment of the Supreme Court, "that the respondent Board had already auctioned the contract to Habib Ahmad might conceivably have had some bearing on this refusal to grant a license to the petitioner . . . The position, therefore, is that the petitioner cannot do any wholesale business either at the appointed market or at his own shop where he had admittedly been doing wholesale business for two years prior to the bye-laws coming into force. In short, the petitioner's business has been wholly stopped and he is being prosecuted for alleged breach of the bye-laws."

The Court held—(i) that the prohibition in bye-law 2 had in effect become absolute in the absence of any provision* authorising the issue of a license;

(ii) that, "inasmuch as the Municipal Board had, further, put it out of its power to grant a license to the petitioner by granting a monopoly" to Habib Ahmad, the restrictions imposed on the petitioner were not *reasonable* within the meaning of Clause (6) of Article 19 of the Constitution;

(iii) that the bye-laws were accordingly void and the prosecution of the petitioner for carrying on his business in the alleged contravention of the bye-laws was illegal; and

(iv) that "the fact that the Constitution came into force only after the bye-laws had

52. Quoted from the judgment of Mukherjea J. in *Dr. N. B. Khare vs. The State of Delhi* (*The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Part VI, August, 1950, p. 530.)

53. See my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 377-82.

54. See *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 566-72, and Part VIII, October and November 1950, pp. 759-66.

55. For details see *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 566-72. The Union of India and the State of Uttar Pradesh were interveners in this case.

56. As a matter of fact, the auction had been held in anticipation of the bye-laws in question on 21st May, 1949. The bye-laws came into force on 1st January, 1950.

come into force did not affect the petitioner's right to carry on his business."

In conclusion, the Court declared:

"We are satisfied that in this case the petitioner's fundamental rights have been infringed and he is entitled to have his grievance redressed. The proper order in such circumstances would be to direct the respondent Board not to prohibit the petitioner from carrying on the trade of wholesale dealer and Commission agent of vegetables and fruits within the limits of the Municipal Board of Kairana, except in accordance with the bye-laws as and when framed in future according to law and further to direct the respondent Municipal Board to withdraw the pending prosecution of the petitioner and we order accordingly. The respondents to pay the costs of the petitioner."

Thus the petition of Rashid Ahmad was allowed by the Supreme Court.

The second case,⁵⁷ namely, *Chintamon Rao vs. The State of Madhya Pradesh* and *Ramkrishna vs. The State of Madhya Pradesh*, arose out of two applications "made by a proprietor and an employee respectively of a bidi-manufacturing concern of District Sagar" in the State of Madhya Pradesh. It was "contended (in this case) that the law in force in the State authorizing it to prohibit the manufacture of bidis in certain villages including the one wherein the applicants" resided was "inconsistent with the provisions of Part III of the Constitution" and was "consequently void." The position was this. The law in question was the Central Provinces and Berar Regulation of Manufacture of Bidis (Agricultural Purposes) Act (Act LXIV) of 1948. It had been passed on the 19th October, 1948, and was in force in the State at the commencement of the Constitution. Sections 3 and 4 of the Act laid down as follows:

"3. The Deputy Commissioner may by notification fix a period to be an agricultural season with respect to such villages as may be specified therein.

"4.(1) The Deputy Commissioner may, by general order which shall extend to such villages as he may specify, prohibit the manufacture of bidis during the agricultural season.

"(2) No person residing in a village specified in such order shall during the agricultural season engage himself in the manufacture of bidis, and no manufacturer shall during the said season employ any person for the manufacture of bidis."

Now on 13th June, 1950, an order had been issued by the Deputy Commissioner of

Sagar under the provisions of the said Act of 1948, forbidding all persons residing in certain villages to engage in the manufacture of bidis. And on 19th June, 1950, the two applications had been presented to the Supreme Court under Article 32 of the Constitution "challenging the validity of the order as it prejudicially affected the petitioners' right of freedom of occupation and business." During the pendency of the applications the season mentioned in the order of 13th June had run out, and "a fresh order for the ensuing agricultural season—8th October to 18th November, 1950"—had been "issued on 29th September, 1950, in the same terms." This had also been challenged in a supplementary application.

In the course of its judgment the Supreme Court first quoted Sub-clause (g) of Clause (1), and also Clause (6), of Article 19 of our Constitution and then observed:

"The point for consideration in these applications is whether the Central Provinces and Berar Act LXIV of 1948 comes within the ambit of this saving Clause⁵⁸ or is in excess of its provisions. The learned Counsel for the petitioners contends that the impugned Act does not impose reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the fundamental right in the interests of the general public but totally negatives it. In order to judge the validity of this contention it is necessary to examine the impugned Act and some of its provisions. In the preamble to the Act, it is stated that it has been enacted to provide measures for the supply of adequate labour for agricultural purposes in bidi-manufacturing areas. Sections 3 and 4 (of the Act) cited above⁵⁹ empower the Deputy Commissioner to prohibit the manufacture of bidis during the agricultural season. The contravention of any of these provisions is made punishable by Section 7 of the Act, the penalty being imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine or with both. It was enacted to help in the grow more food campaign and for the purpose of bringing under the plough considerable areas of fallow land."

"The question for decision," continued the Court, "is whether the statute under the guise of protecting public interests arbitrarily interferes with private business and imposes unreasonable and unnecessarily restrictive regulations upon lawful occupation; in other words, whether the total prohibition of carrying on the business of manufacture of bidis within the agricultural season amounts to a reasonable restriction on the fundamental rights mentioned in Article

58. I.e., Clause (6) of Article 19.

57. See, for details, *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1; Part VIII, October & November, 1950, pp. 759-66.

59. Sections 3 and 4 of the Act in question have also been quoted by us in the text.

19(1)(g) of the Constitution. Unless it is shown that there is a reasonable relation of the provisions of the Act to the purpose in view, the right of freedom of occupation and business cannot be curtailed by it. The phrase 'reasonable restriction' connotes that the limitation imposed on a person in enjoyment of the right should not be arbitrary or of an excessive nature, beyond what is required in the interests of the public. The word 'reasonable' implies intelligent care and deliberation, that is, the choice of a course which reason dictates. Legislation which arbitrarily or excessively invades the right cannot be said to contain the quality of reasonableness and unless it strikes a proper balance between the freedom guaranteed in Article 19(1)(g) and the social control permitted by Clause (6) of Article 19, it must be held to be wanting in that quality."

"The statute⁶⁰ in substance and effect," the Court further stated, "suspends altogether the right mentioned in Article 19(1)(g) during the agricultural seasons and such suspension may lead to such dislocation of the industry as to prove its ultimate ruin. The object of the statute is to provide measures for the supply of adequate labour for agricultural purposes in bidi-manufacturing areas of the Province and it could well be achieved by legislation restraining the employment of agricultural labour in the manufacture of bidis during the agricultural season. Even in point of time a restriction may well have been reasonable if it amounted to a regulation of the hours of work in the business. Such legislation though it would limit the field for recruiting persons for the manufacture of bidis and regulate the hours of the working of the industry, would not have amounted to a complete stoppage of the business of manufacture and might well have been within the ambit of Clause (6). The effect of the provisions of the Act, however, has no reasonable relation to the object in view but is so drastic in scope that it goes much in excess of that object. Not only are the provisions of the statute in excess of the requirements of the case but the language employed prohibits a manufacturer of bidis from employing any person in his business, no matter wherever that person may be residing. In other words, a manufacturer of bidis residing in this area cannot import labour from neighbouring places in the district or province or from outside the province. Such a prohibition on the face of it is of an arbitrary nature inasmuch as it has no relation whatsoever to the object which the legislation seeks to achieve and as such cannot be said to be a reasonable restriction on the exercise of the right. Further the statute seeks to prohibit all persons residing in the notified villages during the agricultural season from engaging themselves in the

manufacture of bidis. It cannot be denied that there would be a number of infirm and disabled persons, a number of children, old women and petty shopkeepers residing in these villages who are incapable of being used for agricultural labour. All such persons are prohibited by law from engaging themselves in the manufacture of bidis; and are thus being deprived of earning their livelihood. It is a matter of common knowledge that there are certain classes of persons residing in every village who do not engage in agricultural operations. They and their womenfolk and children in their leisure hours supplement their income by engaging themselves in bidi business. There seems no reason for prohibiting them from carrying on this occupation. The statute as it stands, not only compels those who can be engaged in agricultural work from not taking to other avocations, but it also prohibits persons who have no connection or relation to agricultural operations from engaging in the business of bidi-making and thus earning their livelihood. These provisions of the statute, in our opinion, cannot be said to amount to reasonable restrictions on the right of the applicants and that being so, the statute is not in conformity with the provisions of Part III of the Constitution. The law even to the extent that it could be said to authorize the imposition of restrictions in regard to agricultural labour cannot be held valid because the language employed is wide enough to cover restrictions both within and without the limits of constitutionally permissible legislative action affecting the right. So long as the possibility of its being applied for purposes not sanctioned by the Constitution cannot be ruled out, it must be held to be wholly void."

Finally, the Court remarked:

"Mr. Sikri (Counsel) for the Government of Madhya Pradesh contends that the legislature of Madhya Pradesh was the proper judge of the reasonableness of the restrictions imposed by the statute, that that legislature alone knew the conditions prevailing in the State and it alone could say what kind of legislation could effectively achieve the end in view and would help in the grow more food campaign and would help for bringing in fallow land under the plough, and that this Court sitting at this great distance could not judge by its own yardstick of reason whether the restrictions imposed in the circumstances of the case were reasonable or not. This argument runs counter to the clear provisions of the Constitution. The determination by the legislature of what constitutes a reasonable restriction is not final or conclusive; it is subject to the supervision by this Court. In the matter of fundamental rights, the Supreme Court watches and guards the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and in exercising its functions it has the power to set aside an Act of the Legislature if it is in violation of the freedoms

60. I.e., the Central Provinces and Berar Act LXIV of 1948 under consideration.

guaranteed by the Constitution. We are, therefore, of opinion that the impugned statute does not stand the test of reasonableness and is therefore void. The result therefore is that the orders issued by the Deputy Commissioner on 13th June, 1950 and 26th (29th?) September, 1950, are void, inoperative and ineffective. We therefore direct the respondents not to enforce the provisions contained in Section 4 of the Act against the petitioners in any manner whatsoever. The petitioners will have their costs of these proceedings in the two petitions."

Thus the two petitions out of which the case arose were allowed by the Supreme Court.

We have quoted above the judgment of the Supreme Court in the *Chintaman Rao* case at some length as it is a fine illustration of effective judicial interference with *unreasonable* legislation in respect of a fundamental right.

We need not say much about either Sub-clause (i) or Sub-clause (ii) of Clause (6) of Article 19 as they are more or less self-explanatory. Under Sub-clause (i) law may, in the interests of the general public, reasonably prescribe the professional or technical qualifications necessary for practising a profession or for carrying on an occupation, trade or business. And under Sub-clause (ii) law may permit the creation of a monopoly, complete or partial, in favour of the State itself, or in favour of a corporation owned or controlled by the State, but not otherwise. As Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Minister of Law) pointed out⁶¹ in our Parliament on 18th May, 1951, the important point of this Sub-clause lies in this that it permits the State to make a classification as between private persons carrying on a trade and the State itself carrying on the same trade. It was necessitated,⁶² according to him, by the judgment of the Allahabad High Court in *Motilal vs. Uttar Pradesh*⁶³ and its object was to help nationalisation of industries, business, etc., and to evade the charge of any discrimination in that connexion.⁶⁴

Before we leave the discussion of Clauses

(1) to (6) of Article 19 we may note what Justice Das and Justice Mukherjea of our Supreme Court have said⁶⁵ with regard to them, in the course of their judgments in *A. K. Gopalan vs. The State of Madras*. Referring to "the seven rights protected by Clause (1) of Article 19" Justice Das has observed:

"If there were nothing else in Article 19 these rights would have been absolute rights and the protection given to them would have completely debarred Parliament or any of the State Legislatures from making any law taking away or abridging any of those rights. But a perusal of Article 19 makes it abundantly clear that none of the seven rights enumerated in Clause (1) is an absolute right, for each of these rights is liable to be curtailed by laws made or to be made by the State to the extent mentioned in the several Clauses (2) to (6) of that Article. Those Clauses save the power of the State to make laws imposing certain specified restrictions on the several rights. The net result is that the unlimited legislative power given by Article 246 read with the different legislative lists in the Seventh Schedule (to the Constitution) is cut down by the provisions of Article 19 and all laws made by the State with respect to these rights must, in order to be valid, observe these limitations. Whether any law has, in fact, transgressed these limitations is to be ascertained by the Court and if in its view the restrictions imposed by the law are greater than what is permitted by Clauses (2) to (6), whichever is applicable, the Court will declare the same to be unconstitutional and, therefore, void under Article 13. Here again there is scope for the application of the 'intellectual yardstick' of the Court. If, however, the Court finds, on scrutiny, that the law has not overstepped the constitutional limitations, the Court will have to uphold the law, whether it likes the law or not."

And Justice Mukherjea has said in connexion with those seven rights:

"There cannot be any such thing as absolute or uncontrolled liberty wholly freed from restraints, for that would lead to anarchy and disorder. The possession and enjoyment of all rights, as was observed by the Supreme Court of America in *Jacobson vs. Massachusetts*,⁶⁶ are subject to such reasonable conditions as may be deemed by the governing authority of the country essential to the safety, health, peace, general order and morals of the community. The question, therefore, arises in each case of adjusting the conflicting interests of the individual and of the society. In some cases, restrictions have to be placed

61. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, Part II, Official Report, 18th May, 1951, pp. 9020-9021.

62. See *ibid.*

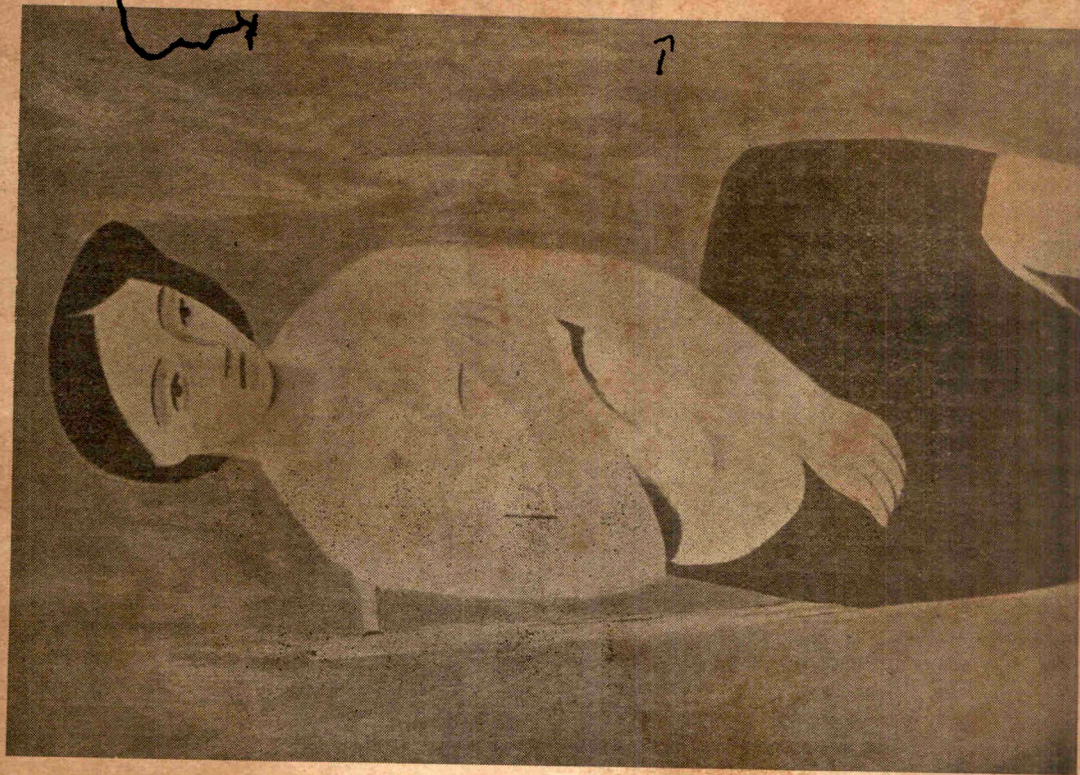
63. *Motilal vs. Uttar Pradesh*, A.I.R. 1951 (Allahabad) 257. See *ibid.*

64. Pandit Kunzru (Uttar Pradesh), however, did not agree with the view that Dr. Ambedkar had taken of the Allahabad High Court judgment in *Motilal vs. Uttar Pradesh*. According to him, the essence of this Allahabad judgment was that nationalisation could not be carried out merely by an executive order, but that legislation was necessary for the purpose. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, Part II, Official Report, 31st May, 1951, pp. 9784-9785.

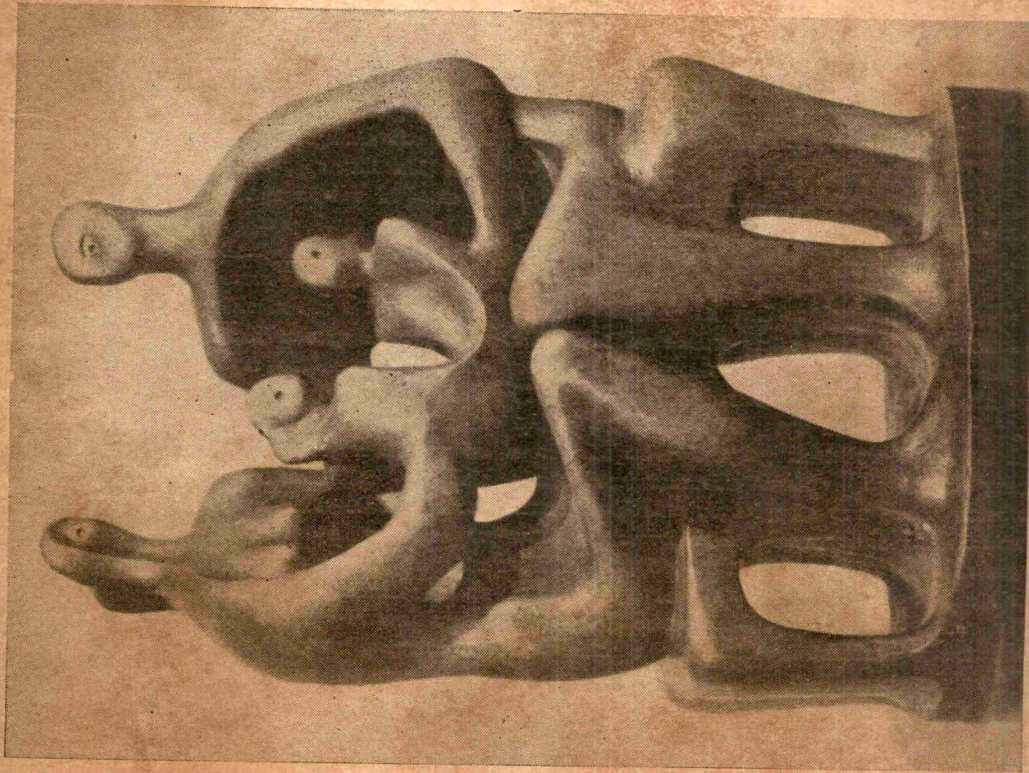
65. See the *Supreme Court Reports* 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II & III, April & May, 1950, pp. 294 and 354.

66. 197 U.S. 11 (1905).

SURREALIST FREEDOM OF CONTENT



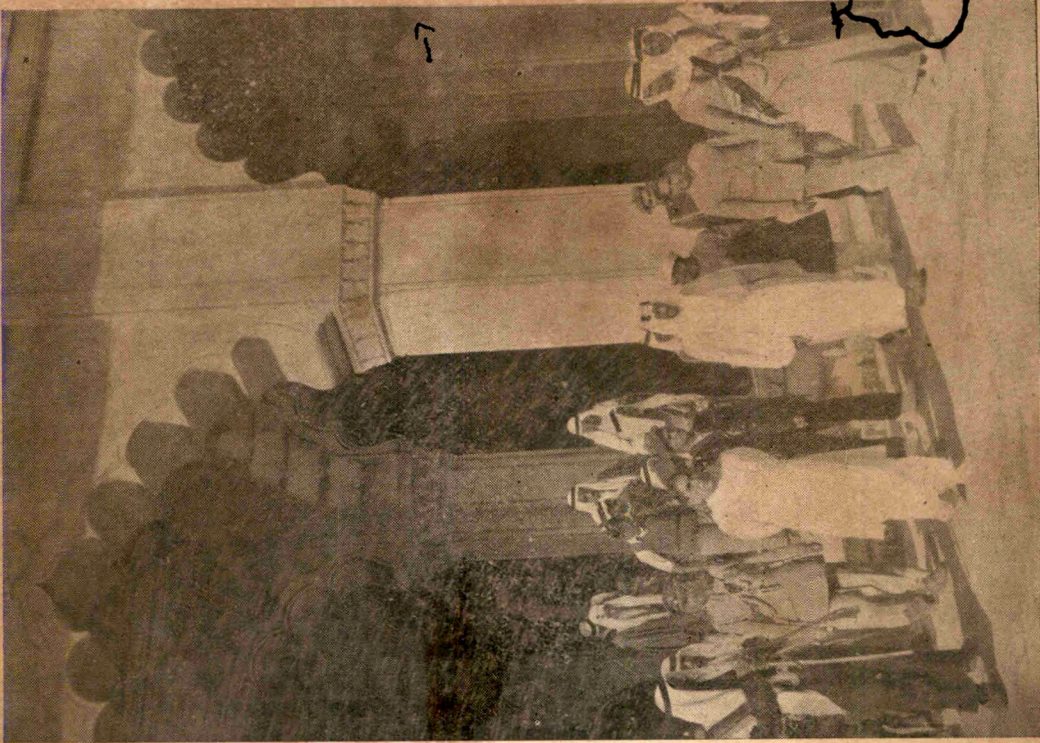
Nude
By William Scott



Family Group
By Henry Moore



Madame Sun Yet-sen, also known as Madame Soong Ching Ling,
visited India in December, 1955



His Majesty King Saud Bin Abdulaziz al Saud of Saudi Arabia
being conducted round the Moti Masjid inside the famous
Agra Fort

upon free exercise of individual rights to safeguard the interests of the society; on the other hand, social control which exists for public good has got to be restrained, lest it should be misused to the detriment of individual rights and liberties. Ordinarily, every man has the liberty to order his life as he pleases, to say what he will, to go where he will, to follow any trade, occupation or calling at his pleasure and to do any other thing which he can lawfully do without let or hindrance by any other person. On the other hand, for the very protection of these liberties the society must arm itself with certain powers. No man's liberty would be worth its name if it can be violated with impunity by any wrong-doer and if his property or possessions could be preyed upon by a thief or a marauder. The society, therefore, has got to exercise certain powers for the protection of these liberties and to arrest, search, imprison and punish those who break the law. If these powers are properly exercised, they themselves are the safeguards of freedom, but they can certainly be abused. The police may arrest any man and throw him into prison without assigning any reasons; they may search his belongings on the slightest pretext; he may be subjected to a sham trial and even punished for crimes unknown to law. What the Constitution (of India), therefore, attempts to do in declaring the rights of the people is to strike a balance between individual liberty and social control. To me it seems that Article 19 of the Constitution gives a list of individual liberties and prescribes in the various Clauses the restraints that may be placed upon them by law, so that they may not conflict with public welfare or general morality."

This reminds us of what the Supreme Court of the United States of America observed in 1905 in the course of its judgment in *Jacobson vs. Massachusetts*.⁶⁷

"The liberty secured by the Constitution of the United States to every person within its jurisdiction does not," said the Supreme Court,⁶⁸ "import an absolute right in each person to be, at all times and in all circumstances, wholly freed from restraint.

There are manifold restraints to which every person is necessarily subject for the common good. On any other basis organized society could not exist with safety to its members. Society based on the rule that each one is a law unto himself would soon be confronted with disorder and anarchy. Real liberty for all could not exist under the operation of a principle which recognizes the right of each individual person to use his own, whether in respect of his person or his property, regardless of the injury that may be done to others."

VI

In concluding our discussion of Article 19 of our Constitution, we should like to point out that, under the Constitution (Application to Jammu and Kashmir) Order, 1954, made by the President of India on 14th May, 1954, in its application to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, Article 19 has been subject to the following modifications for a period of five years with effect from the 14th of May, 1954:

(i) In Clauses (3) and (4) thereof, after the words "in the interests of," the words "the security of the State or" are to be inserted;

(ii) In Clause (5) thereof, for the words "or for the protection of the interests of any Scheduled Tribes," the words "or in the interests of the security of the State" are to be substituted; and

(iii) The following new Clause is to be added thereto, namely,

(1) The words 'reasonable restrictions' occurring in Clauses (2), (3), (4) and (5) shall be construed as meaning such restrictions as the appropriate Legislature deems reasonable."

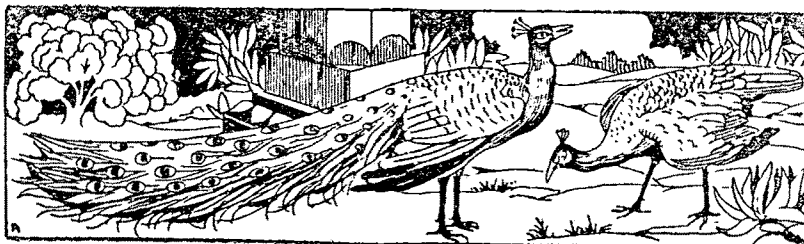
This is obviously a transitional measure in view of the peculiarity of the present position of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in the Indian Union. It needs no elucidation.

In our later articles in this series, we propose to deal with some other aspects of our Fundamental Right to Freedom as guaranteed by our Constitution.

67. 197 U.S. 11 (1905). See Dowling, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, pp. 772-79.

68. See *ibid.*, pp. 775-76.

69. See *The Gazette of India Extraordinary*, Part II, Section 3, May 14th, 1954; also *The Constitution of India As modified upto first May, 1955*, published by the Manager of Publication, Delhi, 1955, p. 10.



12.4.
11/1

THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF SWADESHI MOVEMENT

By NAGENDRA KUMAR GUHA ROY

DURING the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the Imperialist Conservative politician, in the beginning of the first decade of the present century the Partition of Bengal was planned on the plea of removing administrative difficulties. The province of Bengal was then composed of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and it was, according to the authorities, too big for a Lieutenant Governor to administer efficiently. The scheme of partition was officially announced in July 1905. There was strong protest through newspapers and public meetings to which the alien rulers turned a deaf ear. The scheme was so prepared that the Bengali-speaking Hindus in both the provinces of divided Bengal would be turned into minority. The leaders of Bengal had justifiable suspicion that the motive behind the conception of partition was to strike at the root of integrity of the Bengali nation which was in the forefront of all kinds of political movements in India. Lord Curzon found that it was the leaders of Bengal who had a dominating voice in the field of all-India politics and that other provinces followed their lead.

At a huge public meeting held on the 7th August of that year in the Calcutta Town Hall a resolution of boycott of British goods was passed *nem con* as a protest against the proposed partition. There was an unprecedented rally of citizens of Calcutta numbering nearly half a lac which could not be accommodated in the ground floor of the big Town Hall and three simultaneous meetings,—two in the Town Hall and one in the adjoining *maidan*, had to be arranged. The movement spread all over Bengal within a fortnight with the speed of a violent hurricane. The enthusiasm of the people, particularly of the youth and the students community, reached its climax. They organised themselves with promptitude and started picketting the shops of those traders in the *bazars* and markets who used to deal with British goods. In compliance with the leaders' direction in the matter of picketting they stuck to the principle of moral persuasion and refrained from using physical force. But in the

goods, who used to give provocation to the young volunteers, the principle could not be strictly adhered to. In the city of Calcutta and Muffasil towns the students and youngmen paraded not infrequently public thoroughfares in procession singing national songs and shouting *Bande Mataram*. The movement, which came to be known as the Swadeshi or the Boycott movement, inundated the whole of Bengal from one end to the other like flood-water of a mountainous river during monsoon. Both in the urban and rural areas the awakening of the Bengali nation from age-long slumber was manifest through different spheres of our national life.

It was officially announced in September of that year that the partition scheme would come into operation on and from the 16th October. Following upon the announcement *Rastraguru* Surendra Nath Banerjee, who was then so popular as a leader that he was called by his countrymen "the uncrowned king of Bengal," convened an informal conference of leaders for deciding as to how to observe the day. The following are some of the leaders who participated in the proceedings of the conference: Poet Rabindranath Tagore, Sister Nivedita, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Acharya Ramendra Sundar Tribedi, Tarak Nath Palit, J. Choudhury. It was decided unanimously that the sixteen'h of October (1905) would be observed throughout Bengal as a day of national mourning. A programme for that day was chalked out and the following items were included therein: (1) Cessation of all sorts of work from morn till evening, (2) closing of markets and *bazars*, (3) stoppage of vehicular traffic, (4) non-cooking, fasting and prayer, (5) *Rakhi-bandhan*, i.e., tying of red bands on the wrist as a token of unity and fraternal feelings among the people of 'divided' Bengal and (6) holding of public meetings where people would take the vow of annulling the Partition of Bengal. Besides those the following two additional items for Calcutta were included in the programme: (1) Laying of the foundation stone of the proposed Federation Hall at the selected site adjoining the Upper Circular Road close to the Deaf and Dumb School. "It

would keep alive the remembrance of our severance and thus be an ever-living stimulus to our efforts to secure our reunion"—said Surendra Nath. (2) Collection of money for the proposed National Fund at a rally of the citizens of Calcutta in the big field in front of Rai Pasupati Nath Bose's house at Baghbazar.

The sixteenth of October or thirtieth Aswin was observed as a day of national mourning throughout Bengal with due solemnity. In the city of Calcutta, which was then the capital of India, there was cessation of work in all the areas except those where Europeans, Muslims and Marwaris carried on business; daily markets and shops on the side of streets, roads and lanes were closed and all sorts of vehicular traffic was stopped. The factories, workshops and mills in the suburbs of Calcutta could not be run as the workers abstained from attending. On that memorable day in the annals of our national upheaval nowhere in the great city of Calcutta nor in the towns and villages of Bengal any disturbance or breach of the peace was committed. The Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, made elaborate Police arrangements for guarding different areas of the city, but his Police force had to spend the day as silent spectators as nothing untoward happened. The function of laying the foundation-stone of the Federation Hall was performed in the afternoon at a mammoth meeting of about half a lac people by Ananda Mohan Bose, a great popular leader and an ex-president of the Indian National Congress. Having been in sick-bed he had to be carried to the meeting in an invalid's chair attended by his physicians. Rastraguru Surendra Nath Banerjee read the presidential speech, as the president of the function was too weak to stand on his legs and read it himself. The *Rastraguru*, himself a renowned orator of All-India fame, made the following observation about the speech in his autobiography *A Nation in Making*:-

"The speech that he prepared on his sick-bed, amid the daily inroads of a mortal disease, is striking evidence of the triumph of mind and spirit over matter. I regard it as the greatest of his oratorical performances, and one of the noblest orations to which it has been one's privilege to listen. Indeed, judged by what happened within a few months, it was the song of the dying swan....."

The function over, the huge crowd, all barefooted, proceeded to the house of Rai Pashupati Nath Bose at Baghbazar Street nearly

two miles off. In the big grounds of his palatial mansion, there gathered about a lac of people to contribute their mite to the National Fund. A sum of twenty-five thousand rupees was collected on the spot from the voluntary contribution of the poor and the middle classes. As the leaders could not anticipate such a monster rally of the citizens adequate arrangement could not be made for speedy collection, as the result of which many intending contributors had to go home frustrated. The project of the Federation Hall could not materialize in due time owing to various causes. The Federation Hall Society, entrusted with the task of fulfilling it, completed the construction in the year of the Golden Jubilee of the Swadeshi movement and the opening ceremony of the Federation Hall at 294-2-1 Upper Circular Road was performed on the 24th April, 1955 by Dr. J. C. Ghosh, an eminent scientist of international reputation and an illustrious son of Mother India.

Sister Nivedita of hallowed memory sent *rakhis* by post to Principal Ramananda Chatterjee, Editor, *Prabasi*, at his Allahabad address where he was then residing. The letter she wrote to him on the occasion is worthy of that patriot-saint who loved and served India, her land of adoption. The above news together with the letter was published in the famous vernacular weekly of the time, *Sanjibani*, in its issue of the 19th October, 1905 from which it is reproduced below:

"With the compliments of Sister Nivedita.

"Today, being the 30th Aswin, 16th October, 1905, Partition of the Bengali people is to be made by law.

"This day, then, designed to be the date of our division, is henceforth yearly to be set aside by us, for the deeper realisation of our national unity. Having been made, by this threat of division, overwhelmingly conscious of the essential oneness of the whole Indian Nation, the heart of Bengal goes out to all parts of our common Motherland.

"Thus to you from us of Bengal, is sent today this thread of *Rakhi-Bandhan*, in token not merely of the union of provinces but of bond that knits us all as children of one Motherland together."

"*Bande Mataram*."

"To Principal Ramananda Chatterjee Editor, *Prabasi*, Allahabad."

"For distribution among suitable persons."

It appears from the said report of the *Sanjibani* that on that occasion Ramananda Babu held divine service in his residence early in the morning of the sixteenth October and also in

the preceding night. Other Bengali residents of Allahabad also observed the day according to the programme. With the observance of the day of national mourning on the sixteenth October the first phase of the Swadeshi Movement came to an end.

Let us now survey the second and third phases of the movement. The alien rulers thought at the start of the Anti-Partition movement that like most of the previous political movements of the Bengali leaders it would also die a natural death in no time. But when it was found that their calculation was wrong they began to pursue a policy of repression, the first target of which was the student community. In the newly-created province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, where Sir. Bampfylde Fuller was the first Lieutenant Governor, a large number of students were punished either by imposition of fines or by rustication. In many cases teachers were compelled to resign or discharged from service for participating in the movement or for expressing sympathy with its object. Many Government-aided educational institutions were deprived of the aid they had been getting. In West Bengal, Government circulars through the District Magistrates were issued upon authorities of the educational institutions directing them to prohibit the students from joining any political movement.

The students of Calcutta assembled at a public meeting where strong protest was recorded against the circular and an association called Anti-Circular Society was formed in violation of and as a protest to the circular for the purpose of rendering services to the success of the national movement. Sri Nares Chandra Sen Gupta then a post-graduate research Scholar, (subsequently a reputed novelist and advocate of Calcutta High Court), the late Sachindra Prasad Bose (subsequently one of the nine deportees of Bengal), the late Phani Banerjee (subsequently a barrister of the Calcutta High Court), Sri Sukumar Mitra and the late Rama Kanta Roy, a young Engineer educated in Japan, were prominent workers of the society. *Rashtarguru* Surendra Nath Banerjee, J. Choudhuri, Krishna Kumar Mitra and a few other leaders gave fillip to the students' movement by their guidance and assistance. The society turned into a strong well-disciplined organisation whose substantial contribution through selfless and fearless service were highly appreciated by their countrymen.

The leaders of Bengal boldly faced the situation created by the campaign of repression against students and founded the "National Council of Education, Bengal," for the purpose of imparting education on national lines. The munificence of such patriotic sons of Bengal as 'Raja' Subodh Chandra Mullick, Sri Brojendra Kishore Roy Chodhury, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose and Tarak Nath Palit in this connection will ever be remembered with reverential gratitude by their appreciating and admiring countrymen. Aurobindo Ghose (Sri Aurobindo), then a high-salaried officer in the Education Department of Baroda State, gave up his lucrative job and joined the National College started at Calcutta by the National Council of Education, as Principal on a small monthly allowance of Rs. 150 only. The famous Jadavpur Technological Institute is the product of the "National Council of Education, Bengal."

The notable event of the period was the sitting of the Bengal Provincial Conference at Barisal town in the district of Buckharganj where the Boycott Movement under the guidance of the illustrious leader Aswini Kumar Dutta had made such unparalleled progress that the Government of Fuller had to station Gurkha soldiers at the headquarters and post Punitive police at Banaripara village. In spite of the unrelenting operation of the repressive measures the morale of the leaders and their innumerable followers did not break down. The notorious Bande Mataram Circular, whereby shouting of Bande Mataram in public highways was banned in the whole of Eastern Bengal, was not withdrawn, despite universal protest. That lawless law, which encroached upon the inherent right of a man, was rendered into a dead letter by boys and youths who used to shout *Bande Mataram* in the public roads whenever any occasion arose and became accustomed to evade arrest by running away at the sight of the police.

On the first day of the Conference (April 14, 1906) in defiance of the prohibitory order a procession consisting of about five thousand people started some time after midday from *Raja Bahadur Haveli* singing national songs in chorus and shouting *Bande Mataram*. Surendra Nath Banerjee, Ma'ilal Ghosh, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Bepin Chandra Pal, and other leaders, who headed the procession, gave definite orders to the processionists not to take with them any kind of arms not even a *lathi* and to meet firmly but peace-

fully any attack from the armed police. When the processionists were proceeding towards the Conference Pandal police constables armed with regulation *lathis* assaulted some of them causing hurt both simple and grievous. None of them in the face of such beastly attack turned back. Thus it is evident that the mighty weapon of Non-violence and Passive Resistance was first used in India by the Bengali people and politicians at Barisal with commendable success against the mighty alien Government. Abdul Rasul, a popular Muslim leader and well-known barrister of the Calcutta High Court, presided. Aswini Kumar Datta was the chairman of the Reception Committee. On the second day some time after the sitting had begun, an order under Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code issued by the District Magistrate was personally served upon the leaders in the Pandal prohibiting further sitting of the Conference. Surendra Nath Banerjee appealed to the people present there to leave the Conference Pandal peacefully. Bhupendra Nath Bose, an eminent moderate leader, who attended the Conference, openly remarked following upon its dissolution that it was the beginning of the end. Excesses and atrocities perpetrated at Barisal in the name of law and order goaded young Bengal to have recourse to the dangerous path of secret revolutionary societies which had already taken the field. The happenings of the next two eventful years (1907 and 1908) betrayed death-defying courage and unswerving determination of the revolutionary youths of Bengal to break the shackles of political bondage.

In the campaign of persecution the following nationalist newspapers of Calcutta were the target of attack: *Jugantar*, vernacular Bengali weekly of the revolutionaries, *Sandhya*, vernacular Bengali daily of Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, *Nabashakti*, vernacular Bengali daily of Monoranjan Guha Thakurta and *Bande Mataram*, English daily of Aurobindo Ghosh, Raja Subodh Ghandra Mullick and some other leaders of the Nationalist party. The cases against them on charges of sedition tried in the Court of Mr. Kingsford, Chief Presidency Magistrate, ended in conviction. Notwithstanding such repression the tone of those papers did not undergo any change whatsoever. The nationalist Press continued their crusade fearlessly against the foreign Bureaucracy. The Bureaucracy failing to cope with the situation with the help of ordinary law got the "Newspapers (Incitement to Offences)

Act" passed hurriedly and thus stopped the publication of those papers by confiscation of their printing press, apparatus and other connected materials under the new law. Some other similar Acts were passed in quick succession for the sole purpose of crushing the movement of neo-Nationalism. Aurobindo Ghose in his Bombay speech in January 1908 highly praised the patriotic young men of Bengal for their bold stand against the relentless operation of repressive measures saying that "they were called upon to bear the crown, not of victory but of martyrdom." The high priest of neo-Nationalism speaking on the situation then created in Bengal said:

... "By what strength are we in Bengal able to survive? Nationalism is not going to be crushed. Nationalism survives in the strength of God and it is not possible to crush it, whatever weapons are brought against it. Nationalism is immortal; Nationalism cannot die; because it is no human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal. God cannot be killed, God cannot be sent to jail. . . ."

The attempt to kill Mr. Kingsford, formerly Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, by throwing dangerous bombs at Mazaffarpur (Bihar), where he was transferred as a safety measure and posted as District and Sessions Judge, was one of the most sensational events of the period. Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki, two young members of the Jugantar revolutionary party, were responsible for doing that daring act which occurred in the night of the 30th April, 1908. The former was arrested next day with a loaded revolver near a Railway station about twenty-five miles off from Muzaffarpur; and the latter finding his arrest imminent at Mokamaghat Railway Station on the 2nd May, ended his life by firing two shots with his revolver aiming his forehead. Instead of Mr. Kingsford two European ladies were killed through mistake. Khudiram was subsequently tried and sentenced to death.

That incident led to the discovery of a miniature arsenal and a small laboratory for manufacture of bombs with a large quantity of incriminating articles, documents and literature in the garden house of Aurobindo Ghose, Barin Ghose and brothers at Muraripukur Road (Maniktala), Calcutta. Aurobindo Ghose, Barin Ghose, Upen Banerjee, Hem Das, Ulkaskar Datta and many others were arrested. Thirty-five persons were tried before the Sessions Court, Alipore (24-Parganas), on charges of conspiracy and attempt to wage war against the King-Emperor, commission of murder and attempt to commit

murder. As such extensive and well-organised conspiracy had never before been conceived of by any section of the Indian intelligentsia against the British rule, the Alipore Bomb case created a good deal of sensation not only in India but also in Great Britain. The case went up to the Calcutta High Court. Fourteen of the accused persons were convicted and sentenced; Barin, Upen, Hem and Ullaskar were awarded sentences of transportation for life. Aurobindo Ghose, the main accused or the hero of the drama, who was described by the prosecution as the leader of the party and the brain of the plot, was honorably acquitted by the trial court. Accused Naren Goswami, the son of a big zemindar, who turned an approver, was shot dead inside the Alipore jail by Satyen Bose and Kanai Lal Datta, two under-trial accused in the case. They were sentenced to death in a separate trial. Both the young revolutionaries mounted the gallows and braved death cheerfully and their countrymen idolized them as patriot-martyrs like their two comrades-in-arms Prafulla and Khudiram. The result of the conspiracy case had no reaction upon those who were initiated to the cult of armed revolution. In spite of unscrupulous operation of repressive laws they proceeded with their work vigorously. The accused in the State trial were not only connected with the Swadeshi Movement as active supporters but many of them were in the forefront of the movement. The political career of many a revolutionary began during the Swadeshi era.

"Absolute autonomy free from foreign control" was openly preached as the political goal by the Nationalist party through press and platform in the middle period as well as the last period of the movement. It is manifest that the political outlook of the Bengali nation thoroughly changed. The Swadeshi movement brought about

revolutionary changes in different spheres of the life of the Bengalis and hence it is also regarded as a Renaissance movement of Bengal. Its duration was only for six years and four months, not at all a long period in the matter of revival of a nation in bondage. The Bengalis made headway in different fields, viz., political, social, literary, economic. Prejudices of caste system, still rampant in the society, faded considerably; imitation of English customs, dress and mode of living, then prevalent among a section of the educated Bengalis, was abandoned; rendering relief service to the suffering countrymen during famine, epidemic and calamitous visitation of Nature topped the programme of work. Let me reproduce a few lines in this connection from the autobiography of Surendra Nath :

. . . "Literature felt the full impact of the rising tide of national sentiment, which bodied itself forth in prose and verse. Journalism received a stimulus such as it had not felt for a long time. The speeches made in Bengalee at *Swadeshi* meetings, under the inspiration of the new ideas, were models of eloquence and it is a pity they have not been preserved . . .

. . . . "It is, however, in the industrial line that the national activities received an unprecedented stimulus."

The Swadeshi movement successfully terminated in December 1911 with the Royal Proclamation of annulment of the Partition of Bengal. That epoch-making movement is adorable as forerunner of our fight for freedom. Its fiftieth anniversary was observed in Bengal on the 7th August, 1955. Eight years before that India had attained her independence. The remembrance of the great contribution of the movement will, no doubt, fill up the heart of every Bengali in free India with pride and glory, and inspire him with self-devotion to the cause of building up a New India of our day.



THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION'S REPORT

By CHUNI LAL RAY

III

WEST BENGAL'S Chief Minister's statements relating to Jamshedpur and to Dhanbad in the Assembly debate on 6th December, are very difficult to follow. He has described both as industrial towns, but Dhanbad has no industry outside its coalfield which, by the way, Dr. Roy wants to get for Bengal. Shorn of the coalfield, Dhanbad retained in Bihar will have no work for its Courts for its Water Board, and for its Mines Board of Health. And equally incorrect is the idea suggested by one of Dr. Roy's sentences that Bengal and Bihar have contributed more or less equally towards the development of Jamshedpur and that other States also have contributed more or less equally. As a matter of fact contribution by Bombay alone is comparable to Bengal's, and aggregate of contributions by all the other States would fall far short of contributions by Bombay and Bengal. That the Tisco administration recognise this is clearly demonstrated by the bust of geologist Pramatha Nath Bose that they erected in the Jamshedpur Maidan and by the very recent grant of a lakh of rupees for further perpetuation of Bose's memory. In the earliest years of the Tisco works, the labour force consisted almost exclusively of local Bengalees, Santals and Bhumijes; and both Santals and Bhumijes were bi-linguals, with Bengali as the invariable subsidiary language; Sakchi, Jugsalai, Bistupur Kalimati were still unknown names in Bihar. In 1911, when many of the buildings had been completed and machinery was being set up, there were less than 6000 persons with mother-tongue Hindi in the whole of Dhalbhum; and it was not till the later years of the First World War that men started coming in fair numbers from Hindi-speaking areas, the total for Dhalbhum up to 1921 being definitely less than 25 thousand. There are still now nearly 55 thousand Bengalees in Jamshedpur (more than 25 per cent); and it is doubtful if this is exceeded by the number of Biharees. Out of the 92 thousand Hindi-speakers, at least 18 thousand came from Madhya Pradesh, at least 12½ thousand from Uttar Pradesh, about 3 thousand from Rajasthan.

Even if the number of Biharees in Jamshedpur does exceed the Bengalee number 55 thousand, there is no gainsaying the fact that Bihar has no contiguity with Jamshedpur—this is definitely given out in para 625 of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report—and it is through the Bengali-speaking Kandra thana of Sarai-kela (Bengalees about 20 thousand out of total population

30 thousand) that Bihar would be allowed access to Jamshedpur. With Dhanbad town also Bihar would have no contiguity if the coal-field comes to West Bengal; but the coalfield has now a definite Hindi-speaking percentage at least 70 to 75 per cent., Biharees alone being about 40 per cent, while in Jamshedpur the total Hindi-speaking percentage, including people from Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan is less than 40. Bihar can certainly make out a strong case for West Dhanbad with which it has contiguity; but it has none for Jamshedpur. If nevertheless Bihar is allowed to retain Jamshedpur, it will certainly intensify the campaign of shutting out non-Biharees from Tatas' works; and the 10 thousand from Purulia (a number larger than that from any other district in India, barring of course Singbhum) and at least fifteen thousand from the Dhalbhum rural area that are now getting their livelihood in Jamshedpur will soon be compelled to seek fresh fields and pasture new; for Bihar, having earned the reputation of being strongly Congress-minded, seems to have earned also exemption from the directive in the Bardoli Resolution of 1939 about non-interference with nationality of employees in private concerns. West Bengal honours that directive; and Jamshedpur in West Bengal will provide employment for Bihar's people as do the collieries in the Raniganj field and industrial concerns in and round Calcutta. Separation from Jamshedpur will for Purulia and for Dhalbhum's rural area, amount to positive punishment for the crime of asking for merger with West Bengal. Purulia people may of course seek revenge by stopping supply of water from the Mungo reservoir in Barabhum thana; but that would not give them food.

EAST DHANBAD

About East Dhanbad one point which I forgot to mention in the November number is that, for two of its thanas, Nirsha (including Chirkunda police-station) and Tundi, Survey and Settlement Records were prepared in Bengali. The Government had at first ordered Records to be prepared in Hindi, but opposition to this was so widespread that the order had to be cancelled and fresh order issued for Records in Bengali, for these two thanas. Similar action should have been taken also at least for Govindapur thana, part of which juts into the gap between Nirsha and Tundi thanas and which entire thana is Bengali-speaking. Equally Bengali-

speaking are police-stations Baliapur and Sindri of revenue-thana Jharia, which lie to the east of the Dhanbad-Pathardi branch railway line, which line marks the eastern boundary of the Jharia coal-field. Hindi records for Govindapur, Baliapur, Sindri, also for the western portion of thana Jharia and other police-stations further west were later found to cause the greatest inconvenience; and the Settlement Officer, Mr. Gokhale, I.C.S., found to his regret that, in many of the villages, even in the western thanas, there was not even one man who could read and understand the Hindi records, not to speak of explaining the same to his neighbours.

Reasons were noted in detail in the November number for the estimates of linguistic distribution in East Dhanbad, 45 per cent for Bengali, 33 per cent for Hindi and 18 per cent for Santali. Plate I is a map of Dhanbad subdivision and of adjoining portion of Purulia subdivision, divided between East and West in either case, and with brief notes explaining the very great difference in estimates in linguistic distribution between East and West Dhanbad—the big and abrupt, differences being due to the fact that it is only the coalfields which have attracted immigrants who brought the Hindi language with them. The map shows also the locations of the Maithon and Panchet Hill dams of the D.V.C., which would both have Bihar at one end and West Bengal at the other, if the S. R. Commission's recommendations are implemented without any modification. East Dhanbad has an overwhelming case for transfer to West Bengal, along with the Purulia subdivision. No objection can legitimately be raised on the score of its forming part only of a subdivision, after the recommendation that Chas thana should be separated from the Purulia subdivision and tagged on to Dhanbad for retention in Bihar. If Chas thana can be separated from the rest of Purulia subdivision, why not East from West Dhanbad? Incidentally, the suggestion to attach Chas thana south of the Damodar river, to Dhanbad subdivision which is to the north of that river is irreconcilable with the S. R. Commission's observation in para 658 that "Manbhum is really composed of two different areas which are divided by the Damodar." There is no consistency, no principle, in the Commission's recommendations. Damodar is put forward as an impassable barrier when it is sought to establish that Dhanbad is a full-fledged district, (which it is not, any more than Dhalbhum with its Deputy Commissioner in Jamshedpur and only an Additional in Chaibasa is a full-fledged district); but the same Damodar is no impediment to attachment of Chas thana to Dhanbad subdivision.

WEST DHANBAD

On linguistic grounds alone, Bengal has not a strong case for West Dhanbad except on the homeland theory which does not find favour with the S. R. Commission, and with many others as well. Moreover,

subsequent to the Settlement Officer Mr. Gokhale finding that in many villages even in the western thanas of Dhanbad, there was not even one person who could read and understand the Records in Hindi, some proportion (though not a very large one) of the immigrants from Hindi-speaking areas have permanently settled down in Dhanbad.

There are, however, certain economic grounds which affecting not West Bengal alone, but the whole of the Indian Union, make it very desirable that West Dhanbad also be transferred to Bengal along with East Dhanbad. Calcutta has now grown to be the biggest industrial centre within the Indian Union, and its requirement of coal is much larger than that of any other station in the country. The Raniganj coalfield is getting exhausted—the reserve has come down to little over 2 thousand million tons, as noted by the Indian Coalfields Committee of 1946. Bihar has in Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Palamau reserve over 10 thousand million tons, more than enough to meet all possible industrial expansion in Bihar for a hundred years or more. A few months back the Government of Bihar, in approaching the Central Government for a Steel Plant either at Sindri or at Bokaro, observed that if the plant is sanctioned for Sindri the requirement of coal would be met from the Jharia field, but that, in the event of the sanction being for Bokaro, the requirement of coal would be met entirely from the Bokaro and Karanpura fields within Hazaribagh district. It is understood that a Steel Plant at Bokaro has been practically decided upon; and Bihar will, therefore, have little need for the Jharia coalfield, except as a source of wage-earning for superfluous Bihar labour. And on this last score, transfer of the Jharia coalfield to West Bengal will make but little difference, because Bengal has never attempted to exercise control on the nationality of workers in private-owned concerns (similar to what Bihar has been doing for years, in flagrant disregard of para 8 of the Bardoli Resolution of 1939). Many lakhs of workers from Bihar and other Hindi-speaking States earn their living in the collieries of Burdwan and Birbhum and in industrial concerns in Calcutta, 24-Paraganas, Howrah and Hooghly; and Bengal will not grudge the maintenance of some 3 or 4 lakhs more in the Jharia coalfield and in Jamshedpur in the event of reconsideration of the S. R. Commission's recommendations leading to transfer of entire Dhanbad and Dhalbhum to Bengal.

PURNEA AND SANTAL PARGANAS

The States Reorganisation Commission's personal experience that Siripuria or Kisanganjia which has close affinities with Bengali (para 643) is the language spoken in East Purnea should have, of itself, sufficed to shake their faith in the 1951 Census figures which show, for the corridor area, possibly 1½ to 2 lakh. Urdu-speakers out of total population about 3½ lakhs, or between 46 and 62 per cent, percentage higher even than the record

figures hitherto, Rampur 40 per cent, Bijnor 30 p.c. Saharanpur and Meerut 22 p.c., Moradabad 18 p.c. The further observation in the same para that "as one proceeds westwards affinity with Hindi becomes more marked" is applicable presumably to dialects in border areas in districts other than Purnea. The cases of Singhbhum and Dhanbad have been discussed already; in the former the Commissioners themselves discovered that Bengali was the biggest language group, in the eastern Subdivision of Dhalbhum; and the notes at the foot of Plate I show sufficient grounds for holding that in East Dhanbad also, Bengali is the biggest language group. The case for Santal Parganas may now be discussed in detail.

The 16 and 13 per cent respectively for Bengali in Rajmahal and Pakur, on the 1951 figures referred to in para 650, are for the entire subdivisions extending up to the Coddia subdivision border in the West; and they are certainly consistent with (and even indicate, on finding of Bengali element decreasing, and Hindi influence increasing as one proceeds from east to west) much higher figures for Bengali in the eastern fringe, at least double the 16 and 13 respectively, and, for Hindi, figures not more than half of those for the entire subdivisions which are 34 and 31 respectively. This works out, on 1951 Census figures, for the eastern fringe considered by itself, Rajmahal subdivision, Bengali 32 p.c., Hindi 17 p.c., Pakur subdivision Bengali 26 p.c., Hindi 16 per cent, excess of Bengali over Hindi in either case. Jamtara, however, gives different results; the percentages (1951) for the entire subdivision are Bengali, 5.5, Hindi 37.5, and half of the latter is much more than double the former. That West Bengal nevertheless claims Jamtara subdivision is because the 1951 figures for it is absolutely unworthy of credit; and 1951 figures for Pakur* also are equally untrustworthy; the Bengali figures have been whittled down, not only by the so-called "increased awareness among indigenous elements that the language spoken by them in their homes is a Bihari dialect," (as has been done in Manbhum, to get the Bengali figure reduced from 1,046,643 in 1931 to 805,063 in 1951), but also by methods more crude. How, otherwise, can be explained the most strange phenomenon of the Bengali percentage falling off, as compared with 1931, most remarkably in the eastern subdivisions that border on West Bengal, while Bengali percentages have increased most unexpectedly in the western subdivisions i.e., those that are farthest from Bengal. This has happened, not only in the Santal Parganas but in Purnea and Singhbhum as well. In Purnea, Kisanjanj subdivision in the east, where the language spoken

by the people was found by the S. R. Commission to have close affinity with Bengali, the Census Tables record decreased in Bengali figure from 59,398 in 1931 to 17,682 in 1951, while Araria subdivision, far in the west, of which even the name is unknown to most people in Bengal, records increase from 1,210 in 1931 to 15,776 in 1951. In the Santal Parganas Jamtara and Pakur on the Bengal border show decreases from 73,091 to 15,377 and from 68,792 to 32,120 respectively, while Deoghar, farthest from Bengal, is credited with increase from 13,609 in 1931 to 39,217 plus possibly 4 to 6 thousand more for the municipal towns of Deoghar and Madhupur, resulting in the absurdity of Deoghar which adjoins Bihar proper being credited with a larger Bengali percentage (more than 10) than Jamtara (5.6 per cent only) on the Bengal border. In the Singhbhum district, Chaibasa subdivision, far in the west shows increase from 6,412 to 30,270. There is nothing to indicate that there was any large-scale migration of Bengalees from the Bengal border to subdivisions in the west; and the conclusion is irresistible that there has been extensive manipulation of figures—numbers have been deliberately transferred from east to west. The only safe course would, in such circumstances, be to work on the 1931 figures, which showed, both for Jamtara and for Pakur, more Bengali-speakers than Hindi-speakers. And the 1931 figures which are Jamtara: Bengali 73,091, Hindi 70,362 and Pakur, Bengali 68,792, Hindi 44,452 do show the reasonableness of West Bengal's claims. Dumka had, in 1931, Bengali percentage 9.7, Hindi 38.5, suggesting that on figures for the eastern fringe alone, the numbers of Bengali-speakers and of Hindi-speakers are more or less equal. The existence at Masanjore in Dumka of the headwaters of West Bengal's Mayurakshi project should, in the circumstances, turn the scale in West Bengal's favour.

The natural increase in Hindi percentage and decrease in Bengali percentage as one proceeds westward from the Bengal border, referred to above, point to the necessity of confining plebiscite (if plebiscite suggested by the Provincial Congress Presidents, both of West Bengal and of Bihar, is decided upon), only to the narrow fringe which is claimed to have Bengali-speakers more numerous than Hindi-speakers. In the Santal Parganas this fringe area has a southern base about 25 miles wide, from Chittaranjan railway station to a mile or two west of Karmatar; but the northern end is narrower, only from the Ganga river to a point about 6 to 8 miles west of Sakrigali.

For Purnea, the 1951 Census shows the number of Bengali-speakers in the Sadar subdivision to be more than 5 times the number in Kisanjanj subdivision. This justifies the extension of the corridor southwards, from Barsoi to Manihari Ghat. The necessity of this from a very different viewpoint, viz., that of communication, was very ably put forward by Sri Rajagopalachari in the Parliamentary debate on 23rd. August 1951; and

* The member for Pakur-Rajmahal constituency Sri Brijlal Dokania reproduced in the Bihar Assembly, on 26th March, 1949, a sentence supposed to be Hindi spoken by one of his Kisan constituents; and this sentence was "amon darogar moto officerera asha je dekhe bhoi hoi." What better proof can there be that the language, really Bengali, is being wrongly recorded as Hindi?

this had the approval of a Member from Bihar Janab Hussin Imam, who, by the way, did not speak about any necessity of imposing conditions about Urdu culture. If Urdu is really spoken in that area, adequate arrangements must have been made already by the Government of Bihar; and presumably, all that West Bengal need do would be the continuance of these arrangements after transfer to Bengal. The Provincial Census Superintendent has, however, expressed the opinion (page 37 of Census Paper No. 1 of 1954) that in "the East Pakistan border, Urdu is practically unknown, except among educated Muslims, and the vast majority of the population (including, of course, Muslims) speak a mixed Maithili-Bengali dialect known as Kisanganjia." The S. R. Commission themselves found on personal observation that Kisanganjia or Siripuria, as spoken in these regions, had close affinity to Bengali.

I cannot conclude without reference once again to the suspicion cast on West Bengal's veracity by the inconclusive observation in paras 639 and 640 of the S. R. Commission's Report that "the statement reported to have been issued by some prominent leaders of Bihar in 1912 conceding West Bengal's claim to the territory east of the Mahananda, the whole of Manbhum and the Dhalbhum portion of Singhbhum district has been challenged, and counter-arguments drawn from history have been produced in order to rebut West Bengal's claim." West Bengal resents the aspersion very bitterly, and demands a full enquiry about the genuineness (or falsity) of the so-called Bihar leaders' statement, and also of the counter-arguments from history that have been put forward to rebut West Bengal's claims. The Bihar leaders' statement appeared in the form of a letter published in the *Bengalee* newspaper on the 4th January 1912, and a photographic copy of the same was submitted to the Commission by the Indian Association who have carefully preserved old files of the *Bengalee* in their library; and all that seems to be necessary is to arrive at a finding whether the letter published was genuine or had been manufactured in the *Bengalee* office. Relevant evidence on this point are the facts that (1) only 8 days earlier, on the 27th December 1911, Mr. Parmeswar Lal, Bar-at-Law, a Bahari gentleman practising in the Calcutta High Court, had, in the open session of the Indian National Congress, seconded Tej Bahadur Sapru's resolution which spoke of adjustment of Bihar-Bengal boundary on linguistic basis, (2) the letter in the *Bengalee*, if genuine, was a very natural sequel to the speech in the Congress and to some observations that had appeared in the *Bengalee* of 3rd January 1912, claiming Bhagalpur as Bengali-speaking, and (3) the fact that Mr. Parmeswar Lal, supposed to be one of the signatories to the letter published on the 4th January, and who was presumably in Calcutta when the High Court re-opened after the Christmas holidays, never protested against the publication of the letter in the *Bengalee*, which was

considered in those days to be one of the leading newspapers in India. Mr. Parmeswar Lal's attention would certainly have been drawn to any fake letter that may have issued over his forged signature, by Biharee young men then in Calcutta, like present-day Education Minister Acharya Badrinath Verma, who was then a student in a Calcutta college and was an inmate of the Eden Hindu Hostel. Verma had noticed the unjust claim on Bhagalpur (and other places) as Bengali-speaking in the *Bengalee* of the 3rd January—he spoke in the Bihar Assembly on the 25th March, 1949 of "a well-known newspaper, whose name he did not like to disclose, claiming Santal Parganas, Manbhum, Singhbhum, etc., as parts of Bengal." The Bihar leaders' statement that appeared in the *Bengalee* on the very next day must also have been seen by him or shown to him by disgruntled "Bengalee inmates of the Hostel who had got withered मायुसी हुयो थी mayusi hui thi) by

the announcement of creation of Bihar as a separate province" and to whom the concession relating to Dhalbhum, Manbhum and parts of the Santal Parganas and Purnea must have acted as a refresher. Reading the letter, if he suspected it to be a forgery, Mr. Verma would certainly have rushed to Mr. Parmeswar Lal's place to apprise him of the dirty trick that had been played by the *Bengalee* office.

Of the counter-arguments from history referred to by the Commission, presumably the most important are (1) the statement, on page 59 of the *Bihar and Orissa First Decennial Review for 1921-22* that "When, in 1765 the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was granted by Shah Alam to the East India Company, Chota Nagpur came under British influence as an integral part of Bihar," and Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's observation on page 9 of his Memorandum presented to the Constituent Assembly that "out of this Chota Nagpur, fairly large areas, Manbhum, Dhalbhum and others are now claimed by West Bengal," and that the *First Decennial Review* from which he quoted had been "issued during the term of office of the Right Honourable Lord Sinha," and (2) that a former Deputy Commissioner of Manbhum, Mr. Coupland, had recorded a note that 'not even 10 per cent of the people of Manbhum spoke Bengali.' This note ascribed to Mr. Coupland is diametrically opposed to what the same Mr. Coupland had written on page 72 of the Manbhum District Gazetteer that "the prevailing language of the district is the western dialect of Bengali, known as Rarhi boli, which is used by 72 per cent of the inhabitants." And parties speaking of the "not even 10 per cent" version have never ventured to produce the original, although challenged to do so. As for the *Decennial Review*, the expression "Chota Nagpur" on page 59, which "came under British influence as an integral part of Subah Bihar in 1765" was intended, not for the entire Chota Nagpur Division, but only for a part of it, viz., the Chota Nagpur Raj domains, confined

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to the present districts of Ranchi and Palamau; this is clear from the entry on page 60, "Chota Nagpur: the present district of Ranchi and pargana Tori," also from the sentence on page 59 itself that "Chota Nagpur was then rather in the position of a Tributary State than under the direct administration of the East India Company" (which shows, incidentally, that the addition of the word 'integral' to a very similar sentence in Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal* was not justified by facts). These quotations give the lie direct to the thesis that it was out of this Chota Nagpur of page 59 of the *Decennial Review* that "fairly large areas, Manbhum Singhbhum and others, are now claimed by West Bengal." No portion of either district Manbhum or district Singhbhum of the present day was ever attached to the Chota Nagpur Raj, or was ever included in Subah Behar. The real Singhbhum, consisting of present-day Chaibasa and Saraikela subdivisions, had never formed part of any Subah, Bengal or Behar, for it had never been conquered by the Moguls or by Mahrattas; it was first conquered, by the British, in 1818. Dhalbhum was in Subah Bengal, included in the zila of Medinipoor which went under British influence, not in 1765, along with Chota Nagpur Raj, but five years earlier, simultaneously with another Bengal district, Chittagong, ceded by Meer Cassim in 1760. All this is clear from the Map of Acquisitions of British Territory in Bengal and the Burmese Provinces, which formed the frontispiece to the first (1862) edition of Aitchison's *Treaties, Engagements, Sunnuds*, etc. The map shows that the south-western corner of the then zila Medinipoor extended right up to the edge of the Singhbhum that was conquered by the British in 1818, and included, therefore, within it, the parganas of Dhalbhum, Barabhum and Manbhum.

The attempt to connect Lord Sinha, who was a Bengalee, with the statement in the *Decennial Review* and with the perverted meaning sought to be given to the expression "Chota Nagpur" on page 59 of it, is as mean as it is incorrect. The *Decennial Review* was published in 1923; and as it related to a period which did not close till the 31st March 1922, it is pretty certain that not even one sentence of it was drafted prior to 31st March 1922. Lord Sinha had relinquished charge of his office as Governor of Bihar four months earlier, on the 29th November 1921; and even his successor Mr. Havilland LeMesurier completed his term of office on 11th April 1922, only eleven days subsequent to the 31st March 1922. Both names, and both dates, are shown on page 111 of the *Decennial Review*; and the Review was certainly not his own epitaph written by Lord Sinha himself. If there was any Sinha connected with the sentence in the *Decennial Review*, with its incorrectly added word 'integral,' it was not the Right Hon'ble Lord Sinha, the Bengalee, but Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who continued in office as Finance Member of the Bihar Government till long after 1922.

On the non-existent peg of Dhalbhum, Manbhum, areas within the Chota Nagpur that formed a part (integral or otherwise) of Subah Bihar, Dr. Sinha did hang yet another 'historical' vignette, that of industrially-developed Dhanbad and Dhalbhum being in the nature of "Naboth's vineyards situated in Bihar," which had been reared by Biharees having their homelands in these regions, and of "avaricious neighbours," the Bengalees "casting their longing, lingering eyes towards these vineyards." For the Biharees' homeland in Daanada, with its Jharia coalfield, Grierson's observation on page 145 part 2, vol. V of his *Linguistic Survey of India*:

"In Manbhum, Bengali extends on the west up to the foot of the Ranchi and Hazaribag plateaux; there are emigrants from these highlands into the Bengali-speaking area, who speak a mixed dialect, essentially Bihari in nature, but with a curious Bengali colouring; this dialect is not a local one it is the language of a strange people in a strange land; all around them, and usually in great majority, live the true people of the country who speak a Bengali of considerable purity,"

should suffice to provide a quietus. In Dhalbhum, sometime before its Hindi-speaking population reached in 1911, the insignificant number of 6 thousand only about 2.6 per cent of the total, in the midst of overwhelming population who had mothertongue Bengali, 40 per cent, Santali 32 per cent, Bhumij 12 per cent (most of the Santals and Bhumijes being bi-lingual invariably with subsidiary language Bengali), and Oriya 12 per cent, four obscure villages in the extreme north-western corner Sakchi, Jugsalai, Bistupur and Kalimati, peopled exclusively by Bengalees, Santals, Bhumijes, had been selected on the advice of a Bengalee geologist Pramatha Nath Bose, backed by European metallurgist Mr. Weld, as the site for Tatas' contemplated Iron and Steel Works, in preference to places in Madhya Pradesh which the Tatas had till then been thinking of. And the pioneer band of unskilled labour, consisting almost exclusively of these local Bengalees, Santals and Bhumijes, worked under the direction of Bengalee overseers, a handful of Parsi supervisors and German engineers, from the earliest stage of construction of buildings from 1908 to December 1911, when the first cast of pig iron flowed from the runners. Seven years more and the outbreak of the First World War, were necessary to attract the attention of people of Bihar and other Hindi-speaking provinces; and the number of Hindi-speaking people in the entire district of Singhbhum (separate figures for Dhalbhum are not available) did not increase by more than 23 thousand during the decade 1911-21; and, possibly, half of the 23 thousand came from provinces other than Bihar. The Tatas have still kept geologist Bose's memory green, not only maintaining the bust that they erected in the Maidan, but have also sanctioned as late as in 1955, a grant of a lakh of rupees for further perpetuation of his memory; possibly also they

retain their gratefulness to local Bengalee, Santal and Bhumi labour that never failed them during worst years of trial.

Two other 'historical' statements deserve investigation, both of which emanated from the Hon'ble Acharya Badrinath Verma, holding the portfolio of Education in Bihar, and expected, therefore, to be the model from which lakhs of boys and girls in schools and colleges would draw their inspiration about truthfulness. On the 25th March 1945, he stated in the Bihar Legislative Assembly that "for Census figures of 1941, as many as 11,73,959, or 56 per cent of Manbhum's total population 20,25,146 are Tribals, and 6 lakhs are Kurmis; neither have Bengali as their mother-tongue." And eight months earlier, he had written to Mr. Mashruwala, editor of the *Harijan*, that, under his administration, Santali, Mundari, Oraon and Ho children, for the first time, will have the opportunity of getting their primary education through the medium of their own tongue. My cloudy eyes, however, see only 6,78,126, and not 11,73,959, as the number of Tribals in the 1941 Census Tables; and Kurmis, who numbered only 323,066 in 1931 (the latest Census for which Caste tables were compiled) could not possibly have grown to more than 4 lakhs during the next 18 years. Why did not the Congress High Command take note of Acharya Verma's wonderful capacity for magnifying facts and figures by 65 to 75 per cent, and nominate him for the portfolio of Publicity and Broadcasting?

As for education of tribal children in their own mother-tongue, there can be no better evidence than the direction issued by the District Inspector of Schools, Manbhum, that "the 72 aboriginal schools financed out of special Government grant are to be run on the State language basis." A Santal friend of mine, living in a

village in police-station Hura, writes that he does not know of even one school in the district which has Santali as the medium of instruction.

I have nothing to add, except to urge once again for a thorough investigation of the charges and counter-charges about veracity (or otherwise) of statements made by West Bengal and by Bihar. Bengal has suffered for 44 years already, from unjust separation of Dhalbhum, Manbhum, etc., and may not altogether break down, if that injustice is not removed even now, although such injustice, involving the separation of Purulia from Dhanbad and from Dhalbhum, and the banning of Bengali as Court language, and also as language for preparation of electoral rolls, even as an alternative, to the inconvenience of one hundred and eighty-five thousand Bengalees in Dhanbad, and about the same number in Jamshedpur (including no less than 54½ thousand in Jamshedpur City) amounts to penalisation worse than that of the Curzon Partition of 1905. But West Bengal cannot tolerate an unjust aspersion (or even suspicion) on its reputation for veracity, or any equally unjust charge of poaching on neighbours' property. Removal of the extremely unjust ban on Bengali in Dhalbhum and Dhanbad, and also in Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur, Rajmahal, Purnea and Kisanganj, accompanied by declaration of Bihar being a bi-lingual State and Bengali being the regional language in Dhalbhum, east Dhanbad, east Santal Parganas and east Purnea, might have gone some way to smooth exacerbated feelings and to remove tension; but even this little thing the S. R. Commission did not suggest. They pressed only for recognition of Urdu for educational and official purposes in Kisanganj, without possibly caring to enquire about the nature of Bihar's recognition of this.



The map shows separately West Dhanbad (thana Topchanchi and thana Jharla excluding police-stations Baliapur and Sindri), East Dhanbad (Baliapur and Sindri and thanas Gobindapur, Tundi and Nirsha), North-west Purulia (thana Chas) and North-east Purulia (thanas Raghunathpur, Para and Kashipur). Settlement Records were prepared in Bengali for thanas Nirsha and Tundi; records prepared in Hindi for Gobindapur, Baliapur and Sindri proved unintelligible to people there, these areas also being definitely Bengali-speaking.

The figures show linguistic distribution separately for each area, in percentages for Hindi (H), Bengali (B) and Santali (S). They are official figures for the Purulia subdivision; official figures were not published for different regions of Dhanbad; and estimates based on official figures for Purulia have been worked out.

Sixty-five per cent Hindi average for entire Dhanbad does not mean that it is same in every part of the subdivision. In the Purulia subdivision Hindi percentage 71.4 in the west comes down to 31.1 in the east; and Bengali 55.1 per cent in the east goes down to only 22.6 per cent in the west. Similar divergence in Dhanbad, excess of

Hindi in the west and of Bengali in the east, is quite natural, the Bengali element decreasing and the Hindi element increasing as one proceeds from east to west.

Another factor affecting linguistic distribution is the large concentration of colliery labour immigrating into the Jharla coalfield (which is confined to West Dhanbad) from Hindi-speaking districts in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. This is chiefly a floating population, but it has been taken into account in all official calculations. In West Dhanbad, out of total population 437,261, as many as 209,767 or 48 per cent are under the head "Production other than agriculture" (mostly colliery labour and a small percentage of railway employees); but in East Dhanbad the percentage is 12 only, 33,518 out of total population 294,439. In these circumstances, estimates of Hindi 81 in the west, 32 only in the east, of Bengali 12 only in the east but 47 in the east are quite reasonable. Excluding floating population, the figures would possibly have been: 42 Hindi, 48 Bengali, 8 Santali in W. Dhanbad, 13 Hindi, 55 Bengali and 25 Santali in East Dhanbad.

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THE LURE OF PECHIPPARA

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

A branch road from Martandam or Thoduvetti at the twenty-fifth mile-stone on the trunk road from Trivandrum to Cape Comorin, leads off to Pechippara, one of the loveliest beauty spots in Travancore. A detour of thirteen and a half miles across typical countryside of which the last stretch of three miles is through the heart of the forest, takes the visitor to the Pechippara Dam and Reservoir. The road to Pechippara cuts through several small villages around which history and folklore have gathered interesting anecdotes and stories.

THIRUVATTAR

Four miles from Martandam *en route* Pechippara is Thiruvattar where the Thamravarni river winds around the ancient Vishnu Temple. Dedicated to Adi Kesava Perumal (Vishnu), this temple is one of the three Vaishnavite shrines in India, where the image of the god is in a reclining posture, the other two temples being at Srirangam and Trivandrum. There are a number of picturesque waterfalls and delightful cascades in the river which winds around the shrine at Thiruvattar. The great Alvars, in their hymns ascribed to the early eighth century, have referred to the sanctity of this temple, which is remarkable for its sculpture on stone, wood and metal.

THIRUNANDIKKARA

Five miles beyond Thiruvattar is Thirunandikkara which has a thousand-year old rock-cut cave temple. The oldest relics of mural painting ascribed to the eighth-ninth century, so far discovered in South India, are to be found in this rock-cut temple. An eminent artist and critic of mural art and a well-known student, restorer and copyist of ancient oriental art, has said that 'perfection' is the only word that can be used to describe the quality of the frescoes at Thirunandikkara. Admirably excellent and faithful copies of these striking wall paintings copied on the spot by the famous Iranian artist, Sarkis Katchadourian, are exhibited in the *Sri Chitralayam*, State Art Gallery at Trivandrum.

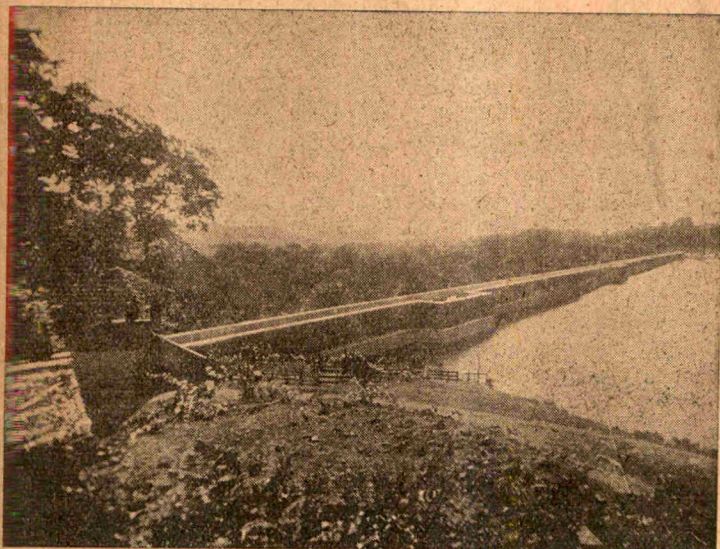
THIRIPPARAPPU

On the way to the Pechippara reservoir is Thiripparappu, famous for its Siva Temple and Water Falls. Situated amidst idyllic sylvan scenery, Thiripparappu attracts a large number of pilgrims and sightseers. The river Kodayar flows close to the temple. The Kodayar Irrigation Extension Project has a Pick-up Weir across the Kodayar at Thiripparappu and the waters of the Kodayar are diverted through two systems of channels to irrigate the Kalkulam and Vilavancode

Taluks in South Travancore. The Kodayar has an independent catchment below the Pechippara Dam and above Thripparappu, and the water from this catchment is sufficient to irrigate a large acreage of paddy fields. With this aim, a submersible concrete weir at Thripparappu and ten miles of channels, four

passes through South Travancore's charming scenery ends at the brink of the Pechippara reservoir. The mighty dam thrown across the Kodayar river at Pechippara sustains a great irrigation scheme which irrigates tens of thousands of acres of paddy fields in South Travancore, and is a marvel of engineering skill. The extensive reservoir at Pechippara which is in the heart of a region of forests, covers 3,230 acres and is surrounded by forest-clad hills which rise in gentle slopes, from the banks of the lake. The Kodayar Irrigation Scheme which has almost literally converted the arid land of South Travancore into the fertile plains of Nanjinad, now famous as the Granary of the South, is essentially dependent upon the Pechippara Reservoir.

Work on the present Pechippara Dam was commenced in 1896 and was completed in 1906. It is constructed mainly of concrete in *sarkhi* mortar with skin walls of rubble masonry. At the river bed are constructed two under-sluice valves with vents 4 feet by 10 feet. At present these vents remain closed



A view of the Pechippara Dam and Reservoir

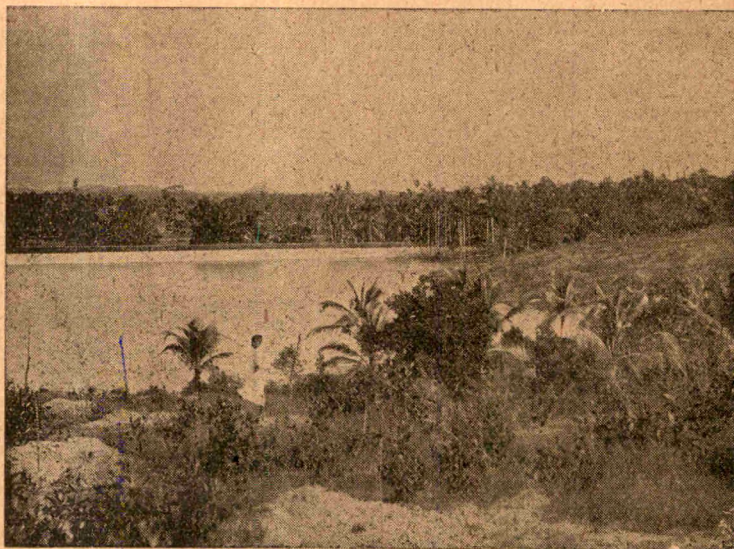
miles on the right bank, and six miles on the left bank, have been completed. The Thripparappu system of irrigation is an achievement of agricultural engineering.

PERINCHANI

Nor far from Thripparappu is Perinchani, a beauty spot nestling among high hills. The Kodayar Irrigation Extension Project includes the masonry dam at Perinchani which stores the water that had flown to waste every year over the Puthen Dam during the floods. The Perinchani Reservoir Scheme irrigates and brings under the plough another sixty thousand acres of land in South Travancore. The Perinchani Dam is one hundred feet high at its deepest section and eight hundred and sixty feet long at the top and with a width of eighteen feet at the top and seventy-four feet at the base. The Perinchani Reservoir has a capacity of one thousand five hundred million cubic feet. Recently completed, this reservoir is one of the most picturesque artificial lakes in India.

PECHIPPARA DAM

The thirteen and a half-mile long road which



Countryside view near Pechippara

permanently with masonry. The top 15 feet of the dam is built entirely of rubble masonry. The length of the Dam is 1,936 feet, the width at the foundation is 105 feet, and the total height is 306 feet. The waterspread area of the Reservoir at full tank level is 5.47 sq. miles, and the catchment area of the lake is 83 sq. miles. The average annual rainfall at

Pechippara at the time of the construction of the Dam and Reservoir was 166 inches. Since then the rainfall has varied from 150 inches to 87.93 inches. The net expenditure on the work is 80.3 lakhs of rupees. The Reservoir gathers a bumper monsoon every year. The Dam arrests the flood and causes the artificial lake to swell.

THE OLD PANDYAN DAM AND CHANNEL

It is interesting to remember that the modern engineers who constructed the now famous Dam at Pechippara only followed as a continuation, of course with suitable modifications, the works which were already so efficiently executed by the old-time engi-



Pechippara Reservoir

neers in the past centuries. This is an eloquent tribute to the greatness of the engineers of the past whose knowledge of irrigation and engineering was admirably profound. The Old Pandyan Dam and Pandyan Kal constructed so early as 900 A.D. convince the visitor of the great foresight and effort put into the undertaking by engineers of the old Pandyan Rulers whose knowledge was only equalled by their enthusiasm and spirit of service. Nanjinad owes its present fertility to the Old Pandyan Dam thrown across the Parilayar and the Old Pandyan Channel cut across chiefly through solid rock for about two miles.

THE PUTHEN DAM AND CHANNEL

In the reign of Maharaja Martanda Varma the Great was constructed another anicut on the model

of the old Pandyan Dam, a quarter of a mile below it. Another long channel was also cut. Known as the Puthen Dam and the Puthen Channel, these remark-

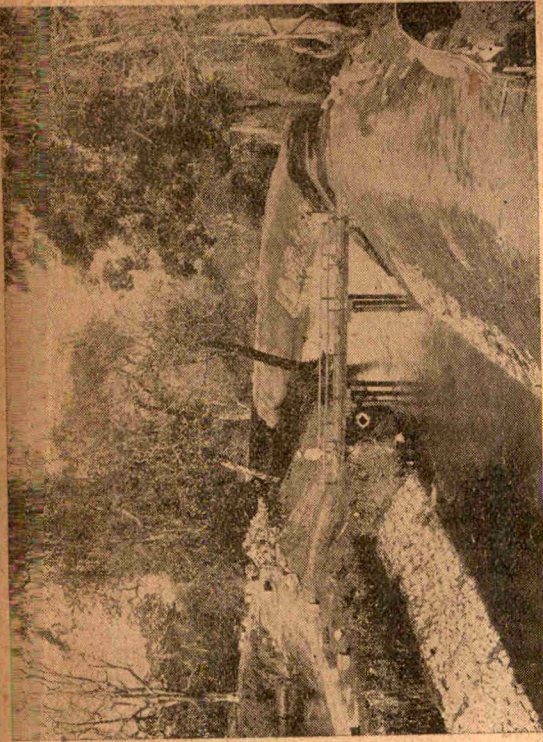


Relics of the eighth to ninth century Murals at Thirunandikkara

able engineering undertakings executed in A.D. 1750, succeeded in bringing the waters to Padmanabhapuram, the then capital of the State, and irrigating a vast acreage of paddy fields.



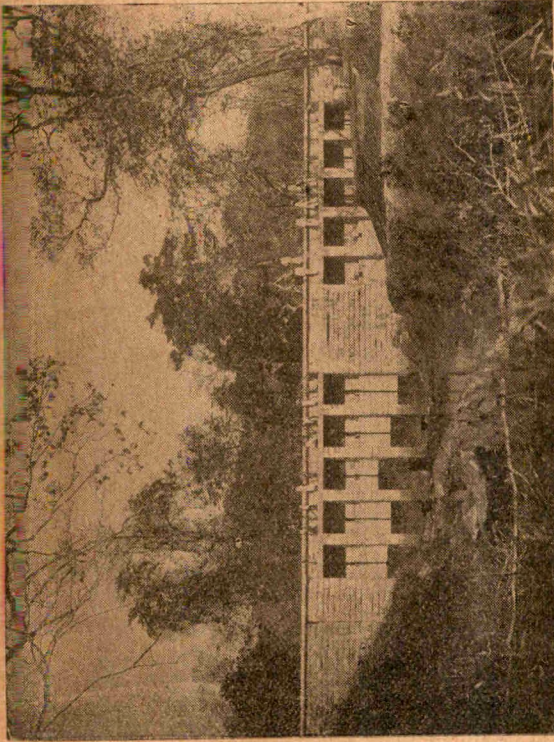
Waterfalls close to the Temple at Thiriparappu



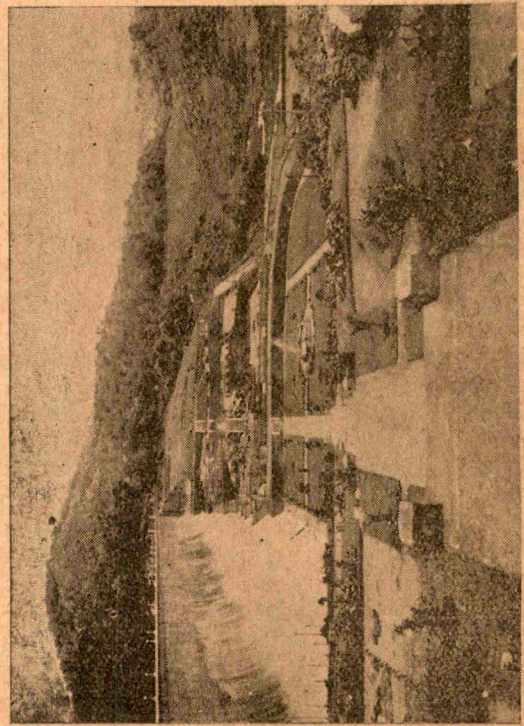
The Pathen Channel—one of the network of channels in the
Kodayar Irrigation Project



Another view of the Thripparappu Waterfalls



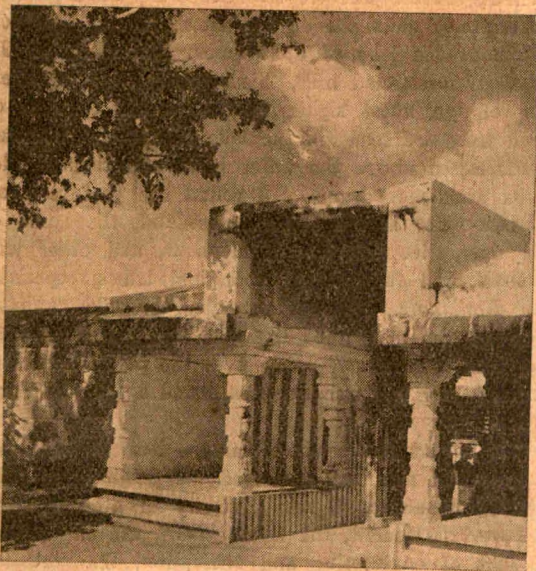
The old Pandyan Dam



The Perinchani Dam

A ROYAL ANECDOTE

It is said that His Highness Maharaja Martanda Varma personally supervised the construction of the dam and channel. An interesting anecdote in this



Entrance to the Siva Temple at Thripparappu

connection is on the lips of old men. The Maharaja used to go to the work spot every day early morning and remained there late in the night closely supervising the work, taking but a simple meal in the course of the day. He used to sit on a rock nearby and a servant was wont to hold a palm-leaf umbrella to protect the Royal Master from the hot sun. Realising that the labour of the cooly thus engaged was being lost in the all-out effort towards the construction of the Dam, the Maharaja ordered a stone-cutter to make a hole in the rock so that the handle of the umbrella could be fixed into it, and the services of the cooly utilised for work in connection with the Dam. People around the locality point out the hole made in the rock. An oil painting illustrating this historic incident now adorns the Padmanabhapuram Palace along with other paintings depicting the most important events in the history of Travancore.

LATTER-DAY DEVELOPMENTS

Captain Horsely of the Madras service was invited in the year 1831 to suggest improvements for the

irrigation of South Travancore. It was he who first suggested to throw a dam at Pechippara and cut a channel to the left bank of the river. The proposal was laid in cold storage until 1877 when Dewan Nanoo Pillai, a son of the soil and native of South Travancore who was fully alive to the local conditions, reopened the proposal. Colonel Mead of the Madras P. W. D. whose opinion was sought in 1879 suggested that the Kodayar Scheme was premature and that the Puthen Dam might be improved.

The improvements formulated by Colonel Mead were completed in 1885 during the reign of His Highness Maharaja Sri Visakhom Thirunal. His Highness performed the ceremony of opening the headworks of the Pandyan Kal and Padmanabhapuram Puthenar. On that great occasion in the history of South Travancore, His Highness said :

"When events shall have proved that, after the waters of the Paraliyar have been economised to the utmost extent, they have fallen short of the demand of the agricultural population, it will be time to woo her twin sister the Kodayar, and to consider at what point and in what manner she might be best coaxed to yield up her treasures into the common coffers which these headworks constitute."

The State Chief Engineer who finally brought to



Relics of the eighth to ninth century murals in the Thirunandikkara Temple

Courtesy: Sri Chitralayam (State Art Gallery of Travancore) shape the scheme for the construction of the Pechippara Dam was Mr. A. H. Jacob. The project was developed to its present proportions by his successor Mr. W. Jopp. The scheme was further revised by Mr. Cecil A. Smith who followed Mr. Jopp as Chief

Engineer. Then the project was practically completed under the auspices of Mr. A. H. Basto who succeeded Mr. C. A. Smith. The imposing cross over the grave of one of the European engineers associated with the Project, who died in full harness at Pechippara, and who was buried at the entrance to the Dam, is a monument which evokes great feelings.

THE KODAYAR PROJECT

The Kodayar Project as finally adopted was to throw a dam across the Kodayar at Pechippara with two feeding channels. The right bank channel was dropped after further investigation. The left bank channel taps the Kodayar and supplements the Paraliyar over the Puthen Dam. The irrigation system starts at the Puthen Dam. At this spot the combined waters of the Kodayar and Paraliyar are distributed, one through the P. P. Channel and the other through the Pandyan Kal. The 141 miles of main channels have a number of subsidiary channels running to 184 miles with a syphon five feet in diameter, several bridges, an aqueduct and two tunnels. The paddy fields that are irrigated are brought under blocks surrounded by natural boundaries controlled by sluices at the ridge. The Pechippara Reservoir and its net-work of channels are open for purposes of irrigating the paddy fields in Nanjinad and Edanad from the 20th of May to the 15th of

February every year.

PECHIPPARA RESERVOIR

The Pechippara Reservoir is a magnificent stretch of water. Thickly wooded, terraced hills rise abruptly from its shores. The Government Camp Shed perched on a pretty eminence on the shores of the Reservoir overlooks the lake of 3,230 acres. Situated in the heart of forest-clad hills, this artificial reservoir offers one of the finest sights in the world. Clusters of dead trees are seen in the lake with their withered heads raised above the water level, and their slender dried arms spread out. All round the vast reservoir of rain-water is the virgin forest-land, the home of the tiger, leopard, bison, elephant, and other wild animals, and full-blooded aboriginal tribes, especially the *Kanikkars*. Not infrequently do wild animals rove on the margin of the lake and come down to the lake to drink. A cruise over the placid waters of the reservoir is a rich experience and a splendid revelation.

A beauty spot where nature has lavished her charms and man has displayed his engineering skill, Pechippara affords a rich diversity of attractions to the carefree tourist, the keen *shikari*, the enterprising student of engineering and irrigation, the talented painter, the expert cameraman, and the painstaking anthropologist.

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PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE BECOMES A COMMUNITY PROJECT

For three days each October the town of Waterford, Virginia, holds "open house" for visitors who come

by the hundreds to tour old homes, to buy rugs, lampshades and painted trays made by local craftsmen, and to enjoy the rural charm of a community which has found satisfying rewards in working co-operatively for its own self-improvement.

Waterford's first "open house" and exhibit of local handicrafts was held in 1944 as a project of the Waterford Foundation, Incorporated. This non-profit organization had been established by local residents the year before for the purpose of reviving and stimulating local arts and crafts work, and, as a long-range objective, to raise funds to preserve some of the most interesting Waterford buildings.

So many visitors found their way to Waterford for that first exhibit in 1944 that the Foundation decided to make the "Waterford Fair" an annual event which would climax the year's production of handicrafts by putting them up for exhibit and



Visitors leaving the old Red Barn, one of the several historic buildings open each day during the annual Waterford Fair

sale. Now the Fair has become so popular and well-publicized that it draws approximately 3,000 people to the old town each year.



An exhibit of the work of local artists, now a popular feature of the annual Waterford Fair, has attracted these visitors to the old Red Barn

Waterford is located in Loudoun County, some 40 miles north-west of Washington, D.C., in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Accessible only by private transportation—no railroad or major highway enters the town—the community has remained much the same since it was founded by a group of representatives of the Society of Friends (Quakers) early in the eighteenth century.

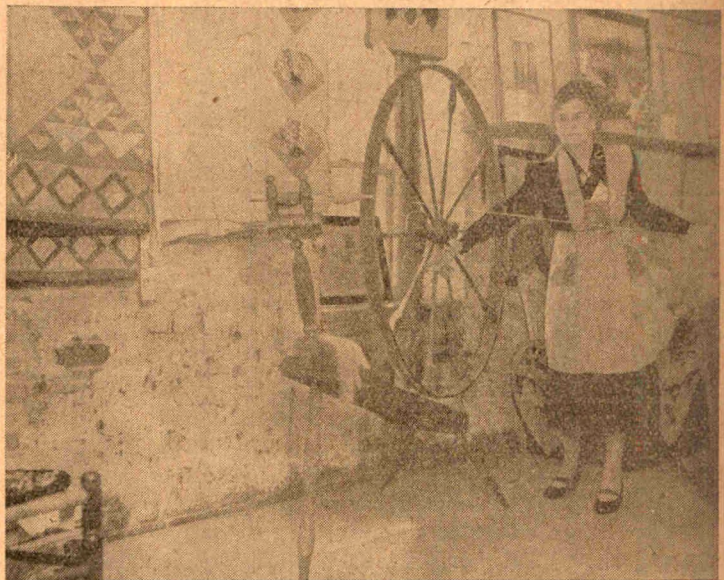
Houses of the original Waterford settlement fan out from the old brick mill built in 1733 and used as an exhibit hall today. While all these old houses have a distinctive charm, perhaps the building of greatest historic interest is the Friends' Meeting House, now converted into a private home. This spacious stone building was erected in 1775 and used for religious services and as a civic centre until 1929.

In a Virginia newspaper of 1834 Waterford was described as "a fine flourishing little village" with 70 dwelling houses and industrial activity centered in two mills and two small cotton factories. By 1938 the

mills and factories had closed down. Rich in history, local culture and civic spirit, but limited in economic resources, Waterford remained a country hamlet that

during the nineteenth century turned to handicrafts as a source of income. For several years the area was famous for the quality of its hand-made items—a fact which influenced establishment of the Waterford Foundation in 1943.

Purpose of the Foundation is to revive the arts and crafts that once flourished in Loudoun County and to promote their development. It sponsors classes in handicrafts and encourages local people—many of whom need additional income but lack job opportunities in their rural community—to put their time to profitable employment by making rugs, quilts, lampshades, decorated trays and other things for sale under Foundation auspices. Ten per cent of the proceeds of each sale goes to the Foundation, for purchase and restoration of historic Waterford buildings, while the individual craftsman receive the remain-



A Waterford craftsman demonstrates the art of spinning flax into fine thread for visitors to the handicrafts exhibit in the old mill

der. With its proceeds from such sales the Foundation already has bought and restored the old mill for year-round use for exhibit and sale of handicrafts.

Rug-making classes were the first organized under

Foundation sponsorship. Local women who were interested and well-informed in the craft volunteered to serve as instructors to small groups, showing them how to braid and hook rugs or how to improve their technique and get better color and design into their work. The first exhibit showed such a demand for hand-made rugs of quality and originality that rug-making became a mainstay of the Waterford craft program.



Built in 1733, the old mill in Waterford has been partially restored

In 1946, the Foundation launched an experimental class in lampshade-making, exhibiting and selling lampshades at the October Fair with such success that the "Lampshaders" became a second permanent craft group. Members meet regularly for class instruction and for help in planning and designing shades. Materials are furnished at wholesale prices, and most of the actual work is done in spare time at home. Craftsmen design shades to fit a customer's special requirements and the group has also collected a

variety of lamp bases, enabling it to offer complete lamps for sale.

The hand-decorating of tin trays is another handicraft revived by the Foundation. Waterford artists, following techniques employed by American and English craftsmen in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, use gold bronze stenciling and oil paint to reproduce antique designs on trays, small boxes, wastebaskets, jardinières and other metal pieces.

An Art Department, operating under auspices of the Foundation, has done much to encourage development of the arts by sponsoring classes for children and adults, arranging exhibits and providing a year-round program of activities for art-lovers.

In 1941, a group of Waterford residents revived the old custom of singing carols through the streets on Christmas Eve. Out of this grew the Waterford Choral Club organized in 1944 and later renamed the Waterford A Cappella Chorus. The Chorus still provides Christmas music but has extended its activities to offer many recitals through the year.

Square dancing was revived by Waterford children in the summer of 1948 and a demonstration of several dances was given that year at the October Fair. Youth and adult groups dance regularly through the year in the school auditorium and, during the Fair, give demonstration dances on an outdoor platform adjoining the old mill.

The October Fair culminates a year of work on the part of all Waterford residents. It is a community project in the fullest sense since the entire population co-operates in arranging exhibits and entertainment. Various women's groups serve lunch. Home-made cakes, candy and canned goods are offered for sale. Children and adults join together in serving and entertaining visitors, and owners of historic old houses throw open their doors to all visitors. The quiet village streets are filled with strollers savoring the old-world atmosphere of a town rich in history but alert and throbbing with life.

As one visitor expressed it:

"To visit Waterford during the annual fair, when it exhibits the works of local artists and craftsmen, is to be convinced that it has a present in which its citizens find real joy in creative living, and a future in which there is a promise of a continuously richer life for all. Waterford has found a way to use its fine traditions as a springboard rather than as a hitching-post."—*USIS*.



SURREALIST FREEDOM OF CONTENT AND DISCIPLINE OF SHAPE

By BRYAN ROBERTSON

THE theme of violence has played an inescapable part in the iconography of British art during the past decade. Its causes and effects and its myriad disguises have created a powerful mythology and there has



Henry Moore at work in his studio on *The Madonna and Child* which was commissioned from him for a church in Northampton

been a concerted attempt to analyse the formal structure of violence rather than its more obvious appearance. The comparatively recent discoveries of surrealism, with its liberation of the irrational, have given this analysis an added point and flavour and the acceptance of abstraction has given it an additional clarity and universality.

Given this preoccupation with violence, there has also been a widely shared attempt to synthesize the classical and romantic movements of the nineteen-thirties: to incorporate the surrealist freedom of content with the abstract or constructivist discipline of shape. The many facets of British art cannot be completely incorporated into this summarization but it is applicable to the work of the five sculptors and three painters so discerningly selected by the German authorities to represent England at the Documenta exhibition. In general, these artists have either accepted violence as a theme or have reacted against it; and surrealism—less of a dated vacuum than we

once suspected—has considerably affected their imagery.

BARBARA HEPWORTH

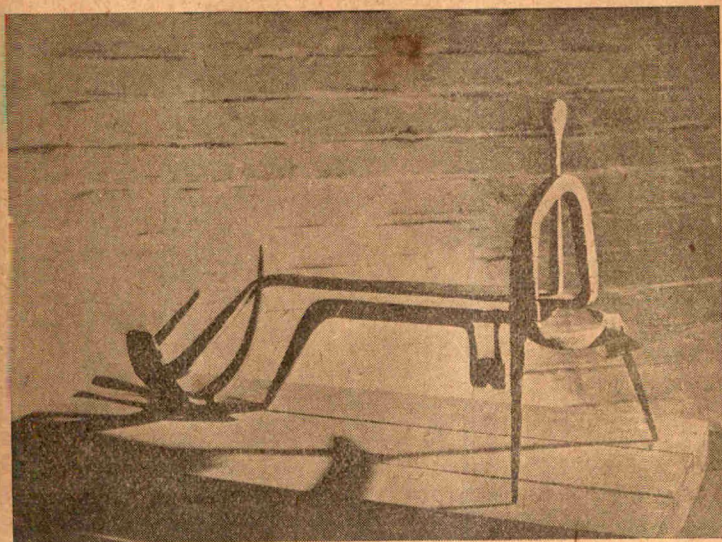
One painter and one sculptor, however, have reacted wholeheartedly against this obsession: Ben Nicholson and Barbara Hepworth, whose work and development have been linked for many years both by marriage and by closely shared interests. The desire to entirely transcend reality and to evade tragic expression, to maintain serenity and equilibrium in terms of the purest refinement—all this can be found in Hepworth's carvings. Keen technical and intellectual discipline is here imposed upon a conception of sculptural imagery which is basically primitive and sensual.



Prevision by Barbara Hepworth

Deriving from Gabo and from Brancusi, her best work contrives to equate humanism with geometrical balance and finality and she has, technically, exploited the tactile possibilities of wood and stone more than any other sculptor. Formally, Hepworth has also explored the potentiality of landscape sculpture; reclining shapes, hollowed and pierced, with rhythmic counterpointing of cavity and swelling curve. The

vertical shapes soar into space with unusual lightness and poise, often abruptly terminated by a sharp horizontal line.



Reclining Figure (1948) by Cotterell Butler

BEN NICHOLSON

In his painting, Ben Nicholson has also continually eliminated all vestige of morbidity: cool, detached and aristocratic, his work is at once international because of his kinship with early Braque, Miro and Mondriaan and provincial because of his identification with the light, the textures and the clearly etched contours of the Cornish coast, where Nicholson lives. Radiant and good-humoured, the only tension in Nicholson's work is achieved by the bite of the pencil on the shifting, evanescent texture of his elaborately wrought surfaces, or the subtle juxtaposition of squares, circles and rectangles.

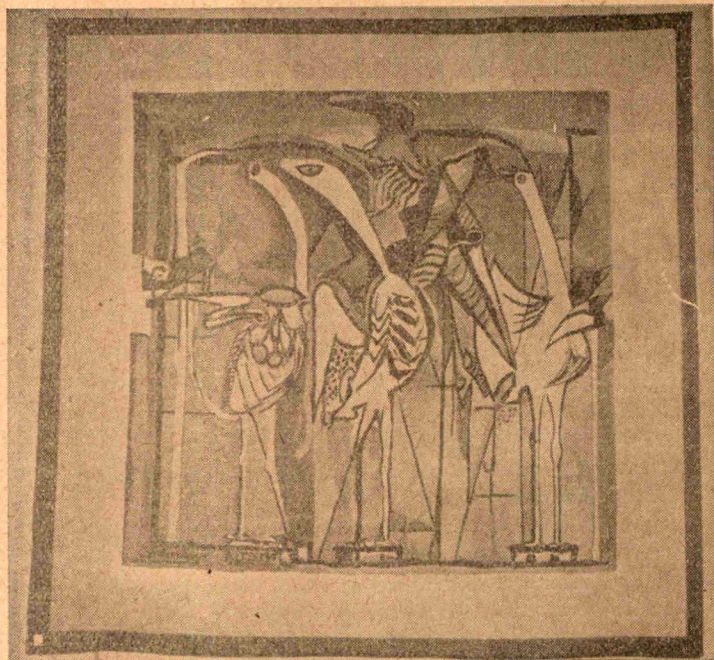
Nicholson's highly personal sense of form, enveloped in a delicate luminosity, needs a personal, humanised interior to bring it fully to life. His work is often related to the new architecture, and the rather clinical light and atmosphere of a public gallery make many demands upon the spectator's imagination when confronted with painting that is so free from illustrative or literary ideas.

HENRY MOORE

The most remarkable English artist to emerge

since Turner's death in 1851, however, is unquestionably Henry Moore whose magnificently forceful vision reflects an intense optimism in the human

being's stoic capacity to survive and conquer the forces of conflict and aggression. His original, anthropological sources of inspiration were greatly fortified by the formal researches of Arp, Gonzales and Zadkind as well as the tonic influence, so widely felt in the sculpture of the nineteen-thirties, of Mexican and Mayan sculpture. Gradually surrealist in feeling, Moore's invincible humanism stabilized itself later in a long series of family groups in which an almost representational manner of treatment was monumentalized and given intense mobility by Moore's unflinching sense of scale and his gift of discovering new formal relationships in all his subjects, which are often very simple as in *Bird and Egg* of 1934.



An unusual tapestry design by Graham Sutherland executed at the Dovecote Studios, Edinburgh, Scotland

The grave and invincible reclining female figures in stone, wood or bronze are perhaps his best known works; in these he has discovered a timeless human landscape. Pagan and humanist by implication, Moore's best sculpture seems to communicate with

all kinds of people in many different countries and recently a Rodinesque richness of modelling and patina has given his work an increased vitality. His recent *King and Queen*, however, shows a definite similarity of feeling with English cathedral sculpture of the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries; and it is Moore's very special triumph to have selected freely, like Picasso, from these periods of art which have meaning for him and never to have allowed their characteristics to submerge his identity.

Moore's sculpture is also being used by an increasing number of architects to enrich and humanise new buildings and here he has shown an instinctive capacity to integrate his forms with their architectural framework as well as to enliven the terse prosaic areas of steel or concrete with carved screens or single figures of great potency.

GRAHAM SUTHERLAND

Like Moore, Sutherland, the painter, is conscious of violence but his pictorial images are less ennobling although they transcend actuality by sheer imaginative compulsion. His paintings nearly always contain ambiguous images of landscape, plant, animal or insect life which are projected with the maximum drama as tragic symbols for our time.

Originally a distinguished draughtsman and engraver, Sutherland did not begin to paint until about 1938 and was then interested in the underlying structure of English landscape, more particularly the strange Pembrokeshire coast with its fossils and remains and fierce rock formations. Since then, Sutherland has been stimulated by the glaring heat and light of the South of France into intensifying his colour range and extending his imagery. Nearly all his pictures contain a single image or a series of images set against a simplified background, and this sparse sense of design follows through into his recent portraits of Beaverbrook, Somerset Maugham and Churchill.

COTTERELL BUTLER

Of the younger generation, Butler, the sculptor, is the best known and the most gifted. He is concerned with the plight of the human being caught up in the inexorable machinery of pain and oppression but so far Butler presents this plight without comment.

Wonderfully inventive in technique and highly articulate in his command of form, Butler has made one sculpture recently of a *young girl* which shows a new tenderness, although the characteristic tension is still present. *The Oracle*, a blind, menacing personage shows his continued debt to surrealism.

LYNN CHADWICK

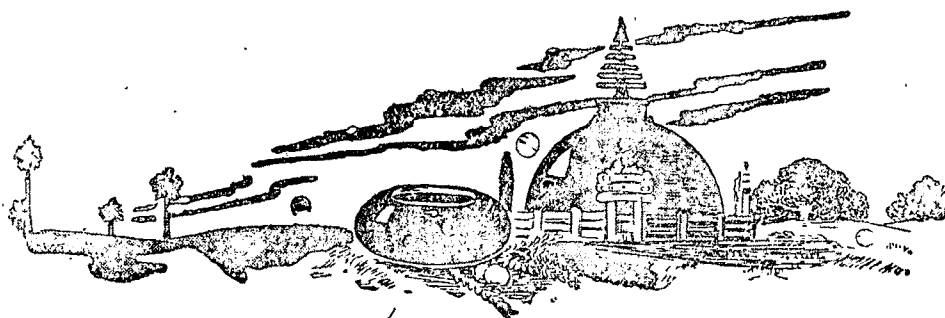
Chadwick, by contrast, is lighter in mood, more buoyant and often elegantly whimsical. He has shaken off an earlier link with Calder and the world of mobiles and is now creating very solid standing sculpture of great liveliness and invention. His work is very experimental in its use of material.

KENNETH ARMITAGE

For Armitage, the other young English sculptor represented at Kassel, the state of *being* for a man or woman seems enough: his people simply exist in space or join hands and are unified by a fragment of wall behind them or are caught up, formally and psychologically, in the transforming movement of the wind. Armitage shares a current tendency to fuse sculpture with painting and can make the slightest quiver or ripple of form seem charged with meaning.

WILLIAM SCOTT

This is also true of the painter, William Scott, whose heroically attenuated and puritanical canvases do not conceal a passionate sensibility and one of the truest tactile senses in England. A steady development through simple still-life arrangements in very brilliant or very sombre colour has given place to non-representation, for the time being; great significance being given to the individual brush marks and quality of paint.



INDUSTRIAL FINANCE CORPORATION

BY PROF. DEBAJYOTI BURMAN, M.A.

(in 7 subjects)

INDUSTRIAL Finance Corporation has completed seven years of its life. In 1953 it came under fire or severe criticism in the Press as well as in the Indian Parliament. At first, it refused to disclose the names of the Loanee Companies. Specific allegations were then made in the Parliament saying that the resources of the Corporation were being utilised by a group of capitalists headed by Lala Shri Ram, Chairman of the Corporation, and concerns in which he was directly interested had been granted loans by the Corporation exceeding Rs. 166 lakhs. Particular references were made to the Bengal Potteries Ltd., Orissa Textile Mills Ltd., Jay Engineering Works Ltd., and Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. On 17 December, 1952, Shri C. D. Deshmukh made a statement in the Lok Sabha on the subject in which he said that "a very strong demand was voiced for the disclosure of the names of the Industrial concerns to which the Corporation has given financial accommodation," and agreed to appoint an Enquiry Committee. On 30 December, 1952, the Committee consisting of Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani and two other members was announced. The Committee submitted its Report on May, 1953. In its Report, the Committee said:

"We have ascertained that while Lala Shriram has substantial direct interest in the Bengal Potteries and Jay Engineering Works, his financial interest in the Orissa Textile Mills and in the Sodepur Glass Works is limited to the holding in the Share Capital of the Companies in the name of Messrs. Madan Mohan Lall Shri Ram & Co., Ltd. This company is a family concern of Lala Shri Ram and his share in the Company is worth Rs. 2-3 in the rupee. According to Lala Shri Ram's statement, the above firm has shareholdings in 8 concerns which have been sanctioned loans by the Executive Committee."

Shri V. R. Sonalkar was the Managing Director of the Board of I.F.C. and the Chairman of the Executive Committee. The Audit Report on the Accounts of the I.F.C. for the year 1953-54 reveals a series of financial irregularities committed by the Managing Director involving the I.F.C. in huge losses.

The revelations made by the I.F.C. Enquiry Committee had led to several amendments in the I.F.C. Act. A Central Committee is to be established in place of the Executive Committee. The Chairman and the Managing Director are to be paid men. The Corporation is permitted to hold any Stock, Share, Bond or Debenture, with the permission of Central Government, for any period of time in fulfilment of its underwriting liabilities. It is also permitted now to underwrite securities of new concerns.

As a result of the I.F.C. Enquiry Committee, the I.F.C. now discloses in its Annual Report the names of the Loanee Companies and the amounts granted to them but many other defects yet remain to be removed. Some such defects may be mentioned.

RATE OF INTEREST

The rate of interest charged is high and discrimination is often made between companies. The World Bank's rate of interest is 4 per cent. The I.F.C.'s rate is 5 per cent in the minimum and sometimes going as high as 6½ per cent with a commitment charge of ¾ per cent on the unavailed amount. The cost of preparation of mortgage deeds in respect of a loan of Rs. 30 lakhs comes up to Rs. 75,000, i.e., 2½ per cent of the loan amount. For smaller sums it is higher. Actual rate of interest, therefore, comes to about 7 per cent. Rs. 30 lakhs minus Rs. 75,000 comes up to Rs. 29.25 lakhs which is the actual available amount on which the rate of interest calculated at 6½ per cent, works at 7 per cent with a stipulation of compound interest from the beginning in case of default in payment of interest on due date. The audit report says: The most important term and condition of the sanction of the loan is the rate of interest to be charged. Different rates were charged in the case of loans sanctioned on the same date or about the same time; *vide* instances given below:

"Kirlosker Oil Engines Ltd. and the National Electrical Industries Ltd. were sanctioned loans of Rs. 10 lakhs and Rs. 6 lakhs respectively on the 14th October, 1948, but the rate of interest was fixed at 6 per cent with a rebate of 1 per cent in the first case and 6 per cent with a rebate of ½ per cent in the second case. . . . A loan of Rs. 20 lakhs was sanctioned to Bengal Potteries Ltd., on the 3rd November, 1948, at 6 per cent less 1 per cent rebate while in the case of Standard Batteries Ltd. a loan of 20 lakhs was sanctioned on the 26th November, 1948, at 5½ per cent less ¾ per cent rebate. In the case of Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., the rate of interest charged is 6½ per cent less ½ per cent rebate if interests are paid regularly to schedule. The Audit Report says that until 20th July, 1951, the Board or the Executive Committee did not specifically lay down the rate of interest to be charged. The Board at their meeting held on 21st July, 1951, decided that in view of the prevailing conditions in the Capital Market, the rate of interest of 5½ per cent with a rebate of ½ per cent should continue. From February, 1952, the rate of interest was raised to 6 per cent with a rebate of ½ per cent and subsequently to 6½ per cent with a rebate of

$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent from October, 1952, but no specific resolution of the Board was available."

The Audit Report comments:

"It was pointed out in the Audit that an important matter like the fixation of the rate of interest should not have been left to the discretion of the Managing Director but should have been decided by the Executive Committee/Board of Directors."

After the Audit objections the Executive Committee, in their meeting held on 30 October, 1954, regularised the matter, by confirming the rates fixed in the past and also decided that in future important matters like change in the rate of interest should be reported to the Executive Committee and their resolution recorded in the minutes. It may be mentioned here that the Karnafuli Paper Mills of Chittagong secured a loan of Rs. 1½ crores at 3 per cent interest from World Bank. The paid up capital of the company is Rs.1½ crores.

APPOINTMENT OF DIRECTORS

Sec. 25(2) of the I.F.C. Act provides for the appointment of "a Director" on the Board of Directors of the loanee concern to protect the interest of the Corporation. Instances of discrimination in the application of this provision are known. The Audit Report says, "It was noticed that in the case of Bengal Potteries Ltd., no such clause was inserted in the Mortgage Deed." The Enquiry Committee in paragraph 20 of their Report had remarked that no representative of the Corporation was appointed on the Boards of Directors of the Bengal Potteries and the Jay Engineering Works.

The Audit Report discloses that out of 26 companies, the Corporation did not exercise their right to nominate Directors on the Boards of seven companies up to the end of 1949, namely,

- (1) Kirlosker Oil Engines Ltd.
- (2) Bengal Potteries Ltd.
- (3) Surat Textiles Ltd.
- (4) Mukund Iron & Steel Works Ltd.
- (5) Bharat Starch & Chemicals Ltd.
- (6) Calcutta Electrical Manufacturing Co., Ltd.
- (7) Jay Engineering Works Ltd.

Out of 70 companies to whom loans were advanced up to 30 June, 1954, the Corporation appointed its nominees on the Boards of Directors of 24 Companies only. The Audit Report named two Companies and said, "As the financial position of the following Companies was not sound, the Corporation may consider the appointment of their representatives on the Board of Directors of these Companies."

In the case of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works Ltd., however, a Company with a paid up capital exceeding Rs. 66 lakhs, and assets exceeding a crore of rupees provision for two Directors

has been arbitrarily incorporated in the Mortgage Deed. It betrays an astonishing anxiety on the part of the I.F.C. to protect an interest to the extent of Rs. 30 lakhs. It violates Sec. 25(2) of the I.F.C. Act itself which provides that "a Director" shall be appointed. Kirlosker Oil Engines Ltd. was given a loan of Rs. 37 lakhs, Mukund Iron & Steel Works Rs. 33 lakhs, and Jay Engineering Works Rs. 36 lakhs, but not a single Director was appointed on their Boards.

PROPORTION OF SECURITY

Loans to Sodepur Glass Works came in for bitter criticism. The Enquiry Committee devoted one full chapter to this episode and concluded:

"In the ultimate analysis, the following facts emerge—

(i) In view of the drawbacks of the project, as pointed out by the Expert Committee the Corporation should have been more circumspect in sanctioning the original loan of Rs. 40 lakhs.

(ii) The Capital requirements of the project had been grossly underestimated and the Corporation seems to have made no serious attempt to properly assess, at any stage, the long-term requirements. The single factor is the major contributory cause for the present state of affairs of the Company.

The Corporation must now estimate closely the long-term capital requirements, which have been variously estimated at Rs. 15 lakhs to Rs. 35 lakhs. The economics of the present plate glass plant need be looked into carefully. If it cannot be run as an economic unit, the question of installing the figured glass and bottle-plants should be considered. As Bhurkunda does not provide any special advantage, the desirability of installing these plants at Sodepur may be examined.

(iii) The Corporation should have, in collaboration with the Managing Agents, devised ways and means for accelerating the construction of the factory which was of paramount importance both in the Company's and the Corporation's own interest.

(iv) The technical organisation of the factory was weak and the appointment of a non-technical General Manager on behalf of the Corporation aggravated the situation.

(v) Conflict of personalities and dual control seemed to have complicated matters resulting in mismanagement.

A total loan of Rs. 63 lakhs was granted to Sodepur Glass Works till June, 1954. The Corporation took over the management of the Company on 19 March, 1953, under Section 28 of the I.F.C. Act. During the period 19 March, 1953 to 30 June, 1954, the Corporation incurred an expenditure of Rs. 32,80,000 which increased to Rs. 35,08,481 up to 19 October, 1954. The total amount outstanding on 30 June, 1954, was as under:

Principal	Rs. 95,72,538-2-9
Interest	Rs. 7,56,284-11-9"

The Audit Report reveals that a sum of R. 5,70,254-10-0 on account of interest for the year ended 30 March, 1954, was not included in the total outstandings as it was stated by the Board that the said interest was not likely to be realised, the available security being insufficient for that purpose. Thus the entire advance remained without interest for the year ended 30 June, 1954.

Apart from the above, certain expenditures were incurred by the Head Office of the Corporation and were debited to their charges account instead of recovering the same from the Company. A few instances are:

- (i) Expenditure on salaries of extra-staff employed,
- (ii) Expenditure on travelling, etc., of the Corporation staff,
- (iii) Several telephone calls made by the Head Office to the Calcutta office conveying instructions, etc.

These charges were debited in the discretion of the Managing Director. There was audit objection to these debits.

The pro-forma Balance Sheet of the Company as at 31, December, 1953, disclosed the following:

(i) The loss had gone up to Rs. 44.23 lakhs without provision for any depreciation. Thus the capital of the Company and a part of the loan amount of the Corporation was wiped out.

(ii) The value of raw materials, stores, goods in process and finished goods was Rs. 15 lakhs.

(iii) The loan was guaranteed up to the extent of Rs. 50 lakhs only. The remaining amount was not guaranteed.

(iv) The outstandings were in excess of the securities pledged by the Company to the Corporation.

The lavishness of expenses may be understood from the fact that a technical expert was appointed on a salary of \$1250, free of Indian Income-tax Act. The tax liability of the company on the salary of this Expert for the period 15 April, 1953 to 7 April, 1954, amounted to Rs. 1,26,685. The Board of Directors of the Corporation sanctioned payment of this amount.

After these revelations in the Audit Report, the I.F.C. sold the Sodepur Glass Works to a Japanese firm for Rs. 62 lakhs, and granted this Japanese concern a loan of Rs. 62 lakhs in order to enable them to take over and run the factory. The transaction may be called granting a loan against a cash memo of equal amount. In the news of this transaction published on 12 September, 1955, it was stated that the "loan is on good security." The total amount sunk on this doubtful enterprise thus comes to about Rs. 110 lakhs.

Sodepur Glass Works is not the solitary instance. The Audit Report says, "A number of companies have closed down and the possession of their assets has been taken over by the Corporation." One should be inclined to believe that deliberate negligence by the Board, the Executive Committee and the Managing Director is responsible for the loss of Corporation money.

LOANS TO TAX EVADERS

The loan application form requires the companies to give information regarding liability for income-tax. The Enquiry Committee in their Report said: "Consistent with the present practice under which income-tax clearance certificate is required to be produced by applicants for import and export license and by tenderers for Government contracts, we suggest for Government consideration whether applicants for loans to the Corporation should not also be required to produce similar certificates when applying to the Corporation. In addition, the applicants should also certify that their names are not before the Income-tax Enquiry Tribunal." (Paragraph 55.)

The Enquiry Committee Report was submitted on 1 May, 1953.

The Government of India in their resolution dated 23 December, 1953, had stated that the Companies who are known to be evading taxes should not be eligible for finance through the Corporation. Neither any rule nor any directive has been specifically issued by the Government to the Corporation on the subject. The resolution, therefore, remains infructuous.

The Audit Report points out that in Government of India, Ministry of Finance letter No. F2(9)-F.III/54, dated 3 April, 1954, there was no reference to the recommendation made in paragraph 55 of the Enquiry Committee Report. The Audit Report also confirms the view that "even when the Director or any partner of the Managing Agent of the applicant Company happens to be a person whose case has been referred to the Income-tax Investigation Commission, the Company's application for loan should not be sanctioned by the Corporation."

MISUSE OF PUBLIC MONEY

The I.F.C. Act was amended on 29 December, 1952, to bring the Corporation under the audit purview of the Comptroller and the Auditor-General. The resultant audit has revealed a number of defects in the working of the Corporation which involved misuse of public funds. It has been revealed that discrimination was made in respect of the following items:

- (1) Grant of loan.
- (2) Utilisation of the loan amount.
- (3) Personal guarantee of the Managing Agents and modification of the terms of the Managing Agency agreement.
- (4) Insurance arrangements.

(5) Appointments of Directors.

(6) Terms of repayment.

Wide discretionary powers were exercised by the Managing Director in respect of all these matters. The Audit Report says that in regard to items (2) to (6), "the terms and conditions were finally settled by the Managing Director and not reported to the Executive Committee before the execution of the Mortgage Deed and the disbursement of the loan amount."

Lavish expenditures were detected in respect of the following:

(1) *Law Charges*: "A sum of Rs. 2,000 was paid on 30th July, 1953, to an advocate of the Bombay High Court for drafting a reply to Chapter VIII of the I.F.C. Enquiry Committee Report dealing with the loan of the Sodepur Glass Works Ltd. The amount of the fee was not settled in advance and the payment was made on an indication of the law officer of the Corporation that Rs. 2,000 was reasonable."

(2) *Staff Car*: A car was purchased and the Executive Committee was informed of the purchase. At no stage the Executive Committee was informed of the probable or actual amount spent. The car was purchased at a cost of Rs. 20,000 and was being used by the Managing Director. "He stated that it was primarily meant for the use of one officer only. The maintenance of the car by the Corporation for the exclusive use of the Managing Director amounted to a concession which apparently was not included in the terms and conditions of his appointment."

(3) *Travel by Air-conditioned Class by Officers of the Corporation*: Senior officers travelled by air-conditioned class and were also allowed the incidental fare at the air-conditioned class rate, i.e., they drew the incidental at a higher rate, if they travelled by air-conditioned class instead of by first class." Overpayments on this account were made and detected.

(4) *Air-conditioned Travel by Members of the Board*: By the resolution of the Board dated 7th July, 1948, members were entitled to first class travel if the journey was performed by rail. They were, however, allowed railway fare and incidental half fare at air-conditioned class rate. Overpayments were detected.

(5) *Establishment Expenses*: During the six years of the existence of the Corporation the expenses on establishment have been steadily increasing. During the year ending June 1953, the increase was Rs. 60,801 and during the year ending June 1954 there was a further increase of Rs. 62,935.

On the Building Account, a large infructuous expenditure was made.

"In pursuance of a scheme for constructing its own building, the Corporation purchased a piece of land in May 1952 at a cost of Rs. 7,76,732 subject

to payment of ground rent at Rs. 19,418-5-0 per year. The places for the proposed building were approved by the Executive Committee at their meeting held on 26th July, 1952. On the 14th February, 1953, tenders for the construction of the building were invited. But the Executive Committee in their meeting held on 11th July, 1953 decided that it would not be profitable for the Corporation to invest a large sum of Rs. 64 lakhs (inclusive of the cost of land and air-conditioning) on the construction of the building and the Managing Director was asked to negotiate regarding disposal of the land and hiring of suitable accommodation.

"As regards the disposal of the land the Managing Director informed the Executive Committee on 14th February, 1954, that the Corporation had already paid Rs. 22,184-12-0 as ground rent up to 14th July, 1953, and Rs. 54,366 to the architects. He estimated that the loss on the sale of the plot up to 31st December, 1954, besides the expenditure of Rs. 76,550-12-0 already incurred, would be Rs. 5,02,084."

The infructuous expenditure besides loss on sale of land was calculated in audit as follows:

Fees of the Architects	Rs. 1,56,899-4-6
Fees of the re-inforced concrete specialist	„ 25,325-0-0
Cost of inviting tender and miscellaneous other expenditures	„ 23,465-4-3

Rs. 2,05,689-8-9

This is the Audit Comment: "It is also questionable whether in view of the financial position of the Corporation in which Government guarantee for the minimum return on capital had to be repeatedly invoked, it was prudent to have embarked on a project of this magnitude for housing the offices of the Corporation. It is also not definite that this organisation is to be permanent in character and therefore such a proposal should not have been entertained. In any event there is no justification for reconsidering the question merely because a loss is likely to be incurred."

AUDIT REPORT

The result of audit may best be summarised in the words of the Audit Report itself:

(a) The Managing Director exercised powers in excess of those delegated to him;

(b) The terms and conditions of loans more particularly the rate of interest chargeable were varied by the Managing Director, even in respect of contemporaneous transactions;

(c) Loans were granted in many cases where, *prima facie*, the issue of a share capital or debentures

tures should have been possible, having regard to the financial position and the standing of the concerns;

(d) Loans were granted in some other cases where the financial position of the concerns did not justify the risks taken;

(e) The recommendations of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry were disregarded in making loans available in certain cases;

(f) While the Corporation was running at a loss and the Government guarantee was being repeatedly invoked for payment of the minimum dividend, the Corporation had embarked on a scheme costing approximately Rs. 64 lakhs for the construction of office accommodation. Preliminary action for this purpose has involved the Corporation in a possible loss of Rs. 6 lakhs;

(g) The growth of administrative expenditure is out of proportion to the business transacted;

(h) All the irregularities and exercises of power in excess of delegation, in which the Managing Director was involved, were approved *ex-post-facto* at a meeting of the Corporation held in October 1954 after the I.F.C. Enquiry Committee and also audit had drawn pointed attention to these lapses;

(i) Rules have yet to be framed by Government in accordance with Section 42 of the I.F.C. Act, defining clearly the questions which are specifically reserved for the Government. In the absence of such rules, the Corporation had undertaken responsibilities and decisions which should have been normally submitted to Government for approval.

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CAPITAL FORMATION IN INDIA

BY PROF. MISS BELA BOSE, M.A.,

Hooghly Women's College, Chinsurah, West Bengal

CAPITAL formation has become one of the most acute problems in India specially in relation to the financing of the Second Five-Year Plan. It has therefore become a subject for deep and exhaustive study.

When a society does not apply the whole of its productive capacity to the needs of current consumption but directs a part of it to the making of capital goods, capital, in the economic sense, is said to be formed. Thus capital formation presupposes an act of saving on the part of the community which in its turn is implicit in the income level of the country. In view of our present low productivity, which in itself is due to a lack of capital, by far the greater part of the available resources is employed to produce the current consumption goods. It is very difficult to spare any resource for the production of capital goods. We are, in the words of Prof. Nurkse of Columbia University, in a vicious circle of poverty. It implies a Circular Constellation of diverse forces acting and reacting in such a way as to keep a poor country in perpetual poverty.

A small capacity to save results from the low level of real income. The low level of real income is a reflection of low productivity which in its turn is due to a lack of capital. The lack of capital is a result of the small capacity to save and so the circle is complete.

The disparities that exist in the level of real incomes

of the different countries of the world will nevertheless help us to understand the position of under-developed countries. A report from the United Nations reveals that 67 per cent of the World's income goes to high income countries comprising 18 per cent of the world's population. This group consists of U.S.A., Canada, Western Europe and New Zealand. Secondly, 18 per cent of the World's income goes to the middle income group consisting of 15 per cent of the population. This group includes Argentina, Uruguay, South Africa, Israel, and some countries of Eastern Europe, especially Russia. Lastly, the lower income group earns only 15 per cent of the World's income but consists of 67 per cent of the population. It covers most of Asia, South Eastern Europe, and Latin America, i.e. the whole block of under-developed countries. Out of this 15 per cent income the basic requirements of 67 per cent are to be met. It is not difficult to imagine why saving is practically non-existent in under-developed countries.

Thus the problem of capital formation in India is inherently a problem of increasing the income of the majority. Mass of the population here have little or no margin between receipts and expenditure. Only a small minority are in regular receipt of an income which permits saving. The divergence of economic, social and political conditions of developed and under-

developed countries makes inevitable the adoption of a completely separate policy for their problem. In under-developed countries capital shortage cramps all progressive aspiration while in advanced countries the problem is to secure profitable outlets for the investment of capital. The traditional process of capital formation, i.e., the process with which we are nurtured under western influences, will not be effective. India requires a separate solution suitable for her own peculiar economic conditions. The western theory of capital formation which depends on the theory of liquidity preference, cannot *ipso facto* be applied to under-developed countries where wide-spread liquidity of money is conspicuous by its absence.

The deficiency of appropriate financial institutions constitutes a serious handicap to capital formation in India. The banking system is inadequate. They are designed mainly to serve the commerce of the country. They prefer to lend to plantation, mining and trading activities.

Most of the banks are concentrated in cities and towns. Rural credit system is so under-developed that it is not possible to bring whatever small savings the villagers have, into banks so that such money could be profitably invested. The importance of interest rate as a regulator of investment, doubted even in industrial countries, is comparatively small here as production is more labour-intensive. Fluctuation in wage-rate influences the cost structure more than the variation in the interest rate.

The unorganised nature of the Indian money market is a great handicap against the success of the mechanism of Bank Rate and Open Market Operation. More than 50 per cent. of the total money requirements of trade and industry specially in the rural sector, is still supplied by the indigenous bankers. And these bankers seldom come within the controlling power of the Reserve Bank.

Joint-stock company and the security market in India have not yet been fully capable of drawing the substantial part of the savings. Frequent company failures and wide-spread illiteracy are responsible for discouragement of investment in joint-stock companies which in its turn encourages hoarding in species and bullions. The traditional process of capital formation through voluntary savings and individual private investment would not be effective in India where the basic conditions for capital accumulation are absent. If any attempt be made along that line, it would be a faulty measure. A review of an account of capital formation estimated by the Planning Commission would explain the point.

According to an estimate prepared by the Planning Commission the volume of capital formation amounted to Rs. 719 crores in 1953-54 as compared with Rs. 589 crores in 1950-51. Thus there has been a net improve-

ment of Rs. 130 crores in three years. Out of this Rs. 791 crores, the public sector accounts for Rs. 277 crores while the private sector records an investment of Rs. 443 crores.

Under the private sector Rs. 204 crores have been invested for the construction of buildings in towns and villages—urban construction amounting to Rs. 124 crores and village construction to Rs. 81 crores.

Construction of building as a factor in capital formation depends on the purpose for which it is built, if it is for dwelling purposes it is definitely not capital. In the above estimate of the Planning Commission, no indication of the purpose is given and therefore it is not clear how far this investment would help capital formation. Expenditure made for the improvement of land, irrigation, agriculture and implements of small industry and for mining and manufacturing enterprises should be regarded as real investment. These involved a total outlay of Rs. 209 crores. The actual capital invested on private account thus amounts to Rs. 209 crores and not Rs. 443 crores as stated by the Planning Commission. This amount would be still more reduced if deduction is made for depreciation.

The bulk of the capital has been supplied by the Government. But the different heads under which investment is made has not been separately shown in the estimate. Construction of dams, canals, wells, etc., has been included under capital formation while defence and others have been treated as consumption expenditure. To what extent these investments have induced capital formation is difficult to ascertain. Any estimate of capital formation by western method will not truly represent the Indian condition.

Capital formation through monetary policy and budget surpluses has become essential in recent years. The realisation of the inadequacy of voluntary saving has led many under-developed countries to adopt deficit financing for raising the capital for development plans. In India the Planning Commission has accepted deficit finance as an essential measure for raising finance for the plan. When the largest part of the new money is likely to be spent on inelastic consumption goods, the risk of creating an inflationary spiral becomes manifest. Prof. Sheroy has pointed out in his note of dissent to the Second Plan that the success of this policy depends on an administrative efficiency which may be found only in a totalitarian state. Deficit finance through note issue is bound to be risky and is very likely to lead to inflation in a democratic state like India.

The revenue surplus in Government budget is an important stimulant to capital formation. The First Five-Year Plan estimated to raise Rs. 569 crores from General budget surplus but realised Rs. 321 crores only during the first 3 years of the plan period. The Second Five-Year Plan estimates a surplus of Rs. 5,200

crores within the plan period. But it seems to be a very ambitious expectation. The success of the Budgetary Policy depends primarily on the reduction of expenditure and also on an increase in revenue. There is little tendency for reduction in expenditure, rather Government expenditure of an unproductive nature is on the increase. The only way to create the surplus will therefore be to increase the income either through earnings of state enterprises or through taxation.

In a welfare state, during a normal period, Government seldom imposes high and regressive tax as it reacts heavily on the income and standard of living of the people. Most of the modern states, no matter whether they believe in socialism or capitalism, try their best to create a surplus in their budget by earning through different trading activities, such as nationalisation of coal, gas, electricity foreign trade and communication. Not only Soviet Russia but capitalist countries like Great Britain, France, South America and others have nationalised some of their most prosperous undertakings and earn large profits annually. In India also the Government has invested about Rs. 60 crores on nationalised industries. The First Five-Year Plan expected to realise Rs. 132 crores from the profits of state-owned enterprises. But actually a loss of Rs. 46 crores has been incurred within the three years of the plan. In the States, however, all except West Bengal have been successful to earn profits. Failing surplus from state enterprises, the Government have now adopted a policy of increasing taxation and deficit finance.

According to Prof. Colin Clark there is a critical limit to taxation. In peacetime this amount should never be more than 25 p.c. or in some countries 20 p.c. or less of the national income. In a less developed

country, however, such a limit is found long before the Clarkian limits are reached. In India the limit to taxation has been estimated in the Second Five-Year Plan as 9 to 10 P.C.

The justification of this estimate depends on the distribution of the burden of tax on different sections of people. In calculating the incidence of taxation no sectorwise calculation has been made either by the Taxation Enquiry Commission or by the Planning Commission. The imposition of tax therefore is being made without any scientific basis and any fresh taxation is therefore quickly becoming a source of public irritation. Tax evasion is also becoming wide-spread. Mobilisation of finance through this channel is rapidly tending to reach the limit.

The prospect of public debt also is not very promising in India. The First Five-Year Plan expected to raise Rs. 215 crores from the public. But in spite of strenuous effort on the part of the Government, it was not able to realise more than Rs. 34 crores.

Loan, taxation, and deficit finance are the different processes of tapping the same source of national saving. The whole problem thus boils down to the fact that unless individual income is increased all attempts at capital formation become futile.

India requires quite a different approach to her problem. We require such a plan that it would provide opportunity of earnings to the vast population. Income, instead of being concentrated in the hands of the few, needs be diffused throughout the country. Saving would then be easy and would expand spirally as the multiplier extends.*

* Address delivered at the Rotary Club, Asansol on November 7, 1955,



INDIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

By PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE visit of the Soviet Prime Minister, Mr. Bulganin and the Communist Party Secretary, Mr. Khrushchev, to India only a few months after the visit of the Prime Minister Nehru to the Soviet Union is an event of great international importance in the cause of world peace and co-operation. This is, perhaps, the first time since the Russian Revolution that the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union has moved out of his country to another country on a mission of goodwill and friendship. It is, indeed, a glowing tribute to the successful policy of non-alignment followed by our great leader, Shri Nehru, that India is the first country which is being visited in this manner by the Soviet statesmen. The reception that was accorded to the Russian leaders on the first day of their arrival in India was an unprecedented one; about a million people lined the twelve-mile route from the Palam airport to Rashtrapati Bhawan. The civic reception on the following day was also unique in the annals of India's capital city. Prime Minister Bulganin declared that India and the Soviet Union are building their relations on "stable and reliable" foundations of *Pancha Shila*. He fervently hoped that the lasting friendship between the two countries would pave the way for a lasting peace in the world.

The Soviet leaders have praised India's efforts for her economic and industrial development. Referring to several big projects like the Bhakra Dam, Mr. Bulganin observed in Bombay:

"During the few days that we have been in this country we have seen a good many magnificent things made by the ordinary people of India."

Mr. Khrushchev, for his part, remarked:

"When we visit the cities and villages of India, we see in their eyes a beam of joy at the progress Independent India is making."

Donning the white *khadi* caps, the two Soviet leaders assured:

"People of Soviet Russia greet warmly your success."

They also paid a tribute to the Indian scientists:

"We in Russia have many things to learn from you. Indian science is ancient and it has produced a number of eminent scientists. Your scientists have maintained peace with progress in the rest of the world."

The Soviet Prime Minister, in the course of his speeches, has been laying great stress on developing closer ties between India and Russia on the economic front. At the civic reception in Delhi, he said:

"All the necessary conditions have been created for the development of trade and economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and India on a basis of genuine equality and mutual benefit."

Addressing the Members of Parliament, he observed:

"We are prepared to share with you our economic and scientific experience."

At Nangal, Mr. Khrushchev said with emotion:

"We shall share our last piece of bread with you."

He offered all technical "know-how" and training facilities to India. Russia has already agreed to set up a Steel Plant in Madhya Pradesh. Soviet oil experts have also arrived recently in India for helping us in prospecting oil resources in the country. We, no doubt, welcome technical help from the U.S.S.R. in building up India on sound economic foundations. In fact, we are, always prepared to welcome such help from any country in the world, provided it is free from any kind of political strings. We, on our part, do not intend exploiting any country for our economic progress. Nor can we allow any other country to exploit us economically in any manner. Further, we desire to develop our country on the basis of self-help and our own inherent strength, we do not desire to rely too much on any foreign country for our economic development. We are fully conscious of the fact that too much reliance in economic matters on other countries leads to all kinds of political complications which may threaten to endanger the very foundations of Independence. As Dr. Radhakrishnan observed in the course of his opening remarks prefacing the Soviet leaders' address to the Members of Parliament:

"A nation's prosperity depends not so much on foreign aid or assistance or acquiring other people's technical intelligence as on its own inherent strength. Its own capacity, moral character, and capacity for creative work in a co-operative manner."

The visit of the Soviet leaders has, indeed, been very helpful in fostering closer economic and political

ties between India and Russia. There is also much in common between the two great countries. Both stand for world peace and co-operation on the basis of the Five Principles or *Pancha Shila*. Both are eager to improve the economic lot of the common man by eliminating exploitation and bringing about greater economic equalities. But it must always be remembered that the means or methods employed for the achievement of these objects are fundamentally different in India and the Soviet Union. While Russia has followed the totalitarian method of class war and a highly centralised administration, India is wedded to the method of peace, 'democracy and maximum decentralisation.

"India," said Dr. Radhakrishnan, "was trying to bring about a socialistic pattern of society in a peaceful and non-violent way. India's path was consistent with her tradition arising out of her background through non-violent democratic process."

Welcoming the distinguished Soviet visitors, our Prime Minister said:

"We in India have been conditioned by a Master Spirit of the present age, Mahatma Gandhi, who told us to get rid of hatred and violence and to make friends with all, at the same time holding to our convictions and principles . . . That is the approach we venture to make even with those who differ from us . . . It is in this spirit that the people of India approach the great Soviet people and seek their friendship and co-operation. We are simple people and have no sense of rivalry against any country. But we are bent on rebuilding our country along the *Socialist path of our choosing* so that everyone in India may have full opportunities of progress."

We are glad to find that the Soviet guests are fully conscious of the basic differences in our social, economic and political systems. After tracing the history of Russian Revolution and stating the economic achievements of the Soviet Union, Prime Minister Bulganin told the M.P.s:

"You are following your own road. You also have the objective of converting your Motherland . . . into an advanced State with a developed national economy and a high enough standard of living. It is with complete understanding and sincere sympathy that the Soviet people regard your efforts directed to the achievement of these objectives."

At Bombay, Mr. Bulganin said:

"We, the Soviet people, had our great leader Lenin who opened a new path for the happy future of our people. You had your great leader Mahatma Gandhi. Though these great leaders belonged to different philosophies, both had many points in common. Both taught their people how to free the country and build up its independence."

Needless to mention, there is fundamental difference between the philosophies of Lenin and Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi, in accordance with the ancient traditions of India, firmly believed that the means were as important as the ends and that wrong and impure means polluted the nobility and purity of the end itself. It is thus Gandhiji insisted on Truth and Non-violence during our struggle for political freedom. He always advised us to follow the same moral principles for the achievement of social and economic freedom. Marx and Lenin followed a very different path. There can be no compromise between the ideologies of Lenin and Gandhi. We have, however, not the slightest intention of interfering with the ideologies of other countries. Nor can we afford to allow any other country to interfere with our way of life. We sincerely believe in the philosophy of "Live and Let Live" or of "Co-existence."

In the joint Declaration signed at Moscow at the time of Prime Minister Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union, it was made very clear that there would be no interference with each other's internal matters, even in the ideological sphere. Speaking to the Indian M.P.s, Mr. Khrushchev observed:

"We are not rarely accused of trying to export the ideas of Communism to other countries . . . Marching along the chosen path of socialism, the Soviet people have achieved great success in their development. But we have never compelled anybody and are not compelling to accept our ideas of the reconstruction of society."

We do not know how far this is true of the past. But we do believe that the U.S.S.R. has now given up the policy of "exporting" Communism to other countries. So far as India is concerned, we firmly believe that the Gandhian or the Sarvodaya way is the best way for us. As the Father of the Nation himself remarked:

"It is my implicit faith that India will not be able to imbibe Communism and that Lenin's cult will not take root in this soil."

But, where is it?
Surely, not in the two Five year
Plans,

A NOBLE LIFE

By DR. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hony. M.R.A.S., Eng.

A life filled with work of amazing variety and sterling worth, accomplished in silence and self-effacement, ended when Pramatha Nath Bose passed into the eternal silence on 27th April, 1934, only a fortnight before he could complete his 79th year. And it is only today that a full biography* of him has been written, thanks to the collaboration between Jogesh Chandra Bagal (the established authority on the Renaissance in Bengal, its men and institutions) and the family of the deceased, who have supplied their reminiscences.

Born in 1855, Pramatha Nath came just one generation after the first heroes of New Bengal, Michael Madhusudan Dutt and Bhudev Mukherji, and only fifteen years after Bankim and his group, while Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray followed him by five years. Each of them belonged to the "new aristocracy of academic distinction" which has dominated Indian thought and through our thought the national life of New India ever since. But to P. N. Bose belongs the unique honour of having been the progenitor of the greatest industrial undertaking in India,—the Tata Iron and Steel Works of Jamshedpur. His own share in the origin of this great national institution was long forgotten, and it was only in 1938, when Pramatha Nath had been dead for four years, that his marble bust was set up at the Indian Essen, to proclaim to the world that a Bengali Baboo could be something other than a *Graeculus esuriens* in other provinces of India.

Born to a respectable middle-class family of Gaipur (Gobardanga, then in the Nadia district), Pramatha Nath passed the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations, standing 2nd and 5th respectively in order of merit in the whole University (1871 and 1873). Then after securing the top place at the Gilchrist Scholarship competition early in 1874, he went to England on a scholarship of £100 a year tenable for five years. His six years' stay in England was most fruitful. After taking the B.Sc. degree at the London University (1878) with a place near the top and a First Class First at the Royal School of Mines (Biology, July 1879), he carried on research

work on Indian Geology among the specimens in the British Museum, and had the honour of seeing his papers printed in the learned journals of Geology (1880). In May 1880, the Secretary of State for India appointed him to the coveted rank of the Indian Geological Survey, the first Indian so chosen.

In his 23 years under the British Government he carried out very valuable geological explorations in virgin jungles and desolate hills,—the Vindya range, Gondwana, Darjeeling, Chota Nagpur, Rewah, Assam and even Burma, amidst indescribable hardship and danger. A long list of published papers records the fruits of his labour. But in 1903 he retired prematurely from Government service as a protest against his being superseded by a European junior for the post of the head of his department.

But, happily for us, such precious talent was not lost to the country. He was soon afterwards engaged by various Indian Princes to explore the geology of their States,—Mayurbhanj, Patiala, Rajpipla, Kashmir and Tippera (1903—1911). What he achieved here is best illustrated by the location of the Tata Iron Works in the Mayurbhanj State.

Thereafter he settled at Ranchi, where he had built a house (1908), and here he spent most part of his remaining life (1912—1934), in many-sided beneficence to the townspeople and by his writings to the world at large. He lived (along with his friend Satyendra Nath Tagore) as the patriarch of the upper society and his home there was the centre and rendezvous of the men of light and cultured visitors in the evenings. (I heard S. N. Tagore, I.C.S., recite or rather act, Kipling's poem *Ganga Deen* there.)

The many-sided and fruitful activity of his life in retirement baffles description. It was equalled only by his puritan simplicity, purity and strength of character. Sorrow and loss came too thick and too early to him and his life's partner Kamala (the eldest daughter of R. C. Dutt, I.C.S.), whom he had married young in July 1882. But their patriotic and benevolent work did not cease, even after they had passed the span of life assigned to man by the Psalmist of Israel. Two things stand out prominent among Pramatha Nath's labours in office and out of it, namely his efforts to improve the education of our people by directing them towards science and modernism, while retaining their ancient spiritual heritage, and

* *Pramatha Nath Bose* : By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Foreword by Dr. Meghnad Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S. The Elm Press, 63, Beadon Street, Calcutta-6. Illustrated. Pp. xxxiv + 256. Price Rupees Six.

his sermons and practical experiments to make us take to industry and production rather than conventional literary pursuits or "white collar labour." In this he was the yoke-fellow of Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray. The reader can easily believe that Pramatha Nath never smoked nor visited a cinema! So also did our chemist-saint.

Pramatha Nath's greatest achievement, though unrecognized in his lifetime, was the exact location of the Tata Iron Works. The geographical factor alone saved the infant, absolutely novel, pure Indian but extremely modern and mechanised industry from dying at its birth. It was founded before World War No I (1914-1918). It had then to fight in the competitive world market without any State help in the form of subsidy, protective duty, control of imports, concession rates of transport and other aids familiar to the modern socialistic State. And therefore it could stand only because the site was so chosen that the production cost was reduced to a minimum, and the best and richest iron ore and coal deposits were found close to each other, and a vast cheap labour population was within call. If Sheffield's success was due to coal and iron ore being close together in the "Black country," the same was true in a still greater degree of Jamshedpur. And the selection of this area in Mayurbhanj-Chota Nagpur for the Tata factory was due entirely to Pramatha Nath's persistent advocacy, which overbore the Tata Company's earlier and less profitable choice of the Sambalpur district for the location of their Works. This fact is hardly

known to the general public, and the story must be told here:

"The Tatas selected Padampur near Sambalpur, as a possible site for their steel-works. It was at a considerable distance from the coalfields of Jharia and Raniganj . . . One morning a letter came from P. N. Bose, drawing their attention to the iron-deposits of Mayurbhanj . . . Then Tata's experts visited the iron districts of the Mayurbhanj State.

"In the lofty Guru-Mahisani Hill they found enormous deposits of iron ore. They further found hundreds of acres of rich 'Ore-float'—ore lying loose on the surface, which simply had to be picked up by unskilled labour. The explorers were in the presence of a treasure-house far more potentially valuable than most gold mines." This inspection left no doubt that Mayurbhanj offered advantages superior to those of the Sambalpur area. It was far nearer the sea and nearer the coal-fields. Its economic advantages were enormous. The Sambalpur Scheme was abandoned, and the terms of mining rights were soon settled with the Maharajah of Mayurbhanj,—for whom Pramatha Nath acted as negotiator, on terms favourable to both parties.

We must thank Sri J. C. Bagal for crowning his pile of valuable and highly accurate books on the history of the men and movements of New India and the noble colleges of this province, with a biography of such a patriot written in so clear and readable a style. The world can now see his stature.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE GOSPEL OF ISRAEL: *By Duncan Greenlees, M.A. (Oxon). The World Gospel Series, Volume XI. The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. 1955. Pp. cxiv + 377. Price Rs. 7.*

The plan of this monograph follows that of other works in the above valuable series, some of which like *The Gospel of the Guru-Ganth Sahib* and *The Gospel of the Pyramids* have been reviewed by us in previous issues of *The Modern Review*. Its main portion (308 pp.) consists of extracts from the Jewish scriptures (claimed by the author to be translated mostly for the first time from the original works written in Hebrew, Greek and other languages) which are accompanied with an excellent synopsis and a running commentary as well as short footnotes. This is prefaced by a Historical Introduction and explanatory notes as well as the usual brief catechism (100 pp. nearly) throwing light upon the fundamental doctrines of the faith. An Appendix (60 pp.) consists of extracts from the Apocrypha and Rabbinic literature with easy cross references for tracing the development of the ideas in the early centuries of the faith. The author's approach to his subject is expressed in the Preface in words which deserve to be quoted here. "The two religions," he says (p. xiv), "which sprang from the Israelite mother, Christianity and Islam, have by material force and effective propaganda drowned their parent's message to the world, changing it to fit their own ideas. The prejudice of centuries, diligently stirred up against the Jews from time to time, has dubbed this glorious religion a tribal cult, blaspheming its noble portrait of the Universal Father with vile caricatures, slandering His people as jingoes because they know themselves called to be His servants, to work and suffer for the universal brotherhood of righteousness on earth." Altogether this is a learned, accurate and comprehensive account of what has rightly been called "The Gospel of Suffering" "because running through the Jewish Bible, as through the long history of its people, we can trace the scarlet thread of pain" (p. xv) and it fully sustains the noble ideal of this series which is based on the conviction "that all the great Religions and their Scriptures come from one Divine Source, in varying degrees of purity of transmission." A good index and a valuable bibliography bring this volume to a close.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SELECTIONS FROM THE NAGPUR RESIDENCY RECORDS, Vol. IV, 1818-40: *By Dr. Harinarayan Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya. Published by the Government of Madhya Pradesh. 1954. Pp. 24 + 592.*

Thanks to the liberality of the Madhya Pradesh Government, the fourth volume of the Nagpur Residency Records covering the period from 1818 to 1830 has been brought to light. The bulk of these letters relate to 1818-19 A.D., with, of course, a sprinkling of letters from 1821-1830 in the different sections. The letters of 1831-39 would not exceed more than half a dozen. A separate section entitled *Confidential Letters of 1840* covers the last hundred pages (459-560) but they deal with the External Affairs and have hardly any connexion with the Nagpur Government. Their incorporation into this volume is a matter which the reviewer fails to understand.

The first three sections deal exclusively with Nagpur affairs: (i) State of Bhonsla dominion after the third Maratha war, (ii) State of Bhonsla dominion under the British administration, (iii) Appa Saheb's doings after 1818. Most of the correspondence in Sections 2 and 3 deal with a resistance movement led principally by the Gond chiefs against the British power, the romantic escape of Appa Saheb, his wanderings across the country to Bikaner and then to Lahore and the account of two Bengalis, one named Ramratan Babu of Vrindaban, arrested on suspicion of his secret dealings with Rao Ganga Singh, agent of the Bhonsla Raja, Appa Saheb (pp. 339-340) and their being set at liberty. A very interesting letter in Section II, refers to Captain Fell's attempt to copy and decipher the ancient epigraphs in the Chhatisgarh district, 217-19. Section III throws new light on British attempts at pacification of the conquered territories. An *arzi* (statement) made by Raghunath Ingle, Subahdar of Jubbulpore, about certain taxes current under the defunct Hindu Raj merits attention. The taxes are as follows:

1. "All persons of the caste Koormi and Lodhi wishing to marry a second time, to pay a sum proportionate to their circumstances and means, to the State for its sanction to their second marriage."

2. "All persons betrothing, but not performing their contract to pay a fine to the State proportioned to their means of payment."

3. "All persons intriguing with the wives of others or quarrelling or exciting quarrels on account of women, to be fined."

4. "The effects, etc., of all persons, dying without issue or heirs, belong to the State."

5. "The fourth of the purchase money of all houses sold, to be paid into the treasury."

6. "All lands not held by any individual or to which no rights or title can be substantiated by any person belong to the State."

7. "All widows to be sold and the purchase money to be paid into the treasury."

8. "All persons selling their daughters to pay one-fourth of the purchase-money to the State." (Ibid p. 27 of this volume.)

Four other Sections deal respectively with the Pindaris, Peshwa's affairs, Sindhia's affairs and Confiderts. News-letters already referred to.

As regards the standard of editing, the attention of the reader is drawn to certain features from which he will form his own conclusions.

(a) *The lacunae in many letters are so numerous, from pp. 305 to 335 that whole passages remain obscure in meaning.* The editor writes in the summary to letter No. 32, p. 316, and again, on page 320, as follows: "Many passages of the letter and proclamation are blurred and cannot be read and hence blanks have been left to indicate these." The reader might well ask, "Why print blank letters?"

(b) *The printed summaries cover sometimes a complete page, pp. 70-71, 377, 400.*

(c) (i) *There are sentences in the body of letters which are very difficult to follow:* For instance, p. 233, "I also detached a party of infantry to Ramgarh with orders to move upon any point they might run of him."

(ii) "This affords a faint hope that he may be apprehended on that intelligence, may be obtained of the fugitives by a detachment, etc." (p. 285).

(iii) "Dillern Raja, the only Gond entitled to that appellation, was on the cession of the valley the first to come into me, etc." (p. 291).

(iv) "I have desired Lt.-Col. Popham to re-inforce Capt. Cruickshank to *give him* a disposable force to act against the Gonds." (p. 313).

(v) "That in five trips he brought into the hills not less than five or six hundred *atturs* to flock to Appa Saheb's standard." (p. 315).

(vi) "The Hirkara were (should be 'was') proceeding . . . and met at Lartnic by Gondree." See also p. 40. "with a view to *receive* the apprehension and suspicion," pp. 291-2, "in the valley and joining (adjoining the hills."

(d) Proper names are spelt variously, throwing the reader into confusion. For instance,

Rajaji on page 316, Rajojee (p. 312), Ragojee (p. 306).

Seetoo on page 318, Cheetoo (p. 312), Seeto (p. 306).

Likiotoolie on page 314, Lokur Tullaie on the same page.

(e) Such sentences as the following in the editorial rows perplex the reader:

(i) "Capt. Jones has a skirmish *within party* of Hindusthanes and Arabs, following the Raja." (p. 313).

(ii) "What policies and methods should be adopted for running the administration of the districts and province . . . the management of Raja's household . . . and many other similar matters of Government are suggested." (p. 142).

This is stiff and ponderous English.

(iii) "He had been negotiating with Jaswant Rao to give up Appa Saheb and failing that *had pro-*

claimed him a traitor and public enemy." (p. 320).

(iv) What is meant by "Wars has an claims"? (summary on page 237). In the editorial note on page 217, Captain Fell is described as Secretary to the Hindu College, Benares, and of the General Committee of Public Instruction. But in the annexure to the letter, p. 218, H. H. Wilson is mentioned as Secretary to the General Education Committee, Calcutta.

(f) No uniformity in spelling is maintained even in the editorial notes, e.g., on page 189, Kamptee is written in the second line; and on the same page 'Komptah.' Punctuation marks are not adhered to; and sometimes wrongly put, e.g., "Capt. Fell, Secretary, to the Hindu College." Place-names are not identified. This could easily have been done, e.g.,

Page 20 Bhautkoli—Bhatkuli, 10 miles from Amraoti.

Page 150 Puteera (summary to L. No. 79)—probably Pitihra, Sagar district.

Page 153 Bordehi (summary to L. No. 81)—Bordih, Betul district.

Page 159 Babye—Babai, Narsinghpur district. Batkurgarh—Batkagarh, Chhindwara dt.

Misprints:

Page 292 Vengence, *should be* Vengance.

Page 298 designs impute *should be* designs imputed to.

Page 305 ordered him to put to death *should be* ordered him to be put to death.

Page 333 on outlaw *should be* an outlaw.

"SUFF"

INDIA: NEW PATTERN: *By Lady Mabel Hartog. Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 12s. 6d.*

The authoress, the late Mabel Hartog, lived in India from 1921 to 1930 when her husband was first, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca and then, a member of the Public Service Commission, Delhi. She revisited India in 1953 on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the All-India Women's Conference. The book under review is among the results of this second visit.

Lady Hartog writes with sympathy. She has a good word or two for everything praiseworthy in India today. Indian life, according to her, is as rich and varied, the Indian scene, as bright and colourful and the Indian people, as warm and generous as before. New India, in her opinion, "which has deliberately chosen the British pattern of democracy, this new India of adult suffrage, high income-tax and estate duty, National Savings Weeks and flag days, is closer in spirit and in sympathy with the Britain of today than ever was the India of the past."

The twelve chapters of Lady Hartog's book describe, among others, what Free India is like and the efforts made by her to develop her resources through the Five-Year Plans, to improve the condition of the masses in general and of the backward classes in particular. The attempts to solve the vital problems of food, population and the refugees are referred to sympathetically. The changing pattern of social life does not escape the notice of the authoress. She is not unaware of the valuable contribution made by women to the building up of new India.

The authoress is full of admiration for India's foreign policy which has been defined as "the pursuit of peace, not through alignment with any major

power or group of powers, but through an independent approach to each controversial or disputed issue; the liberation of subject-peoples; the maintenance of freedom both national and individual; and the elimination of want, disease and ignorance which afflict the greater part of the world's population." Prime Minister Nehru, the architect of this policy, and the infant Indian Diplomatic Service too have their shares of praise. The former has been rightly described as "one of the great figures on the world stage, respected by all for his integrity and high-mindedness, the champion of a renaissance Asia."

Lady Hartog, sympathetic as she is, does not, however, mince matters and tells quite a few home-truths, which might not be relished by our neo-patriots. She notes, for example, the deterioration in the standards of administration and the corruption prevailing in many of the Government departments. She, however, believes that "India's greatest safeguard lies in the quality and integrity of her leaders and the mounting force of public opinion." The authoress does not see eye to eye with the zealots who are eager to see English replaced overnight by Hindi and regrets that "while educationists favour a policy of gradualness, politicians wax impatient."

The volume at places reveals how shrewd an observer the late authoress was. She thus points out to the "undenying cleavage in the Congress Party itself between those who wish India to develop strictly in accordance with Gandhian principles, and those who, like Nehru, see India's future in large-scale modernisation and scientific progress." She further points out, and rightly at that, that the lower middle class is the new poor class of the Indian society and that the faults for the progressive deterioration in the Indian Universities "are not all on the students' side." Instances may be multiplied.

An admirable volume so rich in information and observation unfortunately makes a few mistakes here and there. Pandit T. N. Kunzru (p. 38) should be Pandit H. N. Kunzru. Sindri is not in Bengal as stated by the authoress (p. 50). It is in Bihar. These and similar other mistakes should be corrected in the next edition.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

THE DOGMA OF REINCARNATION (A critical inquiry): By Sri J. E. Sanjana. Published by New Book Company Ltd., 188-189, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 157. Price Rs. 4.

This book contains a lengthy monograph and an interesting paper on the ancient doctrine of rebirth. The paper is given as an appendix and named the rationale of the dogma of rebirth. It was read before the Philosophical Society of Bombay in September, 1953. The monograph, which covers the bulk of the book, is a masterly study of this very difficult subject. The erudite author had been seriously thinking about it for about fifty years and before writing this book read nearly a hundred outstanding works on this subject. As many as 83 volumes have been referred to or consulted for this purpose. In 1905 he formulated the doubts about the dogma of reincarnation that had arisen in his mind in the shape of some fifteen questions to believers and got it published in a Gujarati paper. In 1907 he wrote in English a carefully documented essay entitled the Belief in Transmigration and brought it out in the *Zartosti*. In 1912, he wrote miscellaneous paragraphs

in Gujarati in the *Journal of the Iranian Association*. At last he undertook the task of writing his monograph which is the outcome of his life-time research.

The author seems to be very hard upon the Theosophists and exposes their shallowness and shyness about this doctrine. He has quoted many oriental scriptures to show that reincarnation is a very ancient doctrine. He has tackled the problem from various angles in the pure light of reason and logic. He believes that this doctrine was quite unknown in the Vedic Sanhitas and Brahmanas but makes its first appearance in the Upanishads. In the *Brahmavagya Upanishad*, Rishi Yajñavalkya treats it as a secret doctrine not to be given out in a mixed assembly; but only to the fit few. So far so good. But when the author observes that the doctrine is a primitive one and originated among the aborigines we beg to differ from him, since philosophical enquiry did not begin in the primitive society. Whatever that may be, this book bears marks of extensive study and profound thinking and amply repays a perusal. The monograph not being chapterised proves monotonous reading. There should have been at least marginal sub-headings to enhance readability.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

CO-OPERATIVE MANAGEMENT: By S. T. Mong and Rewi Alley. Published by the Industrial Co-operatives Organising Committee, 9, Bale Harrow Lane, Fort Bombay. Pp. 100. Price Rs. 2.

Unfortunately co-operative movement has not taken its root much deep in Indian soil as it should. But not so in countries which have forged ahead in struggle for freedom. The examples of Ireland and China are instances to prove that co-operative movement must precede all successful movements for national independence. This book relates to co-operative movement of China and phases of the movement have been described in a thrilling manner. Co-operation—organisation, membership, education and training, planning, production, technical improvement, finance, marketing and supply, rules and regulations, federation, managership, promotional agency and local relationship, all the possible aspects of co-operation—is being successfully experimented in China which is passing through disturbance and unrest for three decades. The present-day China of so-called Communism can only be understood in the light of her co-operative progress in social, economic and political life. The book will be an illuminating study to all co-operators of our country.

AN INTRODUCTION TO MONEY: By Kasturba Laluni, M.A. Published by Messrs. A. Mukherjee and Co., 2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Pp. 141. Price Rs. 3-8.

The author who had already written several books in Bengali and English, does not claim any originality for the subject-matter or treatment of this book. His attempt is to clarify some aspects of the study of this complicated subject which bewilders a beginner. As a student and also as a teacher of Economics he knows the difficulties of students and teachers alike and the present attempt is to solve these difficulties. Besides the introduction, the book has six chapters, viz., Value

of Money, Monetary Standard (I & II), Foreign Exchange Trade Cycle, Future of Monetary Policy; and in each chapter the author has explained the subject-matter in a manner that will be of considerable help to young undergraduate learners. No public man can do any useful service to this country without a clear knowledge of economic problems; and of these problems, the problems of money are the most important because of recent post-war price movements. Besides being useful to students, the book will be of use to general readers.

INSURANCE: Principles and Practice: By Prof. R. S. Sharma, M.Com. Published by Messrs. Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay-2. Pp. 400. Price Rs. 6-8.

Insurance is a subject in which besides the members of the public, the students and the men in the profession are interested equally. In spite of the progress and growth of Insurance in the country the knowledge on the subject is possessed only by a few who have made a special study and it is really astonishing that even professional men, such as agents and organisers, often betray such lack of knowledge as are detrimental to their calling. The author's is an attempt not only to help the students but the would-be insured and the men of the profession of insurance.

The book is divided into six parts—Part I deals with the subject-matter of the book in a general and introductory way, Part II which is divided into nine chapters, deals with various aspects of Life Assurance business, its technicalities, Law and Practice, Part III which is divided into eight chapters, gives not only the history but various types of Marine Insurance including the Phraseology used, Part IV which contains six chapters, gives origin, nature, conditions, rating and re-insurance, etc., of Fire Insurance, and lastly, Part V which again is divided into four chapters gives particulars in short about Motor Insurance, Workmen's Compensation Insurance, Personal Insurance and Miscellaneous Insurance, such as war risk, third party, guarantee, burglary, crop, livestock, rain, baggage and other kinds of social insurances. Part VI gives a short history of Insurance in India and some important sections of the Insurance Act, 1938.

The author has covered a wide area in a small compass and has avoided intricacies and technicalities which might frighten an ordinary reader, but has not sacrificed the essentials he desires to present. We would call this a successful attempt on the part of Prof. Sharma and recommend the volume to all interested in the subject. A good index, a bibliography and short appendices have made the book more useful.

A. B. DUTTA

POEMS OF CHANGE: By Irene Coates. The Fortune Press, 15 Belgrave Road, London, S.W.1.

Some of the poems included herein were published in English periodicals and were well received. 'Let not one man' won the English laurel, Pan-European poetry prize, 1950.

There are twenty-four lyrics in all. In certain expressions here and there they remind us of 'changed times' but in their spirit and sentiment they do not revolt against the traditionally accepted standard of poetry. Poems like 'Persephone' and 'Harappa Incident' are likely to be appreciated by all, poetically minded.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

SHELLEY: By Yateendra Kumar. Published by Bharat Prakashan Mandir, Aligarh. Pp. 57 + 95. Price Rs. 2-8.

A highly commendable achievement, indeed. The young translator has rendered skilfully into Hindi thirty-seven of the well-known shorter poems of Shelley—the great romantic English poet—including his "Ode to Intellectual Beauty," "Liberty," and "To the Skylark," as well as selections from his longer poems like "Revolt of Islam," "Prometheus Unbound," "Alastor" and "Adonais." In addition, there is a biographical sketch of the poet together with an insightful essay on his devoted service to the muse and on the magic of the spirit and style of his poetry. Shri Yateendra Kumar deserves sincere congratulations on opening a window into the wisdom and wonder of one of the immortals of world literature for the Hindi-knowing public.

SANJH: By Narayan Sinha Bhato. Published by Pithal Prakashan, Jodhpur. Pp. 93. Price Rs. 2.

The publishers' present undertaking is praiseworthy. They have planned to bring out, under the competent editorship of Shri Komal Kothari and Shri Vijaydan Detha, a series of books on modern Rajasthani literature of which the one under review is the first. The poet has given, in the true Wordsworthian style, in one hundred and fifteen quatrains, a vivid and many-sided description of evening that mysterious and magical hour of twilight in a village in Rajasthan, in the colourful language of the people and in the idiom of their tradition and culture. The varied inter-action of Man and Nature, both vibrant with the pathos, poignancy and poetry of life, is particularly striking. The spirit of the original is clearly and gracefully expressed in the running Hindi translation. *Sanjh* is a poetical work of the first water.

DESH-BHAKT NARTAKI: By Sayyad Kasim Ali, Sahityalankar. Available from Sushama Sahitya Mandir, Jawaharganj. Pp. 176. Price Rs. 3.

This is a historical play, woven round the event of Nadir Shah's invasion of India. It is full of passion for the liberty of the land one lives in and loves,—a passion which cannot and should not be dimmed by one's loyalty to a particular church or creed. For, "breathes there a man," as Scott says, "who never to himself said this is my own native land?" *Desh-Bhakta Nartaki* is a sincere and stage-worthy play.

GANDHI AUR SAMYAVADA: By Kishorlal Mashruwala. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-4.

A penetrating survey and study of the overall objectives of life, individual as well as collective, as represented by the patterns of conviction and conduct, respectively, called Gandhism and Communism. The difference between the two is as great as is the difference between the sword and the spirit as sole and substantive basis for the creation and consolidation of human society and civilization. The ultimate victory of the spirit, however delayed it might be by man's cultivated impervious insensitivity to the vision and ways of the spirit, however, is sure. Shri Vinobaji's introduction to the book is, as is usual with whatever he writes or says, illuminating.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) PUNARJANMA : By Sane Guruji. Translated by Jayant Parmar. Published by the Bharati Sahitya Sangh, Ahmedabad. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 3.

(2) ASTIK : By Sane Guruji. Published by the Bharatiya Sahitya Sangh, Ahmedabad. 1951. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 199. Price Rs. 3.

Both are Sane Guruji's books written while in jail at Nasik in 1933. They are of superior order and have been very well translated by Shri Jayant Parmar, who has, so to speak, entered into the spirit of the original and reproduced it in his own words. The first depicts a domestic tragedy, a meek wife and libertine husband, reconciled through a common friend, whose intentions did not go without suspicion. The second novel is taken up with personalities on the higher spheres, where Brahma and other divinities figure, and the triangle of Astik Bhagavan, Janmejaya and Vatsala concludes a tragedy which but for Astik Bhagwan would have enveloped the whole world, as Janmejaya had started on a *jaṇa* where the whole of the serpent world Nagloke was to be sacrificed. That legend has been taken as a background to this story.

PRATYUSH : By Jashbhai K. Patel. Published by the Charutar Prakashan, Anand. 1950. Thick card-board. Pp. 102. Price Rs. 2-8.

This collection of about eighty pieces of poetry is conceived on a high poetical level. Some of them are inspired by what the poet read, some by what

he saw, and observed and some purely by the spirit of *Bhakti* (Devotion). In them lies a promise of something higher and more poetic coming out in future.

PRAVASH DARSHAN : By Tarachandra P. Adalja, Baroda. Published by the Baroda Rajya Pustakalaya Mandal, Baroda. 1951. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 218. Price Rs. 2-4.

Shri Adalja is a known writer. He happened to visit Kashmir, North India, Abu, Rishikesh, Dehra, etc., and has set down his own observations and impressions of those places. As a rule such observations are always interesting and informative, as they partake of personal narratives.

ARYA-ADITYA CHAKRABARTI BAPPA RAVAL : By the late Narayan Vasanji Thakkar. Published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay-1. 1951. Thin paper cover. Pp. 210. Price Rs. 4.

As usual, the old well-known weekly *Gujarat* has presented this book to its readers as the 65th Annual Gift. Bappa Raval of Mewad needs no introduction to students of Indian history. He was on the throne of the Sisodias and upheld their name and fame in every respect. A great protagonist of Hindu religion, he found the famous Shiva Temple of Eklingji in Rajasthan and in that capacity defeated Muslim invaders of his time. The novel is written in the usual racy style of the late writer and bound to become popular.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Vealantic Cultivation in 'The Waste Land'

V. A. Thiagarajan writes in *The Vedanta Kesari* :

The poetry of T. S. Eliot is of vital significance to our troubled times. In his own personality, Eliot represents a veritable league of Nations. Thomas Stearns Eliot, born of New England protestants, many of whom had held the office of the elders of the church, had received a his intellectual heritage that faith that removes mountains. But he was born in a questioning age and no one can escape the spirit of his age. This spirit of inquiry took him as an adventurer through time and space, through the Universities of America, France, Germany and England and made him the heir to the wisdom of all the ages.

That is why, as one Indian writer puts it, Eliot is among the Arjunas of the Age, valiantly fighting with the conflicting tendencies of an acquisitive or of a materialistic civilization, battling for the sublimation and the ennoblement of life. Perhaps we cannot do better than follow the line of his thought, as suggested in his famous poem, 'THE WASTE LAND.'

The title of the poem is suggested from a book by Miss Jessie Weston, entitled 'From Ritual to Romance.' The book is of anthropological significance, and points out how romance arises out of rituals which represent man's sympathetic magic. There is a parallel instance found in one of the Hindu epics.

In the Ramayana we are told that when once the land suffered from drouth, the king was told that the fertilizing showers would descend on the land if the king's daughter were to be given in marriage to the sage Rishyasringa. This fertility rite thus represents man's sympathetic magic of fertilizing barren soil, water being in the language of Psychology, the symbol of life itself. The waste land that Eliot represents is the arid desert, the mind of the modern man. The waste land is therefore no particular spot on earth, it is rather like Butler's Erewhon, not a no-where, but everywhere. The waste land is the mind of the modern man in any modern city. It lives waste, so long as he does not go in quest of his own soul.

Excitement, dissipation, the rush and turmoil of life may overload life, like the litter of broken bits of paper or like the refuse which the dustman carts away. It may make us drown uneasy questionings, but in itself it is no substitute for life. It is as though one should read the columns of a newspaper from one column to another in a straight line, without going deeper into the significance of any particular column.

If modern life is to be redeemed from the chaos of our impulses, where shall we seek that wisdom which brings us unutterable peace? Wherefrom shall the fertilizing stream descend to redeem life from decay? The poet finds in the fire sermon of the Lord Buddha an apt symbol of life wasting away like a forest on fire consumed by the passions, objects of sense-enjoyment. The Buddha said that his doctrine

would quench that fire which consumed life, like rain quenching a forest fire. While Eliot accepts the simile, he seeks for light in the wisdom of the Upanishads, in that part of his poem, WHAT THE THUNDER SAID. When the Lord speaks with the voice of thunder, as in the Book of Job all doubt is at an end. But the thunder speaks here, not to convince man of his error, but to illumine his soul. It is said in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad that gods, men and the demons, all descendants of Prajapati, lived with him for a time as students. Prajapati taught them only the syllable 'Da'; then he asked them to explain what they had understood. The gods, who lead a life of unrestrained enjoyment, completed the sound they heard by saying that it meant 'Damayata' or 'Be self-controlled.' The men, on the other hand, said that it meant 'Datta' or 'Be charitable,' for the simple reason that men are the victims of an aggressive acquisitive instinct, and are lacking most conspicuously in the sense of charity. The demons of the nether world, violent and aggressive by nature, felt in turn that they were asked to cultivate that which they most lacked. So the imperative must have been, 'Dayadhwam,' 'Be compassionate.'

To all of them Prajapati said, 'You have understood.'

The storm-cloud thunders: 'Da! Da! Da!—Be self-controlled! Be charitable! Be compassionate!'

Eliot wants to point out that just as the peal of thunder is the precursor of the coming rain, so also if what the thunder said, should become ingrained in human nature, and if man, who is the meeting ground of the gods and the demons alike, should cultivate in himself the triune virtues of self-restraint, charity, and compassion, he can redeem life from becoming a sterile place where the hollow men go round and round the prickly pear at five o'clock in the morning. The poem is at once an exhortation and a challenge. The New England puritan preachers must have preached Hell at their congregation, as the simplest way of driving them towards Heavens; Eliot, who is their descendant, points out to us the Inferno in which we live, and desires that we should work against this Inferno, so that we may rebuild the Paradise of our shattered hopes and ideals. His poetry is a clarion call to mankind. It is not altogether written in despair, for the tragic view of life which it takes is only an interim evaluation of life. He shares our hopes and fears and makes us participants in the quest of the ages. May the poet's vision always shine before us.

Shakespearean Plays in Indian Languages

Professor C. R. Shah writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Of the thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare twenty-five have been either translated or adapted into Indian languages. The plays which have been adapted into a large number of Indian languages are: *The Merchant*

of *Venice*, *Cymbeline*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *Macbeth*. A tragedy has a greater appeal to the Indian audience than a comedy. And yet two early comedies of Shakespeare—*The Comedy of Errors* and *The Taming of the Shrew*—have been adapted in various languages. There are some six stage versions of *The Comedy of Errors*: *Jodiya Bhatyo* (Twin Brothers), in Parsi Gujarati, written and produced by N. R. Ranina in Bombay (1865); *Bhul-Bhulaiya*, in Urdu, by Feroz Shah Khan (1896); *Rama Ratan*, in Gujarati, by N. K. Vaidya (1903); *Gorakh-Dhandha*, in Hindi, by Narayan Betab (1912) and one or two prose versions in Marathi, not written for the stage.

The Taming of the Shrew achieved great success on the Marathi stage. Its theme, the beating up of a shrewish wife to teach her good manners, seems to have had a general appeal in India, where such a practice is not uncommon. There are three popular versions of this play in Marathi: *Tratika* by V. B. Kelkar of Poona (1892); *Chaudaven Ratna* (with several songs interspersed in the text) and *Karkasha Damana*.

There are some prose versions of Shakespeare's plays in Marathi which make good reading but are not quite suitable for the theatre: *Venice Nagarcha Vyapari* (The Merchant of Venice), by K. B. Bulsara (1910); *Chaurgadchya Vinodi Striya* (The Merry Wives of Windsor); *Premagumpha* (As You Like It), by V. S. Patwardhan; *Sumati Vijaya* (Measure for Measure) by H. N. Apto (1911); *Pranaya-Mudra* (The Merchant of Venice) by V. S. Gurjar (1914); *Tuphan* (The Tempest) by K. B. Bulsara (1903); *Premacha Kalasa* (Romeo and Juliet) by K. B. Bulsara (1908); *Vikara Vilasita* (Hamlet) by G. G. Agarkar (1883); *Ajit Sinh* (Othello) by Kolhatkar; *Manaji Rao* (Macbeth) by S. M. Paranjpe (1896); and *Saudagar* (The Merchant of Venice) by M. Agashe.

Urdu adaptations of Shakespeare's plays appeared on the Indian stage and achieved remarkable success between the years 1890 and 1910. These Urdu versions were very free and at times crude renderings of Shakespeare's text. At the performances of these Urdu plays, the programmes which were sold in the theatre for two or three annas were printed in Gujarati script and gave the cast, the synopsis of the action of the play, scene by scene, and the full text of the songs with the names of the persons who sang them. Some of the popular Urdu versions are: *Dil-Farosh* (The Merchant of Venice) and *Shahid-e-naz* (Measure for Measure), by Aga Hashra Kashmiri (1900); *Mitha-Zahar* (Cymbeline) by Munshi Mustafa Saidali (1900); *Murid-e-Shak* (The Winter's Tale) by Munshi Hassan (1898); *Bazm-e-fani* (Romeo and Juliet) by Meher Hassan; *Zahari Samp* (Hamlet), *Shahid-e-vafa* (Othello) by Munshi Meher Hassan (1898); *Har-Jit* (King Lear) by Munshi Muradali (1905); *Khun-e-nahak* (Hamlet) by Munshi Mhradali (1905); *Khun-e-nahak* (Hamlet) and *Cleopatra*, 1906.

Shakespearean plays in Gujarati appeared somewhat later on the Bombay stage. The box-office draw of the Urdu versions was probably their main inspiration. Not unlike the Urdu plays, the Gujarati versions, too, are very free and at times travesties of the original plays: *Rama-Ratan* (The Comedy of Errors) by N. K. Vaidya (1903); *Jagat-Sinh* (1904) and *Vibudh-Vijaya* (The Merchant of Venice); *Chandrasah* (The Winter's Tale) by V. A. Oza (1894) and *Champraj Hando* (Cymbeline) by V. A. Oza (1900); *Saubhag-Sundari* (Othello), *Vasundhara* or *Bedhari Talwar* (Macbeth) by N. V. Thakkur (1910).

There are very few literal translations of Shakespeare's plays into Gujarati. A few years ago Mrs.

Hansa Mehta wrote a good prose version of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

This craze for Shakespearean drama on the Bombay stage was not, however, due to any special regard for Shakespeare's poetry or his dramatic genius. The Indian dramatist chose these plays because they provided a good story with a few romantic and thrilling situations. There seems to have been much in common between the taste of the Elizabethan groundlings, who flocked to the public theatres in London in Shakespeare's time, and the taste of the cosmopolitan crowd who patronised the Bombay stage about the beginning of the present century. Shakespeare's plays provided plenty of spectacles, swift-moving action, noise, scenes of bloodshed, music and song, and dialogue in artificial and rhythmic language. All that and much more was given to the Indian playgoers in these vernacular versions.

The Indian playwrights who were induced to take liberties with Shakespeare's text were, sometimes, perturbed and apologetic for having tampered with the original. Indian people love music and song on the stage, and so each of the versions of Shakespeare's plays had introduced into it a large number of songs, sometimes as many as forty. The dramatic tradition of ancient India did not encourage pure tragedy in the theatre; consequently the tragedies of Shakespeare had to be changed considerably in order to give them happy endings. Each one of these plays was also given a sub-plot usually of cheap comedy quite detached from the main theme. The action of the sub-plot was mostly modern in atmosphere and local in its setting; it dealt with a situation which enabled the dramatist to satirise the new-fangled ideas of fashion and social behaviour in the rich and educated classes.

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There are a few good prose versions of Shakespeare's play in Bengali but they were not produced on the stage: *Hamlet* (with the same title) by Hari Raj; *Macbeth* (with the same title) by Girish Chandra Ghosh; *Romeo and Juliet* (a true version) by Hemendra Banerjee; *Bhrami* (The Comedy of Errors), *Nalini-Basanta* (The Tempest).

In the preface to his version of *Romeo and Juliet*, Hemendra Banerjee, with his characteristic modesty, writes that his work is but a shadow of Shakespeare's great play, and not a literal translation, because the literal translation of an English poetic play into Bengali would sound harsh to Bengali ears. These earlier Bengali writers, brought up in the Victorian tradition, show an unbounded respect for Shakespeare. Hemendra Banerjee in his preface further writes: "K. K. is for India, but thou art for the world."

Of Hindi versions and translations there is little to be said of special interest. Shri Lala Sitaram wrote several Hindi translations of Shakespeare's plays in simple prose, and obviously they were not meant for stage presentation. In 1915 in the preface to one of these plays he wrote: "I propose to publish Hindi versions of all thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare." But only ten of these Hindi versions have appeared so far.

Two versions of Shakespearean plays, already mentioned, one in Urdu and the other in Gujarati, which were extremely popular on the Bombay stage are: *Zakir Samp* (Hamlet) and *Vasundhara* or *Bedhari Tahir* (Macbeth).

The hero of the first play, Naharsinh (Prince Hamlet), in voluntary exile, is the leader of a gang of reckless, dashing outlaws discontented with the regime of the usurping Nawab Bakar (Claudius). Bakar has treacherously killed his master, the real Nawab (Naharsinh's father) and has possessed himself of the kingdom. Naharsinh knows about Bakar's crime and he is brooding on revenge. In the Indian version Naharsinh has a younger brother, Salim, who is ignorant of Bakar's crime and serves as a faithful treasurer to the murderer of his father. He is married to the daughter (a poor substitute for Ophelia) of Sharif, one of Bakar's accomplices in the murder. Naharsinh finds in Akbar (Horatio) an old faithful servant of the old Nawab, a friend and counsellor in his plan for revenge. There are several characters added and each young man is paired off with a young lady. The ghost of Hamlet's father has no place in the Indian version. Ophelia has a small romantic part in the play and sings a few songs. Gertrude, too, has lost her queenly dignity and her maternal concern over her mad son. There is neither Polonius with his tedious rigmarole nor the grave-diggers in the churchyard with their witty dialogue. Even Hamlet's madness (real or feigned) is left out in the Urdu play. The play opens with a scene in the cemetery with Naharsinh holding a skull in his hand (evidently that of his dead father) and brooding on revenge in a long monologue full of wind and fury. The scenes of the main plot are, as usual, alternated with scenes of the comic interlude, which has nothing to do with the main theme. Here, we have a typical adaptation of a Shakespearean play, an almost unrecognizable version of Shakespeare's great tragedy.

The other specimen mentioned one can justifiably describe as a good version of *Macbeth*. This Gujarati play is named *Vasundhara* (Lady Macbeth) and its subtitle (The Double-edged Sword) is obviously meant

to point a moral. The writer of this play was a literary artist who had written several historical novels in Gujarati. The play opens with a magnificent scene—the camp of Minketu (Macbeth), who has achieved a great victory over the neighbouring chief Jayadhwaaja. The defeated enemy, heavily chained, is dragged into Minketu's presence. Minketu boasts loudly of his achievements and humiliates his victim with a string of insults, hurled at him in an arrogant manner. The captive chief, like a defiant, caged tiger, still bares his teeth at the conqueror and taunts him by saying that, in spite of his boasted valour, he is only a dependent, a mere slave of the old king, Agnimitra (King Duncan); that Minketu is no ruler, like himself, for all his splendour and arrogance. Stirred to his depths by these stinging words, Minketu kills the captive chief in a fit of wild rage. But the taunt sets him thinking and he broods in anguish over the means to achieve the crown. Vasundhara (Lady Macbeth), too, has heard the chief's words and she reminds him of them again and again till he is driven to action.

This is a remarkably good dramatic opening to the story of Minketu's murder and usurpation, much more convincing than the opening scenes of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*. The crude supernatural does not normally appeal to the Indian people and hence the whole business of the three witches is dropped. A new character, Yakooab, Minketu's accomplice in the murder, is added, who, later on, becomes converted to virtue. This innovation provides a skilful dramatic situation which is reminiscent of Hubert in *King John*. Yakooab becomes, later in the play, an avenging spirit, a plausible substitute for the element of fatality in Shakespeare's weird sisters. Banquo and Macduff are rolled into one character, Vasantsinh. Macbeth has a daughter, Meenakshi, a spirited young woman, who is in love with Virkant (Malcolm), and she helps her young lover to escape from the clutches of his formidable enemy, her own father. Here we have the conflict, so typical of the English Restoration tragedies, between love, on the one hand, and filial duty, on the other. The sleepwalking scene is given great prominence in the Indian play, which probably accounts for its title. The men in the play are provided with ladies to achieve plenty of love interest, quite necessary on the Indian stage. Here, too, we have the comic sub-plot which is entirely detached from the main theme. The scenes of comedy are sandwiched in from time to time with an utter disregard for dramatic consideration, to satisfy the popular demand for comic relief. The comic interlude deals with the matrimonial adventures of a middle-aged, briffless barrister, his young mischievous cousin, an elderly rich spinster who desires a young and fashionable husband, and a pretty young widow, aged seventeen. The characters belong to the fashionable world of modern Bombay and move in an atmosphere of pure farce. Their foolish activities give rise to shrewd and biting satire, from the orthodox point of view, on late marriage, on widow remarriage and also on the follies of gentlemen returned from England with their pipes, their poverty and their hankering after English ways of living. And we have, here, as is usual in an Indian play, songs and dances which serve no dramatic purpose.

The Church and Foreign Personnel

Rev. R. M. Bennett writes in the *National Christian Council Review* :

I would like to see where we are going as 'foreign missionaries,' at least in general direction, and what is our place in the set-up of the Church in India. That is my primary concern. 'Where there is no vision the people perish' is just as applicable to the foreign missionary as to any other category of the human race. Indeed it is even more applicable, since the missionary, more than anyone else, must be an enthusiast.

FOREIGNERS AND NATIONALISM

To begin with I ask myself whether the missionary from abroad has indeed a place in the new India. We live in a new age, and with the outgoing of the old age went many fine things as well as many of doubtful value. But long before Independence came to India, say some thirty years before the old time, 'pioneer type' of missionary left these shores, or passed on the Glory. In the main, over the last twenty-five years the missionary forces in India from abroad have been more ready to hand over what little authority they have possessed than the Indian Church has been willing to receive. There is a great difference between being in a place of leadership and possessing authority (whatever that greatly over-used word may mean). It was often true of the missionary from abroad that he was more expectant of national independence than was his national colleague. There were, of course, splendid exceptions within the Indian Church, and many less admirable within the missionary group.

But for all this, do we fit into the New India? Personally I am an enthusiastic 'nationalist' both as a Canadian in Canada and for India while I am here. Being a Canadian and living in a country that is dominated by a giant of a neighbour, I appreciate what it is to have the best intentioned visitors come and then forget to go home. We have too many examples of that in our own Canadian business world of nice people who come, and do not become citizens, but by virtue of their position, dominate their immediate situation. We try to be polite, and usually we are, but most of us very much disapprove and resent the situation which allows foreign capital to maintain its hirelings in situations which Canadians could handle just as well. Could it be that as a non-Indian missionary I myself am in the same position of being the target of the resentment (although politely veiled) of the people amongst whom I came to work? I can be genuinely sympathetic with that stoutly nationalist view that wants to see the Indian Church truly Indian, and if my presence here is an obstruction to true nationalization of the Church, then it

were better that I went home. Were my Indian colleagues as a people able to conceive of us as colleagues and our position one purely of spiritual partnership, whatever our particular branch of service, perhaps I could see my place better. As it is, as long as I have to administer money, or be in a place where my 'authority' is the deciding point, then I begin to wonder whether my presence here in India is more of a hindrance than a blessing.

GOVERNMENT POLICY

Nor can we expect that the Government of India will continue to be happy about the presence of a large number of foreign missionaries. Religious freedom, religious tolerance and the right to propagate our religion to others has been guaranteed in the Constitution of India. We are proud of that clause. It means that the Christian sadhu who is holding a meeting a hundred yards away from where I am writing will have the law of the land behind him when he preaches—at least the law will say he has the right to preach in the way he is doing. But the Government of India may quite rightly insist that that clause is primarily applicable as a right to Indians, and not a privilege to non-Indians. One official not long ago in talking about this matter said, 'If Christians in India want to evangelise this country, that is their right under the Constitution, but let this be done by Indians, not by foreigners'.

There is quite a mass of evidence to show that the Government does not intend to go on for ever admitting non-Indian missionaries, e.g., the new regulations being framed in regard to Commonwealth missionaries, the difficulties of non-Commonwealth missionary societies to secure visas for their missionaries, the continued cutting down of missionary numbers in places like Assam, Kashmir and Agency or Hill Tribe Areas, regardless of national origins. Where sections of the country are disturbed, or the area is of strategic military importance, as in Kashmir, this is understandable. In some other areas, however, where some missionaries from abroad have been refused re-admission or permission to enter, the reasons, if ever given, are particularly unconvincing except to anyone who is anxious to attribute doubtful motives to the Christian cause. In some other places, particularly in 'tribal areas' one cannot help but wonder if effectiveness is one's mission is not the criterion in determining that the bar be lowered.

The evidence adds up to the fact that as a group of missionaries from abroad our days in India are numbered. We may wish to think otherwise, but in this writer's opinion the sooner we face up to it the better for us all, whether in the sending countries or in India.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Peace Atom Has Bright Future

Ceneva.—The United Nations International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy has ended on a note of gratification with what has already been achieved. It has been called the greatest scientific conference in history and is regarded by observers as the most successful ever held.

In his final address at the two-week Atoms-for-Peace Conference, the President, Dr. Homi J. Bhabha of India, said the meeting had succeeded beyond all hopes and expectations.

Paying a tribute to President Eisenhower for proposing the conference in an address before the United Nations two and a half years ago, Dr. Bhabha also noted the President expressed the hope during the conference that another such meeting will be held at a later date to discuss interim progress.

The final session also was marked by a discussion on general aspects of world co-operation in the field of atoms for peace in which the United States and the Soviet Union were principal speakers. For America, Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) member Dr. Willard F. Libby reported on the wide-ranging programme for international co-operation in atoms-for-peace that the United States has undertaken and on plans for expanding it.

SOVIET PLANS

Prof. A. N. Lavrishchev spoke on Soviet plans for aid to seven Soviet bloc countries in the nuclear field. He added that Moscow is prepared to consider extending this assistance to non-Soviet bloc nations.

While the conference did not produce specific resolutions, declarations, or formal recommendations, there were, during the past two weeks, some general results that have been stated—without significant challenge—so plain that they can safely be said to be conclusions. Among them are:

1. Fusion power is the next major frontier for atomic scientists. While spokesmen for three major atomic powers, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States, declined to commit themselves on when atomic fusion would become practicable as a source of energy for power, they acknowledged that their countries were working on the problem. Meanwhile, others guardedly estimated that it might come within 20 years. Scientists here generally agreed that the problem of harnessing the H-bomb principle for peaceful purposes was largely an engineering challenge.

They expressed faith that the engineers will solve the problem just as they did the problems of converting atomic fission into power for peace. In fact, the 25-year estimate to which many responsible scientists subscribe is based on the time it took nuclear physicists and engineers to put the atom bomb principle to work in reactors—about 13 years.

2. The major immediate benefits of the atomic era for mankind will be found in the extensive and ever-increasing use of radioactive isotopes in fields of medicine, agriculture and industry. It is generally agreed that plant mutations which can be induced by radiation with inexpensive isotopes—and, possibly, with

radioactive wastes from reactors—might well provide the answer to man's need for larger food supplies to keep up with the world's growing population.

3. The conference made available to all world's scientists an impressive proportion of new information in the field of atomic science. These findings, hitherto not made public were included in the more than 1000 papers presented to the conference. This, combined with the opportunity the conference gave to scientists to exchange ideas and compare data, and to chart new paths of nuclear research prompted the French High Commissioner for Atomic Energy, M. Francis Perrin, to comment that this conference marks the end of secrecy in the field of atomic energy. He predicted that the veil of secrecy can never be reimposed on atomic scientists.

4. There was general agreement among scientists engaged in atomic research that they have all achieved roughly the same results, though they sometimes used different methods. The conference, by giving scientists an opportunity to compare results based on varying methods of research, enabled them to reduce substantially the degree of error in some findings.

5. While the world is on the threshold of the atomic power era, nuclear power plants are not going to sprout all over the world immediately. The period of further experimentation to settle upon the most efficient reactor system and to fully master technology of materials and reactors is generally estimated at about five years.

The United Kingdom, the United States and France told the conference that widespread export of power reactors to industrially less developed areas will not come for at least five years, partly because of the need for further experimentation and partly because more technicians and scientists must be trained in the operation and control of the intricate machines. The three Western nations and the Soviet Union announced, however, that they have large-scale domestic power development plans.

There is ample fuel in the earth to mount a world-wide power development programme when reactor techniques have been completely mastered. Scientists learned here of vast new discoveries of uranium deposits and were told that the cheaper and more abundant thorium might replace uranium ultimately as reactor fuel.

7. Dangerous reactor radiation is being effectively controlled and hazards should not be great if power development programmes are well managed. However, a note of caution was offered by geneticists at the conference who pointed out that little is yet known about the genetic effects of even minute doses of radiation on humans. The geneticists called for a concentrated effort to fully examine this problem.

Other conference highlights were:

- (a) Establishment by the Ford Motor Company, of a \$1,000,000 fund from which ten annual awards will be made to groups or individuals making the greatest contribution to harnessing the atom for peaceful uses.

(b) The United States announcement that it would sell normal uranium and heavy water at cost prices and that it would lease enriched uranium. U.S. Delegation Chairman Lewis L. Strauss made it clear to the conference that fuel would be made available to countries with practical atomic research programmes.

(c) The seven technical exhibits—offered by the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Canada and the Scandinavian countries. The most popular of these exhibits was the full-scale "swimming pool" research reactor installed by the United States in a special building on the grounds of the Palais des Nations and transferred at the end

of the conference, to the Swiss Government. The reactor, part of the U.S. technical exhibit, attracted 65,332 visitors in the two weeks the conference lasted. The main U.S. technical exhibit was seen by 32,000 visitors.

The conference heard 451 scientific papers, out of more than 1,000 accepted for publication in the official record of the conference.

The 73 nations which participated in this largest of all scientific conferences sent 1,400 official delegates and 800 observers.—*American Reporter*, August 31, 1955.

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1955 : Big Year of Decision for TV

Henry Cassirer writes in *The Unesco Courier*, No. 1, 1955 :

The spread of television throughout the world has been phenomenal. Today there are some 60 "television countries." Of these no fewer than 38 are operating regular or experimental television services, and another 20 are planning to introduce them, or taking practical steps toward that end.

Television can carry a visual image across the North American continent and can bring programmes from London to Rome or from Copenhagen to Paris. The viewer can be "on the spot" for an event taking place hundreds of miles away. In Morocco and the Philippines, in Japan, and the Soviet Union, on the American continent from Alaska in the far north to Argentina in the south, television is opening up new fields.

In what directions is this enormous expansion of television leading? A survey made by Unesco in February 1955 (1) shows that the power of attraction intrinsic in TV is so great that sooner or later every modern State contemplates its introduction. Although obstacles may exist, such as lack of economic resources, industrial under-development, mountain ranges, vast distances and dispersed populations, nevertheless the slogan "we must have television!" can be heard from the Chilean Andes to the deserts of Iraq and from the mountains of Yugoslavia to the plains of India. If in Costa Rica or Egypt, or in Portugal or Australia, television may not yet be here today, present plans indicate that it will certainly come tomorrow.

Television is part and parcel of the modern world and those who still believe that can close their eyes to it are liable to find themselves overtaken by developments. They may ignore television but it is sure that television will not ignore their countries. This is not to say that television must necessarily be welcomed. Its influence can be beneficial and it can be the reverse. The pertinent question in most countries today is not whether to have television, but to what purpose and to what extent. The issue is, therefore, on what lines will television develop and what will be its impact.

Closer examination of today's world television picture suggests that 1955 will be the "year of television," for many countries hitherto on the fringe of its development. To use a military term for a medium which can vitally contribute to peace, the "infra-structure," that is the network of transmitters and relay systems, has made great strides during 1954.

In Europe, the number of stations increased from 25 in 1953 to 75 in January 1955 while for the first time eight European countries (2) were joined by temporary relay facilities which are now gradually being turned into permanent links. The German Federal Republic is covered by a network from Hamburg to Munich; Italy's television extends from the northern frontier to south of Rome at present, and it will cover the entire

country, including Sardinia and Sicily, by the end of 1956; France, which for years had been marking time with transmitters at Paris and Lille, now has its entire eastern region covered, from Metz through Strasbourg and Lyons right down to Marseilles in the south. Many smaller countries are similarly caught up in the race to expand the scope of television by building new transmitters and relay links.

The result of this expansion is reflected in the sale and production of television receivers. Monthly production in Germany was four times as large at the end of 1954 as at the beginning; in Italy, the advance of television is no longer marked in tens but in hundreds of thousands of receivers. This development, of course, falls far short of the United States or the United Kingdom, with their 35 million and 4 million receivers respectively. But the important point is that in many countries, where in 1954 it was still regarded as a questionable novelty, television has "caught on" in 1955, and is now ready to go forward in "snowballing dimensions" within the limitations of national powers of production and consumption.

In 1954 receivers in Canada exceeded the million mark, and it thus became the third country to reach this figure after the United States and Great Britain. In 1955 a fourth country—the Soviet Union—will be added to this list according to present plans for receiver output.

This year will also be significant in another way as it will bring to an end the monopoly of non-commercial television in Europe, and of commercial television in the United States. The first commercial European television station went on the air in 1955 in the Saar quickly followed by stations in Monte Carlo and Luxembourg. This commercial development will reach its apex in September 1955 with the inauguration of telecasting by the Independent Television Authority in England. In the United States educational television has to struggle against great financial, political and organizational odds. Nevertheless there are today already 14 educational stations on the air serving a potential audience of 20 million people and many more are under construction.

The stakes in the future of television are so high that questions of ownership and organization have given rise to bitter controversy. Television was the subject of some of the most animated sessions in the British and French parliaments. It has led to rivalry between Swiss cities and in Belgium between regions. Educational television is a political factor in Washington and in every state of the Union. Practically every other country touched by television has had its share of conflict.

Why all this heat? Because the pattern which is adopted today will undoubtedly shape the future. Far-sighted men are aware that a control on stations today may mean a hold on the eye of the public tomorrow and that the purposes of television programmes which are now better developed will determine the character of telecasting for a long time to come. A race is on



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and it is open to question how the supporters of educational and cultural television will fare.

If television programming is examined, the first impression gained is that television can accomplish everything—from spectacular variety shows in the United States, priced at over \$100,000 to simple but effective telecasts for school children in Japan; from full length drama in the United Kingdom to instructional broadcasts to French farmers; from classical ballet in the Soviet Union to songs and folklore in Venezuela.

UNCANNY POWER OF PERSUASION

There can be no doubt that the social and cultural conditions in each nation impress themselves upon its television system. In the United States a competitive economic system and the federal state structure have contributed to the rise of hundreds of television stations, with different patterns of programmes and of ownership which give viewers in many cities a choice between more than seven different stations.

In the Soviet Union, where not only television but all entertainment media are functions of the state, it can bring to the viewer the latest films, theatre and opera performances, or any public sports event, without regard to legal or contractual restrictions. In Germany, television faithfully reflects the federal structure of the Federal Republic. Here programmes are originated from a greater number of places than in any other country in the world.

In France and Britain, on the other hand, television expresses the centralization of much of the cultural life in the capitals, though the provinces constantly seek to assert themselves. While television is mass education in Colombia, it's mainly middle class entertainment in Mexico. There is no rigid and immutable structure and it can and must be adapted to national needs and traditions.

With due regard to national differences and the efforts made to enhance educational programming, it remains true to say that television is being developed primarily as a source of mass entertainment. There is no doubt that this will always remain a fruitful field as much of this entertainment can make a cultural contribution and bring joy and relaxation to working people caught in the monotony of modern life. But there is more to television than mere entertainment. Its use for education of children and of adults alike, its power to make knowledge of science or geography, history or economics visually accessible to the many. Here is a field for fruitful exploitation and development.

Television is taking root today in countries where illiteracy and utter poverty, ignorance of healthy living and of modern methods of production, are widespread among large sections of the people. Advertisers have realized television's uncanny power of persuasion and demonstration. Cannot these same powers serve fundamental education and change our entire approach to the problem of informing people in less developed countries on ways to improve their conditions of life? This is a subject, rich in promise, to which Unesco is now giving particular attention. Here is a challenge for constructive forces to bring their influence to bear upon the future shape of television.

Another trend which has shown significant advance in 1954, is the use of television as a link between all nations. International co-operation between stations, by relay, film, or adaptation of programmes, is gradually becoming normal practice. In Europe, individual countries frequently find themselves unable to cope with the vast demand for programmes, because television requires money, talent and facilities. Through international exchange by direct relay, these countries

increase their resources and enrich their programmes. Film telecasts flow out from the United States or reach viewers there from foreign countries.

DANGER OF STANDARDIZED IDEAS

Herein lies both danger and opportunity. The danger is that this most centralized and costly of all communication media will further subject national and regional cultures to the standardization of ideas and tastes of a few world production centres. The opportunity lies in the possibility of hearing and seeing on television the people of another nation and another culture. Here television may serve peace by narrowing the gap between man's public life whose fate is in the hands of world-wide forces, and the circle of his personal experience, which is confined to the narrow range of the individual. World Television in 1955 stands at the threshold.

John R. Mott (1865-1955)

It is with deep regret that we record the death, on January 31st., 1955, of Dr. John R. Mott at the age of eighty-nine, at this home in Orlando, Florida.

At the time of his death Dr. Mott was Chairman Emeritus of the International Missionary Council, an office to which he was appointed in 1942, when he retired from the chairmanship of the Council. Since Dr. Mott was the first chairman of the International Missionary Council, upon its formation in 1921, the whole history of the I.M.C. has been, right down to the present day, under his guidance and inspiration. The depth of the I.M.C.'s obligation to him is therefore something which is almost impossible to put into words.

From his early manhood Dr. Mott accustomed himself to think and act in world terms, in the cause of Christ. To use his own words: 'From 1886, when I had a vision of the world as Christ sees it, I have made every decision in the light of the whole world.' From the very outset he was a passionate advocate of world evangelization, seeking to devise the means by which 'the Christians of this generation are to give every person of this age an opportunity to accept Jesus Christ,' to use his gloss on the slogan: 'The evangelization of the world in this generation.' It began with his decision made while a student at Cornell University, during a mission conducted by the late Sir Kynaston Studd: it received a fitting recognition in the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946.

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P. ignate evangelism and a sense of world-need were combined in Dr. Mott, in a degree almost unequalled in any other person of his lifetime, with a feeling for strategy, a gift for organization (with a capacity to use the organizing abilities of others) and an ability to co-operate with and adapt himself to people of other races and communions. He concentrated from his early days on the strategic group of the student class in many countries, through such organizations as the Student Volunteer movement, the Y.M.C.A. and the World's Student Christian Federation, and it is noteworthy how much of his later oecumenical activity, both in regard to personal leadership and to forms of organization, stems from these earlier groups.

In the world missionary conference held at Edinburgh in 1911, of which Mott was the progenitor and chairman, there was realized an idea which had originated in the mind of William Carey and which was to prove, as is now commonly acknowledged, the main source of many of the oecumenical developments of our time. Here, again, was a vision, a sense of timing, a gift for organization combined with a sensitiveness to the movement of the Spirit, which were to prove creative. Out of the Edinburgh conference came not only a world-wide call, but also the continuation committee, the formation of national Christian Councils, a variety of interdenominational missionary projects and finally the formation of the International Missionary Council. Dr. Mott, not only by inspiration, but by ceaseless travel, largely in collaboration with Dr. J. H. Oldham, took the most active part in creating these new bodies.

Dr. Mott presided at the great world meetings at Edinburgh in 1910, Jerusalem in 1928 and Tambaram in 1938; each of these meetings recorded fresh developments in missionary thought, action and outreach. At Amherst in 1948 his position was justly recognized in his election as Honorary President of the newly formed World Council of Churches. He lived to see the World Council of Churches firmly established in its second Assembly at Evanston in 1954.

We may epitomize Dr. Mott's efforts in words which he used when he received the Nobel Peace Prize: 'My life might be summed up as earnest and undiminished effort to weave together all nations, all religious communions in friendliness, in fellowship and in co-operation.'—*International Review of Missions*.

"Great Books" Play Unique Role in Adult Education

H. B. Garland writes in the *News Feature of U.S.S.*:

A Reporter for the Boston daily newspaper, the *Christian Science Monitor*, recently came across a remarkable scene as he was driving through the farm region of the State of New Hampshire. It was not unusual to see a farmer driving a tractor which cut long furrows in the ground. But the man—while guiding the tractor—was also reading a book.

This figure of the farmer reading a book as he ploughed the field fascinated the reporter from Boston. He stopped his car, got out, and spoke to the man. He discovered that he belonged to a group in his area

which was interested in the "Great Books" programme. The book he was reading was Plato's "Republic."

The "Great Books" programme, which occupies a unique place in adult education in the United States, includes those books in which much of the world's thought, religion and philosophy have their roots. In the first year of the course one reads works by Plato, Sophocles, Plutarch, Machiavelli, Shakespeare, Milton, Thoreau, Tolstoy and others—altogether 16 books. Readings for the advanced courses include works by Homer, Lao-tse, St. Augustine, Spinoza, Darwin, Dante, Montaigne, Confucius, Kant, Rousseau, Goethe, Melville, Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Freud, Dostoevski and the Bhagavad Gita and the Old and New Testament.

The "Great Books" programme began in France, where an American university professor, John Erskine, headed an American study centre at Dijon during the first World War. For young soldiers whose education had been interrupted by the war, for others whom participation in war had made thoughtful, and for still others who interest in the origins of their culture had increased, Prof. Erskine drew up his list of the "Great Books." When he returned to Columbia University in New York after the war, he persuaded the faculty to establish a two-year course for exceptional students who would participate in informal seminar discussions of the selected books on his list.

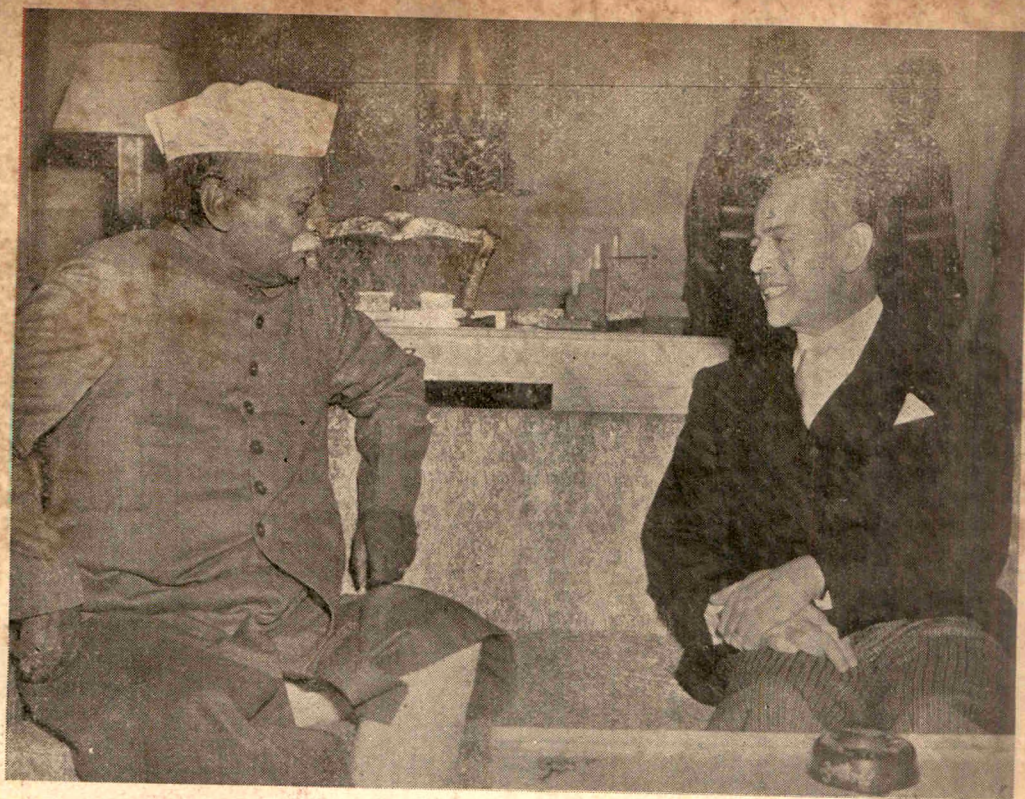
This course, which went contrary to the main stream of American college education of the day, both in its unspecialised content and its informal method of teaching, proved successful for limited groups.

The idea and its methods spread to two other colleges—a very large one, the University of Chicago, and a very small one, St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland, where the "Great Books" course was transformed into an entire curriculum.

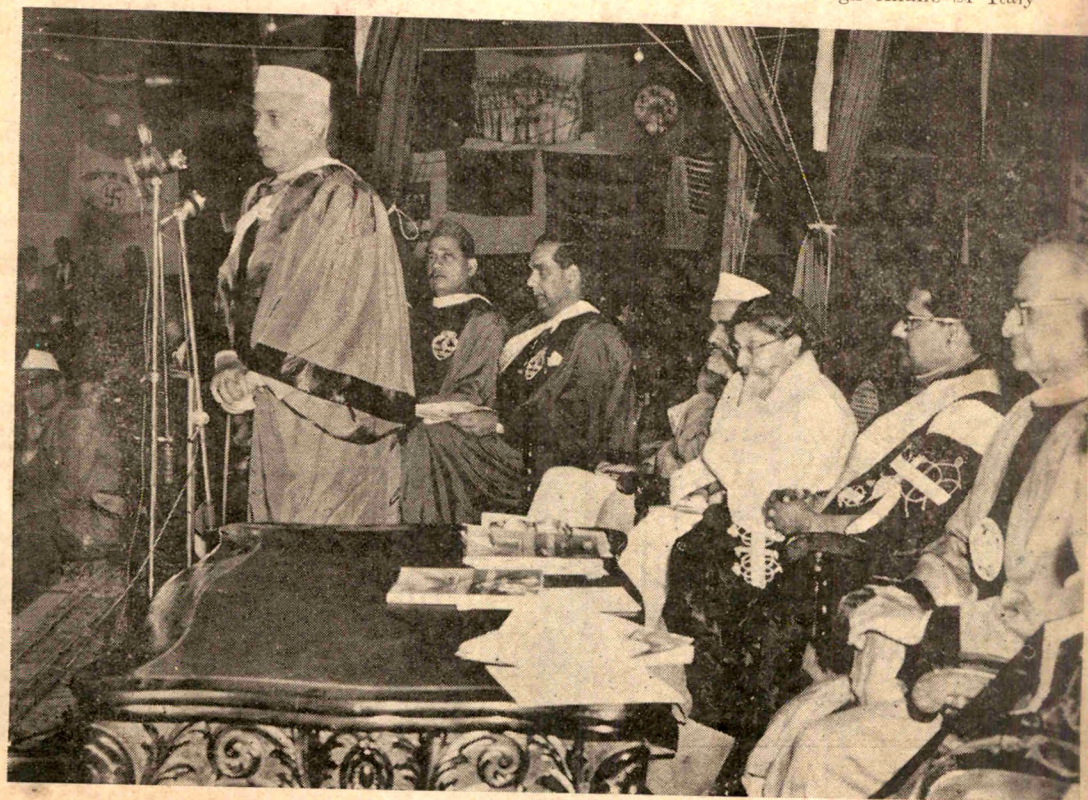
St. John's devoted itself to the few who wished to pursue this type of study exclusively. The University of Chicago gave courses for those who wished to supplement their regular studies with intensive reading and discussion of selected volumes from among the world's masterpieces of thought and literature. It is through this type of adult extension service in many universities that the "Great Books" courses began to be presented to men and women of all ages, professions and abilities, throughout the United States.

Inevitably, the next step was the formation of groups of adult laymen who met in one another's homes in neighbourhood public schools to discuss the books. A conservative estimate is that no fewer than 25,000 adults will this winter participate in discussions. Others will read the books at colleges, universities or will be stimulated to read the "Great Books" on their own.

Typical groups who participate in the "Great Books" programme are about 75 per cent college-trained, include members who never went to college at all. Participants come from various occupations, including housewives, doctors, factory workers, farmers, secretaries and engineers. They all find stimulation and refreshment in the study of the great minds and the great books which have moulded their culture. They feel it helps them to become better human beings.



Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Prof. Gaetano Martino, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy



Sri Jawaharlal Nehru speaking at the inauguration of the 43rd annual session of the Indian Science Congress, held at Agra



BENGAL VILLAGE
By Asitranjan Bose

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NOTES

The Aftermath

For a considerable period now, we have been repeatedly writing in these columns about the degeneration that has set in the public mind regarding moral values. Our leaders at the top have confined themselves, like so many silkworms, in cocoons spun out of stuff of which dreams are, completely oblivious to the plunge into the boiling-pan of disruption, which is inevitable if this moral degradation of the nationals of the Union continues at the present frightful rate.

The total disregard of the social and national responsibilities of the individual and the group, to the safety, well-being and progress of other individuals and groups in the same or different strata of life within the Union, that we see today, is an outcome of the distorted view of rights of the individual or the group. This distortion justifies the victimisation of the weak by the strong, the poor customer by the rapacious seller, the helpless unorganised man-in-the-street by organised labour, the general public by the men-in-power and so on and so forth, in accordance with the Law of the Jungle. Corruption has become rife as a result, and the average man has begun to take a cynical view of all that used to be held as the highest attributes of human mental and moral processes.

Parochialism has been condemned time and often, by all of our leaders, and quite rightly so. But in actual practice we find that the man who prates the loudest in condemna-

tion of the besetting sins of parochialism and nepotism in public, practises both of them in the most vicious form in his private capacity as an individual. Furthermore, party-politics has brought into play corrupt practices and illicit methods of gaining power and wealth, on a scale never known in the history of India. The unprincipled rogues and totally debased knaves that formed the "Nabobs" of the "Honourable" East India Company, coined a new term, namely, the "Shaking of the Pagoda Tree" for obtaining sizable loot from their unfortunate and helpless victims, the Indians, by methods most foul. We wonder what new terms will be coined by our own "Nabobs" for parochialism, nepotism and illicit gain. The same age-old process is in practice at the Centre and in the States, although Pandit Nehru and the very, very few honest politicians like him that are still with us, seem to be completely unaware of the fact.

The common national, therefore, cannot be blamed if he takes the exhortations of his leaders, about self-sacrifice, honesty, truth, etc., with a large pinch of salt. He sees majorities crucifying minorities without let or hindrance, he observes that honest folk are being slowly pushed out of existence by the corrupt with impunity, and that the powerful are openly defying all the moral laws of society for private and parochial gain. Can he be blamed if he then takes a distorted and cynical view of all moral precepts?

Indeed, he has very considerable justi-

fication in considering Truth and *Ahimsa*, the twin guiding beacons of Mahatma Gandhi's life, as shadowy material, marked "For Export only."

The recent events, in Bombay and Orissa, have high-lighted all the above. It is easy to be wise after the event, but even so we must say we were not surprised. We really have not the heart to go into the details of the mad orgies of violence and destruction that took place in Bombay and Orissa, though through the grace of Almighty things have quietened down at the time of writing. The loss of property is beyond measure and the loss of life grievous, though in Orissa it was limited down to the rioters and the keepers of law and order. It is enough to say that the rioters in both of these areas, particularly in Bombay, have effectively blackened the fair name of India, as can be seen from the following extract taken from the *Time* news-magazine for January 30, 1956.

"Smash, Burn, Kill. It was a moment the Communists had been preparing for, a fact well known to Chief Minister Morarji Desai of Bombay State, who is often spoken of as Nehru's heir apparent. Before dawn, on Desai's orders, police arrested 435 Communist, Socialist and United Maharashtra Party leaders. The Communists had prepared for this eventuality, too. Secretly trained alternates swiftly swung into action. At their direction, hundreds of thousands of Maharashtra workers dropped their work and swarmed out of dockyards, textile mills and railroad shops into the streets, shouting "Death to Nehru!" The rioters blocked streets with boulders and gasoline drums, tore up lampposts, ripped down fences. They smashed statues of Mahatma Gandhi (a Gujarati himself), burned Desai in effigy, flourished pictures of Nehru hung with old shoes as a gesture of despal. Mobs, sometimes 10,000 strong, stormed police stations, looted Gujarati shops, flung electric light bulbs filled with nitric acid in the faces of police and passers-by. Saboteurs derailed trains, hurled stones at buses, set fire to cars.

Waving black flags of protest and flourishing improvised spears, mobs roamed Bombay's streets. One grey-bearded Gujarati shopkeeper hastily tried to bar his shop door. He was too late. One rioter knocked the old man down, beat his head in with a large rock. The shopkeeper's

little daughter ran screaming to her father's side. The rioter smashed the rock into the child's face, and she collapsed in a small heap over her father's body.

On major corners, embattled police drew up their trucks in a tight circle, like so many covered wagons in a western movie, and fought pitched battles with stone-throwing rioters. From the circle's protection, they launched quick sorties into nearby alleys and houses, scooped up scores of rioters, and retreated with their prisoners to the corrals.

At the end of six days' rioting, 56 were dead by official admission; unofficial estimates were nearer 250. Thousands were injured, other thousands in prison."

Murder, arson, loot and insane destruction of public and private property! Does Pandit Nehru see the shadow of the moving finger on the wall, or does he have to wait till all that our forbears dreamt of turns into a nightmare and the fruits of all their endeavours—and ours—become as Dead Sea Apples? Is it not time that all the energies that he and the few other true men round him, powers are devoted to the re-adjustment of our own destinies?

The Universities are all running down to waste. Santiniketan can be cited as an example. Where the noblest ideals of one of the noblest sons of India were to have flowered, today we have a stinking morass of low intrigue, debased ideals and the poorest of academic instructions!

The Congress? Do we have to tell the world how tarnished and shoddy looks the Shining Mantle, that the Father of the Nation left to his inheritor? Indeed, we are like a circus show, where loud blows the trumpet and bravely rolls the drum, to attract the outsider to the cavalcade dressed in glittering tinsel, and behind the tent are hidden the noisome cages of the wild beasts.

There is still time, if honesty and integrity and real self-sacrifice is accorded the same honour as was given in the days before party consciousness clouded the political horizon.

West Bengal and Bihar

Some light has penetrated the smoke and dust thrown up by the controversies over the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Committee and a possible way-out has been indicated by the Chief Ministers of West Bengal:

and Bihar. The proposal is for a merger, the details of which are given later on in these columns.

But when we say possible, we mean that there are conditions precedent, the details of which have to be worked out with sincerity and good faith. There is a great deal of mutual distrust and there are too many axes to be ground by unscrupulous persons in both the areas. Therefore, the question of safeguards and the machinery to implement them have to be determined in detail without leaving anything to chance or on pure good faith. The nation has degenerated so far that mere enunciation of noble ideals and principles would be as nought. In truth, good faith alone will mean that the more corrupt will overwhelm the less corrupt—to say nothing of the honest.

These safeguards will mean that the *status quo* in the administration, the allocations in the budget, the awards in jobs and contracts will be maintained. That no unfair advantage will accrue to any individual or group, and would prevent unhealthy political jockeying for power.

If these can be worked out, and there is no reason why they could not be, then undoubtedly such a union will be greatly to the advantage of both the States.

The advantages are manifold. First of all, with the removal of artificial barriers, there can be a far more efficient exploitation of natural resources, such as land, water-power, minerals, forest wealth, etc. Transport, police work, postal communications, etc., can be better co-ordinated, giving improved service at lowered pro-rata costs. Indeed, in the exploitation of resources and the utilization of man-power, the gains would be significant beyond question.

Secondly, the growing enmity and feuds between two neighbours who lived together for centuries, would be liquidated, thereby increasing the strength of both in the Union and also enhancing the stability of the Union itself. This in itself will be a long-term gain, of immense value in itself and likewise as an example to others.

Thirdly, as frontier States both have liabilities and severe responsibilities. As a solid single unit, the capacity to bear the burdens will be increased far beyond the present divided strength.

Fourthly, in many spheres, the surplus in one State will be naturally absorbed by the demand of the other. The potential of both will increase thereby, as it happens elsewhere in this world. The viability of both States would be thus changed radically.

There are many more points in favour of this union. Indeed, apart from mutual fear and distrust, there is hardly any cogent reason against it.

But it is useless to ignore this fear. Indeed, unless an agreement is reached by both sides on safeguards against the misuse of superior numbers on the part of the Biharees in the legislatures, etc., and against the depriving of the Bihari from a fair share of jobs and careers due to the superior training and mental equipment of the Bengali, there can be no Union. We reiterate that these safeguards have to be worked out in detail and agreed upon by the majority of both the legislatures before any further progress can be made. Good faith counts for little in this sordid present day world of ours.

The Bengali Hindu has had a bitter experience of unfair and dishonest use of superior numbers in voting when the ill-famed Moslem League was in power in Bengal. Similarly, the Bihari has unpleasant memories of the tactics of the Bengali in the days prior to Lord Curzon's anti-Bengali campaign. Both are realities and it would be disastrous not to provide fully against the repetition of either.

Many other reasons have been trotted out by the opponents to the scheme. We have gone carefully in all such as have been reported upon in the newspapers or which we have listened to, as in the case of the Calcutta University debate. We confess we have not been able to find any substance in any of them beyond the fear complex.

We can understand the stand of the leftist groups. Their sole consideration is the party-interest; the welfare of the public in general is, and always has been, a minor and secondary detail to them. The most prominent amongst them is a party that is inciting the Bengali to reject the Union and to claim large tracts from Bihar, and also exhorting the Bihari not to yield an inch of ground!

The spokesman of the second biggest party has issued a shameless statement against the

proposal. Perhaps, he believes that everyone has forgotten his own declarations against the claims of West Bengal, on the linguistic basis. He made them after a visit to Manbhum while Chief Minister of West Bengal.

The fears that Bengal would be culturally submerged could only be made by people who have little knowledge of the cultural history of West Bengal. They do not know that at least two of the Bihari languages, Maithili and Bhojpuri, are far more akin to Bengali than to Hindi. Those who know Vidyapati and his influence on our own Vaishnav poetical treasures, would readily acknowledge it. In any case, a culture that has withstood the onslaughts of Pathan and Moghul and the insidious policy of Macaulay, can laugh at all these fears, unless the people have degenerated beyond measure.

There has been a lot of balderdash uttered against the plan, "Unity in diversity" and so forth. It is curious that most of the objections have been made by persons whose origins are not in West Bengal. But even then, there are many from East Bengal, who have faith in the stout hearts of their own children, who consider the move to be an excellent one, provided constitutional safeguards are put down in black and white against misuse of powers against the fundamental rights of individuals or linguistic groups, on the basis of caste or mother-tongue.

We append an analysis of the data, as given in the 1951 Census:

	Bihar	West Bengal and Chandernagore
Total population	40,225,947	24,860,217
Hindi speakers		
including Urdu	34,817,133	2,038,705
Bengali speakers	1,759,719	21,039,601
Urdu already included in Hindi	2,736,303	457,981
Muslims	4,564,466	4,927,287 (19.8%)
<i>After Merger</i>		
Total population	65,086,000	
Hindi speakers	36,859,000	56.6 per cent
Bengali speakers	22,800,000	35.2 "
Muslims	9,492,000	14.4 "

In this connection we like to sound a note of warning to the fanatics of Hindi language. Had these Hindi fanatics allowed cultural and

linguistic freedom to the linguistic minorities in their territories, then much of the bickerings and ill feelings that have now generated would not have ensued.

The Union of Bengal and Bihar

The following is the full text of Dr. B. C. Roy's statement on the merger :

"The Chief Minister of Bihar and I issued a statement a few days ago regarding the merging of Bengal and Bihar. This statement had obviously led people to think furiously about the condition of affairs in these two States and in India generally. A large number of letters have appeared in the Press; discussions are taking place in various organizations and opinions are being freely expressed about this problem by people belonging to different groups.

"This is as it should be. It is obvious that when the proposition was placed before the public, as was indicated in the statement itself, no details were given regarding the proposal nor could they be given at short notice. But regarding the discussions, and hearing the arguments, both for and against, I feel that it is desirable that I should indicate, even if vaguely, what our suggestions amount to.

"When the States Reorganization Commission's report was published, every State felt dissatisfied with the recommendations. This is nothing very unnatural. There were States which were claiming to expand and there were neighbouring States which were opposing such claims. As I have indicated previously and I repeat again, that while the Indian National Congress had up to the date of achieving independence considered the question of reorganization of provinces on the basis of language, i.e., creating States with similar language affinities, the Congress after independence found it difficult to implement this principle. Since 1947, various committees and sessions of the Congress have from time to time expressed the view that the security, unity and economic prosperity of the country are much more important considerations than regrouping of the States on a linguistic basis. Such grouping may be satisfactory to some State and may produce dissatisfaction in others and, as one of the correspondents has just pointed out, such linguistic grouping is repugnant because it 'savours of clannishness and parochialism.'

"As a matter of fact, even the question of reorganization of States on a linguistic basis can only be a means to an end, the end being the unity and development of the country as a whole. If by such linguistic distribution the country is developed, there can be no question about it. But one has to remember that in this world every action has a reaction. Bengal cannot ask for the merging of the areas contiguous to Bengal where Bengali-speaking people are in a majority without Bihar making similar claims with regard to areas in Bengal where the Hindi-speaking people are in a majority. The result of this tussle would be that there will be a continuous demand on the one hand for extension on a linguistic basis and resistance to it on the other.

"India cannot develop, its security cannot be ensured, its safety cannot be put on a firm basis if such wrangling continues to take place between the component States of the Union. It was because of this spirit that was prevalent in the different areas of India that we felt it was necessary for us to place a different viewpoint before the public, namely, to ask for union rather than disunion, to provide for working together as far as possible in amity and concord instead of trying to group people in warring camps on the basis of language.

"Every right-thinking man will agree that any effort made to divide the country on a linguistic basis will mean separatism and sooner or later a form of 'apartheid'. The recent events in Bombay and in other parts of India have uncovered the dangers facing India today and showed the rapid deterioration almost everywhere in the approach to the basic problem of Indian unity. It was clear to me that over the creation of linguistic provinces the basest passions have been aroused and people have forgotten the lesson that they had learnt during the days of national struggle. It was clear that if this process continued it would split up India, injure greatly the national organization and almost lead to some kind of civil conflict in different parts of India. When this joint statement was issued, there was a sense of relief in the minds of a large number of people that after all an approach to union has been discovered.

"A critic has pointed out that the word which should have been used in the statement was not 'merger' which may connote a compulsion, or the use of artificial forces resulting in a loss of identity. Perhaps the word 'reunion'

would be more correct. 'Fusion or merger,' says the critic, 'may come, as come it must one day, through a process of evolution and a wise democratic rule. An artificial fusion, however ingenuously conceived or achieved, cannot last long.' It has been said by a friend that I had used the word 'catalytic' in the sense that it means a chemical compound or in the sense that one body is going to stomach another. The word 'catalytic' was used by me in the sense that this approach to the problem of the development of the country, as has been mentioned in the statement, would act as a catalytic agent and would create similar movements, we hoped, in other parts of the country. It is difficult at this stage to give details regarding this 're-union' but it is possible to lay down some general outlines such as :

"(1) The united State may be called 'The United States of West Bengal and Bihar' like the States of Travancore and Cochin.

"(2) That there should be an assurance that the culture and the language of each State should be protected; that the United States will have two official languages, Bengali and Hindi. Both the languages will be official for the entire State. It may be that in practice certain pre-eminence may be given in one State to a language, i.e., in West Bengal, Bengali would have pre-eminence in educational affairs with Hindi as a compulsory second language and in Bihar Hindi will be the prominent language with Bengali as the second language. But in border areas the two languages would be equally encouraged.

"(3) No such union would be viable if there is any attempt on the part of one State to dominate over the other. In many ways each State will continue its own life subject to a common approach to major problems. The development projects in each area of the two States so united and the Five-Year Plan proposed by each State and approved by the Planning Commission will continue to be implemented by the respective States. The resources which would be developed by each area as approved by the Planning Commission will continue to be raised and employed in that area, although in future, development may be a common objective of the two States.

"It so happens that the richest area in India from the point of view of mineral resources is the area which comprises part of West Bengal, part of Bihar and part of Orissa. If properly

developed, this area will become the heart of industrial India. Any scheme of development of this area must involve the closest co-operation between West Bengal and Bihar so that both States might benefit fully. There should be no delays in drawing up schemes of developments as well as implementing them. Such delays are almost inevitable if the two States function separately or if there is a feeling of rivalry and conflict between the two. In such cases, both will suffer and the areas will not be developed as they should be.

"(4) It has been asked, will such a union come in the way of political, economic or cultural life of the two States? Economically, as has been pointed out, it is quite clear that it would be advantageous to both. Politically also the union should prove beneficial because in some ways West Bengal and Bihar are complementary to each other and by coming together, the spirit of conflict will be removed. Culturally, there is no reason why either State should suffer. With the growth of economy, rapid cultural advancement would take place and protection of such culture in either State will be ensured.

"(5) In this united State there should be one Governor and one Public Service Commission. Rules may be framed so that while recruitment to the higher posts in the combined State might be thrown open to residents of either State, recruitment to the lower posts in each area might ordinarily be made from amongst the residents of that area. There is no reason why the two High Courts should not continue to function, as their work is sufficiently heavy.

"(6) There will be one Cabinet and one Legislature. In addition to the Chief Minister belonging to one region, it may be desirable to have a Deputy Chief Minister belonging to the other region. A convention may grow for the Chief Ministers to be chosen alternately from the two regions.

"(7) There might be two Regional Councils, one for each of the major language areas. Each Regional Council will consist of members elected to the Legislature from that particular region. The President of this Council will be a Minister from that region. The special duty of the Council will be to look after the interests of that region in regard to the subjects dealt with by the Council. The subjects will be mainly those

of development under the Five-Year Plan—Education, Health and other social services. These Regional Councils will not have any legislative authority. They will advise and make recommendations about the subjects allotted to each Council to the Cabinet or to the State Legislature and by practice and convention their advice will be accepted. In case of conflict between the two regions or between the Councils and the State Cabinet some provision may be made by appointing an authority to give its final decision on the points at issue.

"(8) Generally speaking, therefore, the internal structure of the two regions should continue as it is and would not be interfered with. For example, the land system, the tenancy laws, the modes of taxation, the raising of revenue and provision for social services may continue to be distinct in one State as against the other. The schemes for these have been framed on a particular basis in each State and it would not be wise to interfere with them immediately unless it be by common consent.

"(9) It is obvious that the principal capital of the State should be Calcutta. Patna may be a second capital and the Legislature may meet in either place. The Law and Order Department in both States should be common.

"While some of the ideas that I have in my mind and that have been suggested to me by friends have found place in the statement above, it is obvious that they do not cover all the points. We have in the beginning to agree to the principle of union and then we can sit down and work together the details. Expression of public opinion in this respect will be greatly appreciated. It is obvious that in some matters, as mentioned above, there will be full control of the Cabinet and of the State. In many matters each region will have full play and attempts at co-ordination in these matters should be made. If any additional resources are raised in a particular region, that money should by common consent be utilized for that region only.

"At present one can give only the broad outline of the proposal and wait for its acceptance by the people before we can sit down to work out the details. I only request my people to consider the matter in all seriousness and not to reject the scheme without serious thought. All suggestions for improving the scheme will be welcome."

Industrial Policy and the Second Plan

In its draft memorandum on the Second Five-Year Plan, the Planning Commission has suggested that industries will receive the highest priority in the Second Plan. In its view the industrial policy of the country has to be governed by the objective of bringing about a socialistic pattern of society. This implies close adherence to the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, and Government incursions in field where development had been inadequate. Definite steps must also be taken to expand the sphere of co-operative enterprise so that, in due course, the benefits of industrial development are transmitted in increasing measure, to the primary producers of raw materials or the consumers of industrial raw materials without the intervention of middlemen or of private industrial undertakings.

In view of recent developments in the industrial policy of the Government, the 1948 policy has become out-dated. The 1948 resolution on industrial policy was made on the basis of mixed economy. At present although the basis of Indian economy is mixed economy, still however, the industrial outlook and policy of the Government stands modified in effect by the course of events. In December 1948, the Lok Sabha adopted a resolution to the effect that the goal of India's economic policy is socialism. Obviously mixed economy is not socialism, had it been the case the Indian Parliament need not have passed the resolution on economic policy. Further, when the industrial policy of 1949 was enunciated, there was no concept of planned economy, or if it was, it was in a nebulous form. Under the Second Five-Year Plan, the State has taken upon itself the task of providing employment to the teeming unemployed, and the State's share of responsibility in the matter is much larger than that of the private sector.

It is rather perplexing to reconcile the apparently conflicting viewpoints of the State over its stand on the industrial policy. Since 1948, India is steadily drifting towards socialism with planned economy. The new company law has given an additional weapon to the Government to forge ahead towards socialism. The nationalization of life insurance, has widened the scope of State enterprise in this country than what was hitherto envisaged. By the life Insurance Ordinance, the scope of the public sector has been extended to include part Government ownership of a large number of other

private industries and business concerns. About Rs. 24 crores of the total assets of life and general business of Indian insurers have been invested in ordinary shares of Indian companies. In addition, the total investments of life and general business in debentures and preference shares of Indian companies exceeds Rs. 32 crores. As owner of these equity shares, the Government acquires all the rights devolving upon shareholders, including the right to vote, in respect of such capital, on every resolution placed before the company.

Thus it is obvious that the 1948 industrial policy resolution stands modified in effect. The private sector is not inviolable nor can it be thoroughly relied upon in the task allotted to it. The State should step in whenever the private sector fails to make progress to the desired extent. Constant watch is needed to be kept on it and short-coming must be made good by State enterprise. As for example, the establishment of new sugar industries should be the responsibility of the State so that the people and the country may not have to depend on the sweet will of the private owners of this industry. The record of the sugar industry since independence is the blackest. It is time the authorities define a new industrial policy in the light of recent developments, keeping in view the aims of the Second Five-Year Plan.

World Steel Output

The world steel output is progressively increasing. The total output in 1955 is estimated at 260 million tons, as compared with 113 million tons in 1945 and 98 million tons in 1935. The output of world steel in 1955 is expected to rise by 20 per cent above that of 1954 and 15 per cent above that of 1953. The American estimate of world output of steel is even higher, being placed at 293 million tons. The production of the USA is placed at 116.5 million tons, as against 88.3 million tons in 1954. The output of pig iron in 1955 is estimated at 183.0 million tons, as against 154.7 million tons in 1954.

In Europe, West Germany is making rapid strides in the production of steel. Ten years ago, the German steel industry was virtually flat on its back. Most of the plant which had survived the repeated assaults of the Allied bombers was dismantled and carried away by the triumphant forces of the victorious nations. German steel industry restarted virtually from a

scratch, yet, in 1955, the Federal Republic of Western Germany expects that production will surpass the highest levels attained in the old German Reich in the pre-war era, as in fact, it has already exceeded that of the U.K.

Some of the world's biggest blast furnaces are now operating at Kuznetsk and Magnitogorsk, and in view of the technical and economic advantages of large steel furnaces, it has been announced that new investment will be concentrated upon the construction of new furnaces with capacities ranging from 250 to 500 tons per day. In spite of a continuous rise in the gross output, the Soviet Union is experiencing serious shortages of certain types of steel, particularly flat rolled products, and ferrous metal enterprises are operating under extreme pressure to raise the gross steel output beyond the target of 45 million tons per year.

Outside Europe, the urge for a greater measure of self-sufficiency in regard to steel supplies is also manifest. Turkey is constructing with the help of the German firm of Krupps a 6-lakh ton steel plant at Karabuk on the Black Sea. Brazil proposes to increase the capacity of the Volta Redonda plant from 4 lakh tons to 1 million tons.

India is pressing forward with her steel output and special care will be given in the Second Five-Year Plan for raising the output of steel. The estimated production in 1955 is placed at 1.96 million tons. Under the second Five-Year Plan, in terms of investment, the achievement of the steel target will mean about Rs. 400 crores in the public sector and Rs. 100 crores in the private sector, nearly one-eighth of the total investment target for the second Plan. Out of the proposed target of 6 million tons of steel ingots, three million tons will be obtained by the expansion of the capacity of the private sector and the other three million tons will be developed in the public sector.

The anticipated production of iron and steel after the completion of the approved expansion programmes of the existing steel units and the establishment of the new Government steel plants will be as below :

	<i>Saleable steel tons per year.</i>
Tata Iron and Steel Co.	1,500,000
Indian Iron and Steel Co.	800,000
Mysore Iron and Steel Works	100,000

Rourkela Steel Plant	720,000
Bhilai Steel Plant	750,000
British Steel Plant	750,000

At a rough estimate, the three new steel works in the public sector will need 120 well qualified and experienced engineers for higher technical directions; over a 1,000 engineers with degrees or diplomas, to be trained for skilled work, and 10,000 skilled labour.

Banking Stoppages and Strikes

Business in Calcutta had been seriously affected by the action of the Bank employees here. Similar action in a modified form had taken place elsewhere.

The usual union methods, which are regardless of the consequences that affect the life and well-being of millions of innocent people, have brought about the state of affairs indicated in the quotation below, which is taken from the daily news reports published at the time:

"The latest development in Calcutta's banking industry—suspension of operations of the city's Clearing House—has seriously upset industrialists, business circles and the general public.

"A typed four-line notice hung on Friday at the gate of every scheduled bank in the city requests its clientele to note that 'as the Calcutta Clearing House has suspended the clearing of cheques until further notice, the cheques paid in cannot be credited to their accounts.'

"The notification announcing the stoppage of work at the Clearing House was issued on Thursday and is believed to be a sequel to the sporadic token demonstrations by employees of banks in which they are being paid under the new Industrial Disputes (Banking Companies) Decision Act.

"Cheques presented at the Clearing House daily run into thousands in number and average over Rs. 4 crores in value. Their lying uncleared means serious interference with the normal transactions of industrial and commercial firms, and business houses. This will also affect the economy of a large section of the public as payment of salaries by cheque is a growing practice in many offices."

Even now the work done at most of the local banks is sporadic and irregular, showing the total lack of responsibility and disregard for the welfare of fellow citizens, that is a

common feature of the Unions led by professional "labour leaders."

Legal Action Against Colliery

The Government of India recently decided to take legal action against the managements of the Newton Chickli Colliery in Madhya Pradesh and the Amlabad Colliery in Bihar where 114 persons had been killed in two mine accidents, reports *Press Trust of India*. The managements had been found negligent of protective measures in the mines by the Courts of Inquiry appointed by the Government of India.

According to an official statement, the Government would also take suitable action after necessary investigation against the supervisory staff of the Department of Mines as the conduct of the supervisory staff came in for critical comment in the report of the Court of Inquiry into the Amlabad Disaster.

The report adds that the Government proposed to set up a Tripartite Committee to examine the safety regulations, etc., in force in the context of prevailing conditions and progress of developments. The Committee would be appointed after the State Government's comments on the Draft Code of Coal Mines Regulations which incorporated most of the recommendations made by the Courts of Inquiry have been received by the Union Government.

"Emergency regulations called the Coal Mines (Temporary) Regulations, 1955, for effecting speedy remedy of conditions, that are likely to cause danger in the mines, have also been promulgated by the Central Government with effect from November 5, 1955."

In an editorial comment on January 20, the *Hitavada* writes that since the collieries were expected to be worked to a greater extent as a result of the greater emphasis on industrialisation in the Second Five-Year Plan, "it becomes doubly necessary to see that safety regulations are carefully drawn up and rigidly adhered to, especially in such major coal-producing areas as Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. The proposed appointment of a Tripartite Committee is necessary both in the light of the mining disasters of a year ago and in view of the increasing importance of our coal mines to the industrial development of India."

The "Kashmir Princess" Disaster

According to a report published in the January 11 issue of the *New York Times*, the British Colonial Office admitted that a Chinese named Chow Tse-ming, who was now in Formosa, had admitted that he had sabotaged the Indian air liner (*Kashmir Princess*) after a promise of a reward worth over 100,000 U.S. dollars by the Chinese Nationalist authorities for wrecking the plane carrying Chinese (Communist) advance party to the Bandung Asian-African Conference.

The report further says: "The official report reveals that on four separate occasions, Mr. Chow had admitted he had sabotaged the aircraft, been offered the bribe, had used a small time-bomb 'which made a slight ticking noise,' and that he had intended to stow away to Formosa."

"On September 3, a warrant for Mr. Chow's arrest was issued and the Chinese Nationalists were asked to turn him over to face trial. Britain has no extradition treaty with the Chinese Nationalists and the request was refused."

India and Western Diplomacy

Ever since India defined her foreign policy as strict neutrality, in politics of the Big Powers, the Anglo-American opinion has definitely gone against India. Indian neutrality of course does not mean passivity, she has been toiling ceaselessly for the restoration of world peace wherever it is threatened or whenever justice is denied to the oppressed nations. India's efforts for the restoration of peace in Korean affairs or in the Indo-China war have received international recognition, although not ungrudgingly from some quarters. India has been nurtured in the democratic tradition and atmosphere, naturally she felt her affinity with the Democratic Powers in the days of her independent existence. India is still admittedly a neutral country having no axe to grind with any of the Power blocs, still it may appear that an intellectual estrangement with the Western Powers is taking place, though slowly and imperceptibly. Three events have marked this turning point.

These events are: the Kashmir issue, Goa issue and the arming of Pakistan by the USA. India received her rudest shock from the Anglo-American bloc when it failed to call a spade a spade in the Kashmir affairs and distorted the real nature of the dispute to suit their own

interests—the control of strategic base in Kashmir during the future war. India could have forced a military decision against Pakistan over the Kashmir dispute and now she understands that it has been a folly on her part to rush to the UNO seeking justice, and what she received instead is anything but justice. The plain fact of the dispute was ignored by the Anglo-American bloc and through legal procedure these Powers took illegal decisions through their international preserve—the Security Council. The issue of the dispute was distorted.

The plain fact was that Kashmir in October 1947 acceded to the Indian Union and this was accepted by the British Viceroy of India. India however, gave assurance to Kashmir that her future will be determined according to the will of the people of the State. Immediately after accession, Pakistan sent tribal invaders clandestinely, concealing her complicity till it was made known by the Kashmir Commission. Evidently in this matter there were two parties—India and Kashmir and there was no dispute among them nor the accession was forced on Kashmir by India in any way. It was purely a voluntary accession by Kashmir and India's assurance for determination of the people's will was given to Kashmir and Kashmir alone. Evidently, Pakistan is an intruder and she cannot have and must not have any *locus standi* in the affair which is purely India's domestic affair. Pakistan by force, through the tribal army, snatched away certain portions of Kashmir and now she claims the whole of it. Thanks to the Anglo-American support, Pakistan is now a party to the Kashmir dispute against India. An intruder has been given legal recognition by nations who claim to be the upholders of world peace and international law, and thus in reality the so-called international law and the talk of world peace are the two weapons in the hands of these Powers for bolstering up their own colonial aggrandizement. The national history of these two Powers are replete with tyranny and oppression, injustice and warfare. No wonder that justice hardly comes from them in international affairs.

The arming of Pakistan has further pushed India away from the Anglo-American Power politics. Pakistan is at cold war with India and the arming of Pakistan has destroyed the balance of power in this region. India opposed to the arming of Pakistan by the USA, but she turned

a deaf ear to India's protests. In her zeal to guard her strategic positions by creating a girdle of encirclement around Russia, the USA forgot that a big neutral Power is a better ally than a weak friendly Power. A neutral India is a better guarantee of peace in this region of the world than an armed Pakistan. India unacknowledgedly is a big Power in men and resources and in future war her support to any party may turn the scale against the other party.

During the Korean dispute, the world was on the brink of the Third World War, and had India sided with the Anglo-American bloc at that time, war would certainly have broken out. A neutral India is a better bastion of peace in South-East Asia. The Kashmir issue still remaining undecided, the arming of Pakistan has been quite unjustified and it is strange that such a provocative event has not altogether estranged the Indo-American relations. The only fault of India is that she declined to sell her political conscience in lieu of military aid that comes with strings. The arming of Pakistan has definitely thrown the balance of power against India in the South-East Asia and India has reasons to be aggrieved at the treatment meted out to her by the USA in this connection.

The third important development is the Goa issue. Goa is part and parcel of India and the people of Goa are Indian. Mr. Dulles's statement that Goa is a Portuguese province is not only to distort geography but to go against the course of events that will assert itself one day or other. Not only the authorities of the USA and the U.K. have been acting definitely against India, the Press in these countries have joined hands in villifying India and distorting news from India. Mr. Horace Alexander was good enough to point out the anti-Indian feeling in the British Press and sounded a note of warning that this anti-Indian feeling will do more harm than good in the Anglo-Indian relation. The *Daily Telegraph* in its issue of 29th December, 1954, accused India of using Nazi methods in Goa and Mr. Nehru as aiming at "Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Nehru." Of course, in expressing anti-India feelings, the *London Time* and the *Economist* head the list in Britain, while in the USA, the *New York Times* takes the lead. During the course of the dispute, Dr. Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal, claimed that the NATO of 1949 and the Anglo-Portuguese treaties covered the

Portuguese possessions in India. Nehru replied that he was not clear what exactly had Goa got to do with any concept behind NATO. India asked the United States, Britain and Canada for their opinion. They gave the obvious answer that Portugal could invoke Article 4 of the NATO Treaty which provides for consultation in the face of a threat to her territorial integrity or security but that since her Indian territories were outside the NATO area, the defensive obligations of Article 5 would not apply. As far as the Anglo-Portuguese treaties were concerned, none of them provide for mutual defence of the other's colonies.

But the recent defence of Goa as the Portugal province in the Far East in the Dulles-Cunha joint statement definitely indicates that the USA is with the side of colonialism. Of course, that is in keeping with the tradition of the USA. The basis of capitalistic structure of economy is colonialism and in defending Portuguese colonies in the territory of India, the USA expressed her true colours.

The recent visit of Russian leaders to India has vindicated India's stand over two issues, namely, Kashmir and Goa. The leaders were good enough to realise the real nature of the conflict and they had the courage and good sense to call a spade a spade. They described Kashmir as the northern part of India and declared that Goa was an integral part of India. India of course did not ask for such statements. But undoubtedly she was pleased with these, as these statements supported India's stand. Queer indeed, it is that the quarters, wherefrom India expected good sense and help in her difficulty, acted against her interest even violating the sense of justice. And queerer it is that the country wherefrom India least expected support for her cause, gave her full support to India. Old friends forsook India in her difficulty, while new countries befriended India and took up her cause.

Indian patience needs be admired that she has not as yet cut off her connections with the Anglo-American bloc, notwithstanding grave provocations and hostility in anything Indian in world affairs, no matter whether it is Kashmir or Goa or arming Pakistan. The Western countries do not understand India nor do they want to do so. They make a parade of their ignorance towards India and they take pride in that. The western diplomacy move in the old

rut and does not even realise that if you alienate the feelings of others, you should not expect them to side with you. When the Anglo-American press howls against India or sermonises to her, the press does a disservice to their respective countries.

India-Indonesian Co-operation

The historic Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations recommended the conclusion of bilateral agreements as the chief means for the promotion of cultural co-operation and mutual understanding among the countries of Asia and Africa. The Agreement concerning cultural relations concluded in New Delhi on December 29 between India and Indonesia expressly followed that recommendation. It is hoped that the new agreement would be able to achieve its aim of strengthening the existing ties of friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

The Agreement contained twelve articles besides a Preamble and was designed to remain in force for a period of ten years unless it was terminated earlier by either party by giving six months' notice. Otherwise it would remain in force until terminated by either party by giving six months' notice.

Under the Agreement the Governments of the two countries declared their desire to encourage and facilitate co-operation in all fields of science and literature and art. For this they would encourage and facilitate reciprocal visits of university teachers and members of scientific and cultural institutions for the purpose of giving lectures on special courses. Each Government would institute scholarships to enable its students to pursue their studies in the universities of the other country, to study its language and civilisation. Each Government would extend its facilities for the training of specialists and other persons recommended by the other Government in the former's scientific, technical and industrial institutions. Each Government would encourage, within the limits permitted by national laws, the establishment within its territory of cultural institutes of the other. Each Government would try, within its financial limits, to promote intellectual and cultural co-operation between the two countries by arranging concerts, lectures, art and scientific exhibitions, by organising student visits, by

encouraging the collaboration of scientific, artistic and literary societies. Competitive sports between the nationals of two countries would also be encouraged. Each Government would try its utmost to ensure that educational text-books did not contain any errors or misrepresentation about the other country. Each undertook to recognize the school, college and university degrees of the other country.

If required a special commission might be set up to carry out this Agreement. The commission would compose in each country of its Education Minister and the Head of the Diplomatic Mission of the other country resident there. "At intervals of not less than once in three years the two Governments will hold joint consultations to co-ordinate the working of the Agreement in the two countries and to invite suggestions and advice from co-operating agencies concerning steps that may be deemed necessary for a more effective implementation of this Agreement."

The Agreement comes into force fifteen days after the exchange of the instruments of ratification which would shortly take place in New Delhi.

Maulana Azad signed on behalf of India and the Indonesian Ambassador to India Mr. L. N. Palar signed for Indonesia.

Pakistan Draft Constitution

The Draft Constitution of Pakistan consists of 245 articles and five schedules besides a Preamble. It envisages the establishment of an independent sovereign republican and democratic State "consistent with the ideology of Pakistan." The Constitution was to be a federal one and the republic was to be called the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan."

The chapter on Fundamental Rights provides that all citizens should be equal before law and no person should be deprived of life or liberty, save in accordance with law. Freedom of speech and expression and the right to peaceful assembly were also recognised. No person joining any educational institution would be required to receive religious instruction or take part in any religious ceremony or attend religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship related to a religion other than his own. Untouchability in all forms would be abolished and discrimination on

grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth was forbidden in all cases. The Fundamental Rights could be enforced through the Supreme Court.

The Directive Principles of State Policy provides *inter alia* that the State should strive for the strengthening of the bonds of unity among Muslim countries, and generally for the promotion of international peace and security. It would be the duty of the State to adopt measures to enable the Muslims of Pakistan to order their lives in accordance with the Holy Quran and *Sunnah* and, in particular, the State should strive to "(a) provide facilities for the Muslims of Pakistan to understand the meaning of life according to the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah* and make the teachings of the Quran compulsory to them; (b) promote and maintain the Islamic moral standards; (c) secure proper organisation of *Zakat*, *Waqfs* and mosques; and (d) prohibit prostitution, gambling and consumption, except for medicinal purposes, of alcoholic drinks and the intoxicants." The legitimate rights and interests of non-Muslim communities should be protected and parochial, racial and tribal prejudices should be discouraged by the State. The Directives presented the ideal of a welfare State for Pakistan where there should not be any concentration of wealth and poverty. The State was further enjoined to work for the eventual separation of the judiciary from the executive.

The State would be headed by an elected President who must, however, be always a Muslim, and at least 40 years of age. He was to be elected by Members of the (Federal) National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of a single transferable vote. The President would be elected for a term of five years and no person could hold the office of President for more than two terms. The President would also be the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

Under Emergency Powers, the President could suspend the constitutional government in provinces by a Proclamation. No such proclamation could be effective for more than six months.

There would also be a Vice-President who must have all the qualifications for election as a President which, in effect, meant that

the Vice-Presidency would also be exclusively reserved for the Muslims.

There would be a Cabinet, headed by a Prime Minister, to be appointed by the President from amongst the members of the National Assembly, and it would be collectively responsible to the National Assembly. Other Ministers would be appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Prime Minister.

The National Assembly would consist of 300 members with equal number of representatives from each wing of Pakistan. For the first ten years, ten additional seats—five from East Pakistan and five from West Pakistan—would be provided for women.

Unless the National Assembly otherwise decided one session of the Assembly in each year was to be held in Dacca. As often as a Prime Minister was appointed the National Assembly was to be summoned within three months of such appointment.

The term of the National Assembly was five years unless it was dissolved earlier.

Provincial Governors would be appointed by the President and would hold office during his pleasure. A Governor could not be elected either to the National Assembly or to the Provincial Legislatures. In the discharge of his duties the Governor would be aided by the Provincial Cabinet headed by a Chief Minister.

Provincial Legislatures would also consist of 300 members each with 10 additional women members during the first ten years.

The chapter on the relations between the Federation and Provinces provided for (a) Federal; (b) Concurrent and (c) Provincial List of Subjects as given in the Fifth Schedule. Railways were in the Provincial list. The Provincial authorities, however, could not close permanently and dismantle any railway line without the approval of the Federal Government. Defense and Broadcasting were in the Federal List.

An Election Commission would be appointed with the responsibility for preparing electoral rolls for election of the National Assembly and the Provincial Assemblies and for attending to related work.

A citizen of Pakistan who was at least 21 years of age, who was resident in the Constituency for at least six months and who was not barred by the Constitution or the National

Assembly was entitled to vote in the elections. Not more than six months should elapse between the dissolution of the National and Provincial Assemblies and their resolution through elections. The decision regarding joint or separate electorates was left with Parliament.

The Constitution also provides for a Supreme Court with legal status and functions comparable with the Supreme Court of India.

Part XII of the Constitution deals with Islamic Provisions, Scheduled Castes and backward classes, the appointment of special councils, boards, etc. The President would set up an organisation to be called the Institute of Islamic Research and Institution for advance studies to assist in the reconstruction of Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis.

No law could be enacted which contradicted the injunctions of the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah* and existing laws would be brought into conformity with them.

Within one year of the promulgation of the Constitution the President of the Republic was to appoint a Commission "(a) to compile in a suitable form for the guidance of the National and Provincial Assemblies such injunctions of Islam as can be given legislative effect, and (b) to make recommendations as to the steps and stages by which the injunctions of Islam should be given effect and as to the bringing of existing laws into conformity with the said injunctions."

In the application of these provisions to the personal law of any Muslim sect, the expression "*Quran and Sunnah*" was to mean the "*Quran and Sunnah*" as interpreted by that sect. Nothing should affect the personal laws of the non-Muslims or the status of non-Muslims as citizens of Pakistan.

The President should constitute a National Economic Council composed of four Federal Ministers, three Ministers of each Provincial Government and the Prime Minister of Pakistan who would be the ex-officio Chairman of the Council.

There would also be a Board appointed by the President in each of the Provinces to advise the Federal Government on matters relating to Posts and Telegraphs in the Province.

Bengali and Urdu were to be the official languages of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

English would, however, retain its existing status for 20 years from the date of the promulgation of the Constitution. After the first ten years the President would appoint a Commission to make recommendations for the gradual replacement of English. However, any Provincial Government could replace English as the official language of that province by any other language even before the expiration of twenty years.

In an editorial article on the provisions of the Draft Constitution of Pakistan, the *Hita-rada* notes that it was the fourth attempt at Constitution making during the eight years of Pakistan's existence, the first three having had proved abortive. "But in form and content, so far as the non-Muslim minorities are concerned, the new Draft Constitution is little different from its forerunners. The Mullah influence is still predominant in the Draft Constitution and it seems to be a signal victory for the orthodox, bigoted leadership, which wants Pakistan's political life to be ordered according to the tenets of Quran."

The newspaper makes critical references to the Provisions of Head of State and those insisting on conformity with the teaching of Quran and *Sunnah* and says that the cumulative effect of those provisions would render the citizenship of non-Muslims "at best second-class citizenship" notwithstanding official protestations to the contrary.

The Draft virtually denied equality before law "by banning all legislation, which are repugnant to the injunctions of the Holy Quran, any statutory religious safeguards to the Hindu minorities have been rendered impossible. It is doubtful whether ever such a normal practice as the acceptance of interest for loans will be permissible in such a State—this will also affect the monetary and fiscal structure of the State—as taking of interest is repugnant to the teachings of Quran."

The *Vigil* in an editorial article on the same subject in its issue of January 14 writes that the hope entertained by some that the delay in framing a Constitution for Pakistan might eventually mean a rejection of the "nonsense about an 'Islamic' State" did not come true. The disappointment was all the greater because the Muslim League was supposed to have had lost its supremacy.

"The proposed nomenclature for Pakistan and the other 'Islamic' features of the Draft," writes the *Vigil*, "are more than an affront to the remnants of Pakistan's non-Muslim population. Their adoption would mean a most dangerous circumspection of the conception of citizen's loyalty to a modern State. For, by definition, the allegiance of non-Muslims to an 'Islamic Republic of Pakistan' could never be spiritually whole. Therefore, unless it is intended to drive the non-Muslim citizens out of the country, the authors of the Draft Constitution are proposing for a part of the body politic to be in a condition of permanent moral and spiritual alienation from the State." The danger of such a position, from the point of view of the State's own security was only too obvious. Moreover, as matter of principle it could not be conceded that a State could take any step "so as to degrade a section of its citizens, detract from their full citizenship rights and also place their very relationship to the State and the rest of their fellow citizens in moral jeopardy."

The newspaper adds that the 'Islamic' features were no less a challenge to the Muslims of Pakistan "because the whole thing is a fraud on them." Nobody, except the most unthinking, could accept at face value, the assertion in the Draft that "no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and the *Sunnah*" since obviously no viable modern State could contract to abide wholly by only such principles of Islam or any other religion. Historically speaking even Muslim rulers of the past would not follow such principles in toto; they only followed those which suited their purpose. There was nothing to suggest that the bigoted rulers of Pakistan could achieve the impossible. These 'Islamic' provisions really were designed to divert the attention of the Muslim masses from their existing miseries.

Noting there had already been a great opposition against the provisions of the draft both among the Muslims and non-Muslims of Pakistan, the *Vigil* writes that the democratic forces must coalesce under a common leadership if they meant to thwart the design of the big rulers because this was the last great chance before them to exert themselves in favour of a healthy growth of Pakistan.

French Elections

National Elections were held in France on January 2 following upon the premature dissolution of the National Assembly by a Presidential Decree in December for the second time in the history of the French Republic.

The Government of Edgar Faure introduced a motion in the National Assembly on October 25, 1955, for complete elections which was adopted by the Assembly on November 2. Explaining the need for earlier elections M. Faure said that the purpose of the measure was to enable a new Assembly, no longer beset with electoral preoccupations, to face important and urgent discussions which must be taken in the international field, in North Africa, and in domestic affairs. Political observers, however, read in this move a desire on the part of the Government to get through the elections before it had to promulgate a number of unpopular measures.

However, though the principle of earlier election was adopted there could not be any agreement on the electoral system to be used. The Electoral Laws had been substantially amended in May, 1951, with a view to cornering the Communists and the Leftists. According to the provisions of that amended law voting was to be by departmental (provincial) list with one ballot; and a party or an alliance of parties getting more than 50 per cent of the votes would automatically become entitled to get all the seats of of that department. The amendment acted in favour of the center parties but affected the Communists most adversely. For some reason and other the Government parties in 1955 wanted further amendment of the electoral laws and in course of the debates on that issue the Government fell to a vote of confidence on November 29, 1955, so that the elections were held according to the 1951 Law.

According to Article 49 of the French Constitution, a government was bound to resign if it was opposed by an absolute majority (314) of the numbers of the National Assembly in a vote of confidence. And Article 51 provided that if two governmental crises occurred under the conditions set forth in Article 49 within an eighteen-month period—except during the first eighteen months of the Legislature the Council of Ministers might

decide on the dissolution of the Assembly by a Presidential Proclamation, 318 members (314 being the absolute majority) voted against the Faure Government in November 1955. The Mendes-France Government also having had fallen on February 5, 1955, under similar conditions, the National Assembly was dissolved on December 2, 1955, by the President.

The position of the different parties as a result of the elections are given below:

1. Communists	150
2. Socialists (S.F.I.O.)	98
3. U.D.S.R. (Social Democrats)	9
4. Radical Socialists and Affiliated Groups (Mendes-France)	49
5. Dissident Radicals (Faure)	21
6. Popular Republicans (M.R.P.—Schuman-Bidault)	72
7. Moderates (Pinay)	96
8. Social Republicans (Gaullists)	22
9. Anti-Tax Coalition (Poujade)	52
10. Extreme Right	3
11. Unaffiliated	22

594

(Thirty-three more seats were yet to be filled. Those comprised 30 for Algeria where elections were not held, one each for French Oceania and New Caledonia where elections were to be held by the end of January and one undecided seat in Middle Congo.)

The result of the elections clearly disappointed the initiators of early elections. M. Faure was blamed for causing the elections to be held before time and was expelled from the Radical Party. The expulsion of M. Faure, reports the *New York Times*, "amounted to formal confirmation of the split in the Radical Party, which cuts the moderate middle groups in the Assembly into hostile blocs."

The executive committee of the Radical Party under the leadership of M. Mendes-France, approved the plan for a Republican Front Government of Socialists and Radicals. The National Congress of the Socialist Party also endorsed this plan. Neither party, however, laid claim to Premiership and both left it to be decided by President Rene Coty whether to nominate as Premier Mendes-France, the Radical leader, Guy Mollet, Socialist Secretary-General or a third man. Though both the parties were not unwilling to accept Communist

vites to get into office they rejected the proposal for any alliance with either the Communists or other moderate groups. However, the Republican Front could scarcely hope to form a Government without the open or tacit support of either the Communists or other moderates in the Assembly.

Malaya's Future

Mr. Fenner Brockway, Member of British Parliament, writes in an article in the *Vigil*, January 21, that the breakdown of the recent 'cease-fire' talks in Malaya between the Communists on the one side and the Chief Ministers of Malaya and Singapore on the other, did not mean that holding such talks was useless or that there was no need to hold such talks in the future.

The failure of the talks was in a sense predestined since the two Chief Ministers were not independent of British control and the British influence was wholly directed against a settlement with the Communists, Mr. Brockway writes. The colonial office and its agents in Malaya had always discouraged efforts to open talks with the Communists and "when the Chief Ministers took the initiative for a meeting with the Communist leaders, British pressure was exerted to make the talks an occasion for surrender."

He avers that the war in Malaya could be ended if it was accepted by the British Government that the settlement within Malaya was a matter for the Malaysians to make. Therefore, he urges upon the British Labour Movement to support the demands of the peoples of Malaya and Singapore for full national autonomy at the forthcoming constitutional talks in April.

Kenya Government and Goa

The nationalist Goans living in Kenya formed the East African Goan National Association in September, 1955, "to support the struggle for liberation of Goa by all peaceful means." The Kenya Government refused to register it on November 26. Shri J. N. Nazareth, President of the Association, immediately sent a fresh application for its registration and challenged the Registrar to disclose the reasons for non-registration. According to the *Press Trust of India*, the Kenya Govern-

ment again refused registration of the Association on the ground it was likely to be used "for purposes prejudicial to or incompatible with peace, welfare or good order in the colony."

Shri Nazareth was reportedly considering further appeal to the Governor-in-Council against the Registrar's decision.

France Opposes Baghdad Pact

There has obviously been a breach in the Western Camp at any rate on Middle East affairs in that France has publicly come out against the Baghdad Pact which was officially sponsored by the U.K. and openly supported by the U.S.A.

Expressing the French Government's anxiety at the situation in the Middle East the French Government's memorandum to the U.S.A. and U.K. recalled that France had never looked with enthusiasm upon the conclusion of the Baghdad Treaty.

"Brink of War" Diplomacy of Dulles

James Shepley, Chief of the *Time-Life* Washington Bureau, wrote an article in the American magazine *Life* in which the writer quoted the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles as saying that he (Dulles) had averted three wars (in Korea in June, 1953; in Indo-China in April, 1954; in the Formosa Straits in January, 1955) by his threats of nuclear weapons. In the article, which was written after an interview with Mr. Dulles, he was quoted to have said: "You have to take chances for peace, just as you must take chances in war . . . The ability to get to the verge without getting into war is the necessary art. If you cannot master it, you inevitably get into war. If you try to run away from it, if you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost."

Mr. Dulles subsequently confirmed the above statement.

The *New York Times* reports on January 12 that some observers viewed the interview in *Life* as a counterpart to the article Mr. Dulles had published in the same magazine in the issue of May 19, 1952, during the last Presidential campaign, entitled "Policy of Boldness."

"That article," the report adds, "became a basic text for many Republican orators attacking the Truman Administration's foreign

policy. The present interview may well serve as a guide for partisan defenders of Mr. Dulles' stewardship, these observers suggested."

The present *Life* article praising Dulles-Eisenhower policy, it is further reported in the *Times*, gave an account of the Indo-China crisis which varied considerably from the consensus of reports written at the time on the basis of information available in the State Department of U.S.A. and in the embassies of Powers friendly to the U.S.A.

"For example, in retrospect the article depicted the Indo-China armistice worked out in Geneva in 1954 as a 'major save for the free world' that made it possible to retrieve South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia from 'almost certain loss'.

"At the time Mr. Dulles and his Under Secretary of State, Gen. Walter Beddel Smith, characterized the armistice as a bad bargain. The United States, in fact, refused to sign it.

"The Shepley article, on the other hand, described the agreement to partition Indo-China and end the war as the outcome of a 'policy of boldness' that made it clear to the Communists the United States was prepared to act to hold what was left of South-East Asia."

The article retold the story of Mr. Dulles' flight to London in April 1954 to urge "united action" of Britain, France and the U.S.A. in the Indo-China war. It was stated in the article that Mr. Dulles had returned from London with a specific assurance from the British Government to "jointly take up the battle," but two weeks later—just before the Geneva Conference—"the British had a change of heart."

It also mentioned Mr. Dulles as saying that the Communists had not broken the truce in June 1953 when Syngman Rhee had freed 27,000 North Korean prisoners because the Chinese Government in Peking had been informed through Shri Nehru of U.S. preparedness to use atom bombs if Communists had continued fighting.

The third instance when the Communists had been restrained by Dulles' policy of going to the brink was in January, 1955, when the Chinese Communists stopped their assault of Matsu and Quemoy. The Communists had done this because of the Dulles' resolution passed by the Congress at that time authorizing

President Eisenhower to use U.S. forces in that area if the Communists would attack Formosa or its approaches.

The article evoked a storm of protest from the Democratic Party leaders, a section of the U.S. press and from the British Government.

In "the most vehement ever" attack on the Secretary of State within the internationalist wing of the U.S. Senate, Democratic Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota accused Mr. Dulles of distorting history, breaching bipartisanship in an election year and damaging the United States before the world, William K. White reports in the *New York Times*.

Referring to Mr. Dulles' statement on Indo-China, the London *Times* writes: "What Mr. Dulles has to say about his own attitude at the time can naturally be taken as accurate. It was perfectly plain at the time that he, supported by Admiral Radford, was urging in April that both the U.S.A. and Britain should intervene. But he is not right in saying that the British Government or Sir Anthony Eden, then Foreign Secretary, had at any time agreed to intervene. Nor is it true that Britain has agreed to support the bombing of Chinese territory, north of the Vietnam frontier."

The *Statesman's* London office reports: "Second thoughts have brought little comfort to those who are perplexed, if not dismayed, by another instance of the 'time for frankness' indiscretions, which periodically bedevil American diplomacy."

"This time, with Sir Anthony Eden leaving so soon for Washington, the object of stirring up old disputes is more obscure than ever. Some might say, in fact, it is a subtle way of scoring off the British Prime Minister before the conference begins." (*Statesman* 14. 1. 56).

The *Manchester Guardian* writes: "Dulles is no historian and not much of a diplomat."

The *Daily Mail* of London calls Mr. Dulles' policy "a Dance of Death" and writes that if threats of nuclear war was an art, as Mr. Dulles said, "it is the most terrifying art we ever encountered. One false step and the artist is over the edge, taking his H-bombs with him and destroying the world in the process."

The *Hitavada* of Nagpur writes: "If Mr. Dulles had been in charge of foreign affairs in

any other country but the United States, he would have been sacked on the spot for contributing the article he did to the *Life Magazine* on the theory of massive retaliation. This is a new technique of diplomacy which Mr. Dulles is developing. All important statements of policy in a State are made either in the form of White Papers or Parliamentary forums. But no functioning Secretary of State of foreign affairs in any other country so far has outlined his policy or explained it in a newspaper."

Refuting the Dulles' thesis that his "Brink of War" Diplomacy had brought the Korean war to an end, the *Hitavada* writes that the war in Korea had come to an end because both the U.S.A. and the Communists had made concessions. The U.S. Secretary's assertions showed the newspaper comments, "that the Republican administration in the United States has learnt nothing from the recent past." As for Mr. Dulles, Mr. Adlai Stevenson had aptly described him as a man playing Russian roulette with a loaded revolver in hand, the *Hitavada* concludes.

Poland Decrees Private Ownership of Land

In view of the rearming of West Germany and the abolition of Zemindary System in India and uncertainty about the ultimate proprietorship of land, the following extract from a back number of the *Worldover Press* is interesting:

"Berlin.—With dramatic suddenness, the Warsaw government has issued a decree providing that no fewer than 750,000 peasants in the former German provinces are to have their land as private property 'for eternity.' Registration for ownership, at the local courts, is to begin immediately.

"The Russian Ambassador to Poland, apparently as startled as anyone else, asked the Polish Premier, Josef Cyrankiewicz, the meaning of this sudden change in policy. The Polish government, supposedly a servile satellite of Moscow, remained firm, replying that it was an internal affair of Poland's, necessary for 'economic reasons.'

HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE

"It was a dark day in Polish history when, in August, 1939, Hitler's Foreign Secretary, Joachim von Ribbentrop, flew to Moscow to sign a pact between Germany and the Soviet

Union. As a consequence, two months later, Poland was partitioned—for the fourth time. The so-called 'Curzon Line,' which the British Lord Curzon had described as the best ethnographical frontier between Poles and Russians, became the border dividing the two parts of the former Polish State.

"Britain had guaranteed the inviolability of Poland's frontiers, meaning of course only those on the West, since no menace from the East was at the moment taken seriously. The U.S.S.R., however, had promised nothing. And when the war was nearing its end, at the Yalta Conference, the Soviet Union claimed those territories which, at the Peace of Riga after the war between Poland and Russia in 1921, had been taken from her by force and which were, in population, of a White Russian or Ukrainian majority.

"Britain could not keep the word she had given to Poland. So she agreed that the unfortunate Poles be compensated for the loss of territory handed over to Russia. Germany, at that time, was a country deserving of no consideration at all; had not Churchill said that only a dead German was a good German? So, as the weakest had to yield, three German provinces were given to Poland, with the territory of the Danzig Free State in addition. This soil was to receive the Poles who had had to leave their homelands to the east of the new Polish-Russian border line.

"About 7,000,000 Poles moved into East Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia, while the Germans were expelled. Not all the 7,000,000 came from Poland proper; Polish emigrants who had been living in France, Belgium and the Ruhr, joined in. The Poles were given land in the former German provinces, and settled down. Visitors to Poland agree that all the land is under cultivation. But the peasants were not given the soil as private property. They received it through a sort of lease contract; ownership was vested in the State. And in most of the villages, collectives were organized to work the land, in a form similar to the *kolhoz* system predominant in the Soviet Union.

"What has happened to cause a Communist-dominated country to create so much private property? The reason is evident: another German statesman has been invited to Moscow for negotiations—Konrad Adenauer.

The phantom of a fifth partition of their country rises before the Poles. Better show the Polish peasants—at least in the territory that might conceivably be traded—that land is theirs 'for eternity.' And that they must, if necessary, defend it.

Attack on the Press in USA

The International Security Sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate was authorized by the Senate in a resolution to investigate, among other things, "the extent, nature and effect of subversive activities in the United States . . . including, but not limited to, espionage, sabotage and infiltration by persons . . . seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence." On this authority the Sub-committee, under the Chairmanship of James O. Eastland, began a probe of the press and, to a less extent, of radio and television in the United States to "find out Communists." The Sub-committee had recorded a number of testimonies, including several such from the employees of the *New York Times*. The *Times* in turn dismissed a number of its employees, who had been called upon to testify before the Sub-committee, for their attitude towards Communism.

Nevertheless the *New York Times* came forward against such intrusion in the press in an editorial article on the 5th January.

The newspaper did not question the right or propriety of any investigation of the press by any agency of the Congress but at the same time stressed the "inescapable responsibility of the Congress . . . to make certain that any such enquiry be conducted in good faith and not motivated by ulterior motive." But the present enquiry was obviously none of that sort.

While the newspaper would not knowingly employ a Communist Party member "in the news or editorial departments . . . because we would not trust his ability to report the news objectively or to comment on it honestly" it considered to be exclusively its own business to decide whom it would employ and not employ. "We do not propose to hand over that function to the Eastland Sub-committee, writes the newspaper.

The *Times* adds: "Nor do we propose to permit the Eastland Sub-committee, or any

other agency outside this office, to determine in any way the policies of this newspaper. It seems to us quite obvious that the Eastland investigation has been aimed with particular emphasis at the *New York Times* . . .

"It seems to us to be a further obvious conclusion that the *Times* has been singled out for this attack precisely because of the vigor of its opposition to many of the things for which Mr. Eastland, his colleague Mr. Jenner and the Sub-committee's counsel stand—that, because we have condemned segregation in the Southern schools; because we have challenged the high-handed and abusive methods employed by various congressional committees, because we have denounced McCarthyism and all its works; because we have attacked the narrow and bigoted restrictions of the McCarran Immigration Act; because we have criticized a 'security system' which conceals the accuser from his victim; because we have insisted that the true spirit of American democracy demands a scrupulous respect for the rights of even the lowliest individual and a high standard of fair-play.

"If this is the tactic of any member of the Eastland Sub-committee," the *Times* continues, "and if further evidence reveals that the real purpose of the present enquiry is to demonstrate that a free newspaper's policies can be swayed by congressional pressure, we say to Mr. Eastland and his counsel that they are wasting their time. This newspaper will continue to determine its policies. It will continue to condemn discrimination . . . and defend civil liberties . . . to challenge the unbridled power of governmental authority."

Concluding, the *Times* writes: "We cannot speak unequivocally for the long future. But we can have faith. And our faith is strong that long after Senator Eastland and his present Sub-committee are forgotten, long after segregation has lost its final battle in the South, long after all that was known as McCarthyism is dim unwelcome memory, long after the last congressional committee has learned that it cannot tamper successfully with a free press, the *New York Times* will still be speaking for the men who make it, and only for the men who make it, and speaking, without fear or favor, the truth as it sees it."

Critical of the Eastland enquiries, the

Washington Post and Times Herald writes: "Whatever Senator Eastland may say on the subject notwithstanding, his inquiry has certainly extended into an area in which the Constitution forbids Congress to make any law . . . The whole of the American heritage cries out against this kind of congressional intrusion into the affairs of (the) press . . ."

U.S. Investigations

The confessions of Matusow and others who testified in many anti-Communist trials that they had given false witness under governmental pressure brought to the fore the utter unreliability of the U.S. "investigations." The recent decisions on the Taylor and Kutcher cases further highlighted the hollowness of much of the accusations on the basis of which people were deprived of their means of livelihood and liberty.

Dr. William Henry Taylor, now 50, taught economics at the University of Hawaii, in Honolulu, before he became a United States citizen in 1940. On January 3, 1941, he took a job in the Treasury Department, which he left in December, 1945, to take up a job under the International Monetary Fund.

Dr. Taylor was first implicated in espionage hearings in 1945 when Miss Elizabeth Bentley, self-confessed spy, first told the story of Soviet "espionage" in the U.S.A. In 1948, Miss Bentley publicly testified that Dr. Taylor was a member of the Soviet espionage group. In September, 1953, the International Organization's Employees Board began to look into the case. In 1954, in course of a libel suit filed by Dr. Taylor against the *Washington Daily News*, Miss Elizabeth Bentley retracted her insinuations against Dr. Taylor. Dr. Taylor then requested the Board to call upon Miss Bentley to appear before the Board as a witness which the Board did. But Miss Bentley failed to appear before the Board. Nevertheless, on June 28, 1955, the Board decided against Dr. Taylor. The Board said that it "was convinced that this employee (Dr. Taylor) was engaged in espionage . . . that he was placed in the

Treasury . . . by Communists and espionage agents . . . and that he was and possibly still is an adherent to the Communist ideology."

Mr. Scott, the counsel for Dr. Taylor, requested a rehearing which the Loyalty Board granted. On the basis of new evidence the same Board had to declare on January 5 this year: "On all the evidence there is not a reasonable doubt as to your (Taylor's) loyalty."

In an editorial article on the recent decision on the Taylor case, the *New York Times* writes that the decision "suggests that the procedure in this (Loyalty) Board and in comparable agencies may lend itself to blundering and injustice. We do not pretend to know what Mr. Taylor's inmost thoughts and beliefs are, but obviously the Loyalty Board did not know about him to pass the judgment it did."

James Kutcher, who lost his two legs in the Second World War, was denied payments of disability pension by the Veterans' Administration because he also happened to be associated with the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party which was on the list of "subversive organizations" of Attorney-General. Recently the Administration reversed its earlier decision and decided to continue payments until the final determination of the case in a rehearing.

Criticizing the attitude of the Veterans' Administration in refusing Mr. Kutcher payments of disability pension, the *New York Times* also referred to the effort to put him and his family out of a low-cost housing project because his father would not sign a statement denying that any member of the household belonged to an organization on the Attorney-General's list. The Supreme Court of New Jersey had, however, unanimously overruled that move. "In the pension case," writes the *Times*, "it seems to us that Mr. Kutcher is clearly entitled to compensation for his war-time injuries. The present attempt of the V.A. to deprive him of these rights, even though it is acting under a 1943 law, can be viewed as little less than retaliation for extremist political views. That isn't the kind of action that sits well in a democracy."

MAHATMA GANDHI'S PHILOSOPHY OF SOUL FORCE

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THERE is not a single area of human activity or of social relationships in India which remained uninfluenced by Mahatma Gandhi or by his philosophy of soul force. Hence it may be appropriate for me to begin this paper with Prime Minister Nehru's immortal tribute to the martyred Mahatma.

"The Light has gone out of our lives," said Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, in an impromptu radio address upon Gandhi's martyrdom, "there is darkness everywhere." Could it really be that Gandhi's light ceased to shine since he was no longer with us in his puny bundle of flesh and bones? Correcting himself Nehru continued:

"It was wrong. For the light that shone in this country was no ordinary light. The light that has illumined this country for these many years will illumine this country for many more years; and a thousand years later, that light will be seen in this country, and the world will see it and it will give solace to innumerable hearts. For that light represented something more than the immediate present; it represented the living truth . . . the eternal truths, reminding us of the right path, drawing us from error, taking this ancient country to freedom."

Gandhi may truly be said to be the prophetic voice of the twentieth century. Violence inflicts upon its practitioners physical and spiritual wounds; the way of non-violence, said Gandhi, "blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used." Again,

"Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit."

Let us be sure we do not misunderstand the philosophy of non-violence embodied in Gandhi's life and teachings. A practitioner of the non-violent way of life, far from being passive, is the most active person in the world. He is ready to join the fray—non-violently—wherever and whenever there is injustice or wrong. He neither tolerates nor compromises

with injustice, wrong, tyranny, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, dictatorship. His task in life is not to destroy the evildoer but to redeem and to convert the evil-doer by love. "With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right," he is ever ready to "bind up" humanity's "wounds," to minister to the underprivileged and to the misguided. The constant concern of the follower of non-violence is, in the words of Lincoln, to "achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

The spirit of India's Gandhi as well as of America's Lincoln is today sorely needed by a generation madly dancing over a precipice. We have learned to fathom the secrets of the atom, we have learned to master nature, but we have not yet learned to master our inner selves. Our scientists can predict with accuracy the long-range behavior and movements of stars and planets millions of miles away—but we are unable to foretell our next-door neighbor's behavior and movements the very next moment.

The world has become a small neighborhood. Therefore, we are called upon to understand and appreciate our neighbors across the Atlantic and the Pacific, as well as across the Great Lakes and the Gulf. To understand other nations, we must know their values and their historical development. This requires a sympathetic approach to other nations, cultures, and religions. By understanding Gandhi we may build a bridge of understanding between ourselves and India, between ourselves and the Orient, between ourselves and noble free spirits the world over.

What is Gandhi's message for our small neighborhood world divided into two camps—democratic and totalitarian? First of all, Gandhi would have us set our course by the twin stars of Truth and Non-Violence; which means, we must approach other peoples with charity and sympathy. Second, Gandhi would

have us stand on a platform of values to which we must be faithful unto death; which means, we must act in accordance with principles, not expediency. Appeasement, even for the sake of peace, must be ruled out, because appeasement implies sacrifice of principles. Third, Gandhi would have us work ceaselessly for the realization of "common-human" values, as the sociologists say, for the triumph of the common-human way of life. His hospitality to other cultures was aptly phrased by the Mahatma in the following classic words:

"I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."

According to Gandhi, there are three types of human beings: (1) the coward, (2) the brave, (3) the superior. The coward, in order to save his skin, supinely acquiesces in injustice and wrong. The brave hero, on the other hand, valiantly resists injustice and wrong in order to re-establish justice and right. The superior person is he who, in the fullness of his strength, forgives the wrongdoer and tries to redeem him and convert him to the ways of doing good.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOUL FORCE

Mahatma Gandhi's program of political action was derived from the quest for God. His quest for God, for self-realization, led him to involve himself in the affairs of his fellow human beings, of his compatriots. To quote his exact words:

"I am part and parcel of the whole, and I cannot find Him apart from the rest of humanity. My countrymen are my nearest neighbors. They have become so helpless, so resourceless, so inert that I must concentrate on serving them. If I could persuade myself that I should find Him in a Himalayan cave, I would proceed there immediately. But I know that I cannot find Him apart from Humanity."

This involvement in the affairs of humanity led him to realize the supreme importance of two age-old values, namely, *Satya* or Truth and *Ahimsa* or Non-violence and Love. On the basis of *Satya* and *Ahimsa*, Gandhi elaborated his philosophy of Soul Force.

Soul Force may be viewed from four different angles; or, better yet, it may be viewed at four different levels. First and fore-

most, Soul Force is the primeval element pervading the universe. Here there is no possibility of conflict because of man's communion with Soul Force at the highest level. Second, Soul Force is a way of life in harmony with the cosmic process. There is no possibility of conflict at this second level either, because of harmony with the cosmic process. Third, Soul Force is a tool of spiritual insight into the workings of the universe of which we are all integral parts. Here there is the possibility of conflict because of man's freedom to choose the tools of insight. Fourth and least important, if the conflict is not resolved at the third level by the right choice, Soul Force manifests itself as a technique for resolving crises and conflict-situations. In this context, the term conflict is used to signify tension. At the first level, tension would imply estrangement of the human soul from the Supreme Soul. At the second level, it would mean disharmony with the cosmic process; at the third level, ideological differences; and, at the fourth level, violent hostilities.

1. Soul Force as the Cosmic Principle:

Soul Force as the cosmic principle has been known to mankind, East and West, from time immemorial. Soul Force is the primeval energy, the creative spirit, the self-existent Being without beginning and without end. Prophets have exalted it and poets have sung of its glory. Some refer to Soul Force as a He, some as a She, some as an It: they all mean the same thing. In the Infinitude of the Supreme Being, sex, gender, and age become meaningless. Call it the primeval substance or the form of the formless; call it the *Ding-an-sich* or the Thing-in-itself (of Kant) if you will; call it the interplay of matter and spirit; call it the Brahma; call it the Oversoul as Emerson did—call it by what name you will, Soul Force is the beginningless, the endless, the only *Satt* (Sanskrit: Being or Truth) that is infallible in the universe. And to the extent that the elements of the universe—galaxies and planets, atoms and electrons, birds, beasts, and men—are a part of the *Satt*, do they partake of the nature of the divine. Under this condition alone do the sentient creatures realise their identity, their at-one-ness, with the Supreme *Satt* (Supreme Being: Supreme Truth). *Satt* manifests itself in terms of *Chitt* (Sanskrit;

Mind or Intelligence) and culminates in *Ananda* (Sanskrit: Joy or Bliss).

Defying the compulsions of matter, rising above the prison walls of institutions, holding fast to his inner being in the midst of the *Maya* (illusion) of processes, man can truly affirm and realize with Jesus, "I and My Father are one"; or, with Buddha, "I have become the Awakened, the Enlightened, One."

Experiencing Soul Force at the highest level, as mystics have done, man can obliterate differences and conflicts from his behavior as well as from his consciousness.

2. *Soul Force in Tune with the Cosmic Process*: Soul Force is a way of life in tune with the cosmic process. The fundamental oneness of life is the essential aspect of this universe of ours. The stars and the planets move in their appointed orbits; the trees blossom forth into magnificent foliage and flowers; the birds chirp and teeter on the boughs, bedecked in pleasing plumage; the rivers flow majestically, unconcerned with the passing show; the oceans retain their gravity and serenity while receiving untold amounts of water from rivers; nature evolves from the simple to the complex, favoring one form and discarding another—all these events in the universe are but manifestations of Soul Force, of God if you prefer the term. Man's supreme happiness consists in the realization of his oneness with the rest of creation.

Aham Brahma-Asmi, I am Brahma, is but a variant of the other saying: *Tat-Tvam-Asi*, i.e., That Thou art. I am Brahma. You are Brahma. I am That. You are That. Your highest bliss and mine, then, consists in our being in communion with That. Hence, the injunction: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind."

Again, if you are That and if I too am That, then you and I have a fundamental affinity, one with another. Indeed, you, my neighbor, are myself in another form; and I am yourself in another form. Hence, the injunction: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Ecstatic devotion to the Most High or supreme adoration of the Ultimate Reality, and realization of the identity of oneself with one's neighbors—these two requirements of the

inner life of the spirit flow naturally from Soul Force.

The corollary is obvious: "The virtue of that life and power" (Soul Force) must "take away the occasion of all wars." The indwelling Light of Soul Force not only "leads out of wars, leads out of strife, leads out of the occasion of wars, and leads out of the earth up to God, and out of earthly mindedness into heavenly mindedness"; it also puts upon us the obligation of *Ahimsa* (non-violence: love).

Here Hindu metaphysic and Christian teaching, as expounded by George Fox, meet in majestic confluence like the Jamuna and the Ganges.

There is no possibility of conflict at this second level of Soul Force because of harmony with Soul Force at the first level.

3. *Soul Force as a Tool of Spiritual Insight*: Soul Force embraces the totality of being. Hence it serves the purpose of what the scientists call "a frame of reference." No event occurring in the universe is outside the purview of this frame of reference. Indeed, Soul Force serves admirably as a criterion for judging events and actions, or as an integrating principle. To Mahatma Gandhi it is "an angle of vision." In the language of empiricism it is a hypothesis. The hypothesis of Soul Force postulates that the universe is hospitable, friendly, loving. In Plato's terminology, the universe may be conceived as the quintessence of the good, the true, the beautiful.

Opposed to the theory of Soul Force, there is the postulate of Brute Force being at the core of the universe. This latter theory holds that the universe is inhospitable, unfriendly, unloving, at best a moral if indeed not immoral. This view is well expressed in the Hindu dialectician's phrase *Matnya-Nyaya*, "the logic of the fish"—"the larger fish devouring the smaller fish."

In Occidental thought this point of view was best set forth by Hobbes, Malthus, and Darwin. Hobbes defined the state of nature as "a struggle of each against all." Malthus premised that population tended to outstrip the food supply; thus there ensued the struggle for existence. Darwin studied nature and arrived at the conclusion that there was universal "struggle for existence"; that only "the fittest" survived, giving rise to new species.

Interestingly enough, another student of nature, Prince Peter Kropotkin of Russia, arrived at the conclusion that in nature there was "mutual aid."

Darwin and Kropotkin are both partly right and partly wrong. In nature we have two phenomena: the struggle for existence, and mutual aid. To read in nature exclusively a struggle for existence, or exclusively mutual aid, would be wrong. We must balance the two in terms of the fundamental frame of reference. The experience of nature as well as of man, an integral part of nature, points to an interesting lesson. In the struggle for existence, that species which learned co-operation and mutual aid among its members has succeeded, survived, and prospered. Benjamin Kidd is quite right when he suggests that social progress consists in the capacity for team-work, in the capacity of the individual member to subordinate himself to the group. Self-preservation, accordingly, becomes group preservation. One finds one's true self when one is willing to lose it for others. How perfectly is the teaching of religion in harmony with the findings of science! But we can arrive at this conclusion because we are operating within the frame of reference of Soul Force.

Contrariwise, the frame of reference of Brute Force compels different conclusions. Man must be eternally at war with nature and with his fellows. To survive, he must be aggressive and brutal. The more brutal he is, the more likely is he to survive—and to dominate. He must, therefore, glorify war and create occasions for war. In the war of each against all, there can be no mutual trust, no confidence, no tenderness, in human relations. Man must not only build engines of human destruction; he must himself be an engine of Brute Force.

Hobbes, Malthus, and Darwin, honored social philosophers and scientists as they were, have been responsible to no small extent for the cult of brute force in Western civilization, for "the white man's burden" upon "the lesser races," for racialism and for imperialism. In our day, Marxism reinforces the philosophy of violence and brute force.

Granted these two possible approaches to an understanding of nature, which one shall

we choose as a guide to our behaviour—Soul Force or Brute Force?

The Hindus speak of *Rajju-Sarpa-Nyaya*, "the logic of the rope-snake." If in the dim twilight of an evening you should chance upon a rope lying on the road and think it is a serpent, your reaction to the object would be conditioned by your *belief* that it is a snake. That, objectively, it is a mere piece of rope is immaterial; to you at the moment *it is a snake*. And your response is watchfulness, and either a fight or a flight.

The German philosopher Vaihinger developed the same notion in his concept of *Als ob*, "As if." Man's response to the environment is not in terms of the objective reality but in terms of his subjective conception of the situation.

Granted the universe were unfriendly—an untenable assumption—how about man responding to it as if it were hospitable? Could not man by his very response transform the nature of the cosmic process? But we are not compelled to battle against the universe. The universe is friendly and hospitable. It is our view of the universe that needs to be harmonized with the ultimate nature of Soul Force.

Because man is free to choose as a guide to his conduct either of the two frames of reference, Brute Force or Soul Force, at this level of Soul Force there is the possibility of conflict.

4. *Soul Force as a Technique for Resolving Conflicts*: If in spite of man's best attempt to live at the first three levels of Soul Force conflict does arise, then he must translate Soul Force into a technique for resolving crises and conflict-situations.

To Mahatma Gandhi, in our age, belongs the credit for having worked out Soul Force as a technique for resolving crises and conflict-situations. The technique of Soul Force or *Satyagraha* (i.e., Insistence upon Truth under all circumstances) can be effectively used by a single individual as well as by a group of people large or small.

The theory is so simple that even a child can understand it. Fellowship among human beings is possible on two planes—the plane of joy and the plane of suffering. On either plane man become oblivious of his petty self and

realises his kinship with the Supreme Self, with Soul Force.

A simple illustration of kinship on the plane of joy is afforded by recreation. Abiding by the rules of the game, the players enjoy a fellowship which is no part of the routine activities of this humdrum life. Group recreation, either indoors or outdoors, is a tonic to the spirit, precisely because participants in recreation experience joy and fellowship on the common-human level.

The inner man is touched by suffering as well as by joy. The occurrence of an accident does not call forth the response: What is his nationality? Does he go to church regularly? How shabbily dressed is he? No, none of these accidental trappings of man's self engages our attention. The prompt response is always: Is he badly hurt? What can we do for him?

There is then this basic law of human behavior: The inner self in each man is touched by joy as well as by suffering and is transported into common fellowship with the object of joy or of suffering. Gandhi understood intuitively this basic law of human behavior.

Suffering calls forth a realization of common-human kinship. Why not then, in effect argued the Mahatma, utilize the technique of "self-invited suffering" to call forth the response of common-human kinship from those that persecute and exploit us and deny us justice and freedom?

Soul Force posits a divine potential in the wrongdoer, be he British, or German, or whatever he may be. And it is this divine potential, the inner man, within the wrongdoer that must be touched and "coerced" to respond to "self-invited suffering." The wrongdoing itself is the logical end-product of an encrusted system or institution—the Empire System, for example—which enslaves the wrongdoer as well as the wronged. Hence, the wrongdoer must be made to see the injustice of the system, to question the validity of the system he operates, by the victim inviting suffering upon himself in the spirit of *Ahimsa* (non-violence: love). The concrete technique of Soul Force has been named *Satyagraha* (holding fast to Truth) by Gandhi.

That the political movement of non-violent non-co-operation, or of civil disobedience, was motivated by some such philosophy

of Soul Force needs to be emphasized:

"I have no God to serve but Truth." Again, "I can easily put up with the denial of the world, but any denial by me of my God is unthinkable."

The relation between God and Truth fascinated Mahatma Gandhi ever since maturity. In Geneva, the birthplace of Calvinism, the Mahatma discussed Truth and God in refreshing terms. "Until now," said Gandhi, "I used to say 'God is Truth.' Now I believe Truth is God." The statement "God is Truth" is partial, contends Gandhi; the statement "Truth is God" is all-inclusive.

Truth is unreliable except in terms of *Ahimsa*, that is to say, except in terms of non-violence and love. *Ahimsa* is to be viewed not merely as a grand principle, but as the way of life. To complete Gandhi's chain of reasoning we must recall the ancient Sanskrit saying: *Satyameva Jayate*, i.e., Truth alone conquers.

SOUL FORCE INVOLVES BOTH CO-OPERATION AND NON-CO-OPERATION

In spite of its revolutionary character, *Satyagraha* has a great affinity with democracy; I suppose, because democracy, too, was born of revolution and has dynamic capacity for effecting change of the most revolutionary type in a peaceful manner.

It is unbecoming to the dignity of man supinely to submit to injustice and wrong. In order to abolish existing injustice and wrong the Satyagrahist studies the system or systems and patterns that make for wrong and injustice. He would try to mend or to end, "to alter or to abolish," the system that is responsible for wrongdoing. In his zest to eliminate the wrong, the Satyagrahist is ever careful not to eliminate the wrongdoer. *Satyagraha* does not aim to cure the rash without cleansing the whole system. If a purge be necessary, let there be a purge—a non-violent purge, to be sure. The Satyagrahist looks behind the flutter of phenomena.

The Satyagrahist gives the benefit of the doubt to his antagonist; he strives generously to understand the other's point of view. He co-operates whenever co-operation involves no compromise with principle, with Truth. He works for conciliation and arbitration. His concern is not only to minimize conflict but also to minimize the occasions for conflict.

Democracy is based upon Soul Force; indeed, the democratic process is *par excellence* the manifestation of Soul Force in action; because democracy, too, strives to minimize conflict and occasions for conflict.

The role of self-invited suffering is most important in the technique of *Satyagraha*. Non-co-operation with the agency of wrongdoing in turn depends upon co-operation among the "revolutionaries." Only self-purification and prosecution of the constructive program make the people fit to offer non-co-operation.

When goodwill and conciliation are unavailing, the Satyagrahist who foreswore violence and warfare has open to him only one course of action, namely, to invite upon his devoted head all the sufferings he can without malice, without ill-will. Sensitivity to suffering is the hallmark of humanity. Hence by inviting suffering upon ourselves we may light up the spark of the divine potential in the wrong-doer.

The process of inviting suffering upon one's self takes two forms: (1) self-purification, internally; and (2) non-co-operation with the agency of wrongdoing, externally.

Self-purification is meant both for the individual and for society. The Satyagrahist must not hesitate to take upon himself and upon his society, upon his nation, part of the responsibility for existing wrongs. Acts of self-purification call for a reconditioning of the individual and a mending or an ending of internal patterns and systems and institutions that inflict injustice and wrong upon society as a whole or upon certain sections of society. To that end soldiers of non-violence *co-operate* one with another and with other members of society to rid themselves of internal social wrongs.

This is one part of *Satyagraha*—the *constructive program* based upon self-purification and internal co-operation.

The other part of *Satyagraha* is non-co-operation with the agency or system that is responsible for the major wrong or injustice in society.

Concretely speaking, in India *Satyagraha* involved, on the one hand, the fivefold constructive program:

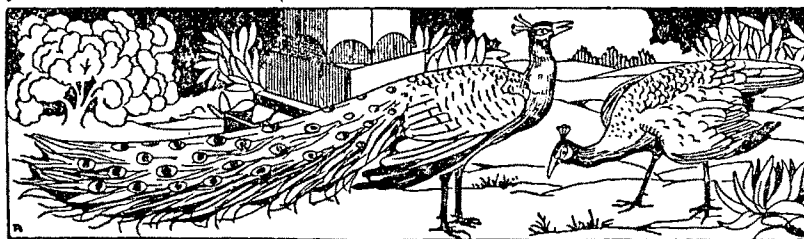
- (1) Hindu-Muslim unity,
- (2) Abolition of untouchability,
- (3) Prohibition of narcotics and liquor,
- (4) The greater participation of women in the nation's fight for freedom,
- (5) The encouragement of home industries, such as, spinning, weaving, and handicrafts of all sorts.

On the other hand, it involved non-co-operation with the British Government and its institutions:

- (1) Renunciation of titles,
- (2) Non-participation in official functions,
- (3) Non-co-operation with government, courts and schools, and the setting up of people's courts and national schools,
- (4) Non-violent violation of predetermined laws of the government and seeking arrest and imprisonment,
- (5) Peaceful picketing of government-licensed opium and liquor shops,
- (6) Non-co-operation with the civil and military administration of the country,
- (7) Non-payment of taxes.

Gandhi devised the program of non-co-operation not as a substitute for co-operation with the British Raj; he devised it as a substitute for irresponsible, sporadic violence which would have engulfed India as part of the natural cycle of nationalist upsurge. Thus, within the framework of his philosophy of Soul Force, Mahatma Gandhi proved the efficacy of the moral equivalent of war.*

* Paper read at the Fourth Conference on Asian Affairs, Manhattan, Kansas, November 18-19, 1955.



THE PANCH SHILA AND WORLD PEACE

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IN course of a debate on foreign affairs in the Indian Lok Sabha on September 17, 1955, the Indian Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru recalled his speech in the House six months ago and said :

"At that time there was danger of a catastrophe of a world war or something leading to it. The guns were all loaded and the fingers were on the triggers . . . the situation now has improved greatly during these six months. The guns are still loaded, but the fingers are not on the triggers. . . . there are numerous dark spots and danger zones. Nevertheless . . . there has been an improvement in the atmosphere all round and for the first time, people all over the world have a sense of relief and a sense that war is not inevitable. In fact, it can well be avoided."

On Shri Nehru's own admission, "it would be exaggeration to say that India has made a major difference to world politics. We must not exaggerate our role, but it is a fact that India has on significant occasions, made a 'difference.'" "Now," Shri Nehru added, "India's contribution to this new situation may perhaps be put in one word or two, 'Panch Shila'."

PANCH SHILA

But what is the Panch Shila or Five Principles of co-existence, as it is otherwise known ?

In their present form these principles were stated for the first time in the preamble of the agreement between India and China signed on April 29, 1954, with a view to promoting trade and cultural intercourse between India and the "Tibet region of China." These principles are:

- (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- (2) Non-aggression ;
- (3) Non-interference ;
- (4) Equality and mutual benefit; and
- (5) Peaceful co-existence.

In June 1954, Mr. Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, on his way from Geneva to Peking met Shri Nehru in Delhi, and the two Prime Ministers in a joint statement on June 28, 1954, reaffirmed the Panch Shila. They felt that the Panch Shila should be applied in their relations with other countries in Asia as well as in other parts of the world.

On October 11, 1954, the Panch Shila was restated in a joint Russo-Chinese communique at Moscow. During the last few months countries like Burma, Cambodia, Egypt, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, Poland, Viet. Minh and Yugoslavia have expressed their adherence to the Panch Shila. On Indian initiative the Unesco also accepted at its 8th General Conference at Montevideo a resolution on the Panch Shila. When in June, 1955, Shri Nehru had his talks at Moscow with Marshal Bulganin, the Panch Shila was developed slightly further in connexion with the idea of non-interference. For the Nehru-Bulganin Declaration of June 22, 1955, refers to the idea of non-interference thus : "Non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character."

There is, however, as yet no universal respect for, or acceptance of, the Panch Shila, though there is a general sympathy for its principles. At the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in April, 1955, ten principles were adopted in the form of a Declaration of World Peace and Co-operation, and the All-India Congress Committee in its resolution of May 8, 1955, maintained that

1. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, June 24, 1955. In the Tito-Bulganin statement of June 2, 1955, this principle is stated as follows: "Compliance with the principle of mutual respect for and non-interference in internal affairs for whatever reason whether of an economic, political or ideological nature, because questions of internal organization of different social systems and of different forms of socialist development are solely the concern of individual countries." *Ref. The Statesman*, June 4, 1955.

"In this Declaration is found the full embodiment of the five principles or Panch Shila, with the addition of elaborations which re-inforce them."

However, soon after the conclusion of the Bandung Conference, Mr. Mohammed Ali, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, was reported to have declared that all the Five Principles of co-existence were not to be found in the Bandung Declaration, which, however, in his opinion, contained all the seven principles which he himself had suggested at Bandung on April 19, 1955. A declaration, called the San Francisco Declaration, was read by Mr. Van Kleffens, the President at the concluding session of the U. N. tenth anniversary celebrations in San Francisco on June 26, 1955. In this document the Member-nations recognise that the hope of enduring peace rests on how well they carry out the purposes and principles of the U. N. Charter and "uphold these principles in their relations with each other." This last clause, it is understood, was inserted after objections from several nations to a suggestion by M. Molotov that the summation should include a reference to "peaceful co-existence."

Why is there so much hesitation on the part of so many nations to declare their adherence to the Panch Shila?

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

For a proper understanding of the criticisms against the Panch Shila and suitable replies to them it is necessary to have a historical background of the Panch Shila. In a sense, the idea of co-existence is as old as human history. During the last five thousand years of recorded history men and women, parents and children, friends and relatives, units and groups like families, clans, tribes, villages, states or nations, political and religious ideologies along with their social and economic systems have "co-existed." Not that there has been no destruction of persons, institutions, ideologies or their systems during all these years. But in human history there has been more of living and "let live" than of killing and being killed, i.e., more of peaceful co-existence than otherwise.

Most of the violence in history during the last 150 years has been committed either in the name of nationalism or of a classless society, though the violence for the latter cause has

assumed greater significance in recent times. Ever since Marx and Engels propounded in 1848 their thesis that "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" and that the existence of the bourgeoisie is no longer compatible with society, there has been no dearth of thinkers to counteract this thesis by ideas of some form of co-existence among classes or systems. Others similarly speak of co-existence among nations. Initially all ideas of co-existence were covered by such terms as toleration, co-operation, peace, non-violence, law, justice, friendship and neighbourliness. Co-existence between capitalism and communism or the classes they represent assumed a new significance after the Communists assumed power in Russia in October, 1917. Neither the First Communist International during 1864-1874, nor the second during 1889-1914 seemed to be any serious threat to the capitalist system. But the Third International founded by Lenin and Trotsky in March, 1919, seemed to operate like the General Staff of World Revolution against capitalism.

By January 10, 1920, the Covenant of the League of Nations with the ideals of peaceful co-existence among nations came into force. By 1920, also, Lenin's policy of peaceful co-existence of regimes fundamentally opposed to each other took definite form with the various treaties in which the Soviet regime recognised the independence of States that had formerly been part of, or connected with, the Russian Empire, and, in turn, was recognised by them. In a party report of December 18, 1925, Stalin, directly referred to the "temporary equilibrium of forces that put an end to war against us, that ushered in the period of 'peaceful co-existence' between the Soviet State and the capitalist States."

The doctrine of peaceful co-existence got added strength in 1927 when in a struggle for power between Stalin and Trotsky, the former's ascendancy led to the rejection of the latter's view that the Russian revolution could not be safe until the Comintern had instigated similar revolutions in all major countries. When the

3. Laeki, *Communist Manifesto : Socialist Landmark*, pp. 119, 125.

4. J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Vol. 7, p. 294.

Nazis got power in Germany in 1933, and the danger of totalitarian aggression consequently increased, Communists in all countries were advised to co-operate with other peace-loving groups. Having no faith in peaceful co-existence, Germany and Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933. But the Soviet Union entered it in 1934. In 1935-36, attempts were made by Communists in various countries to form with other parties joint fronts and popular fronts. However, in August, 1939, the Soviet Union concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany. For, roughly by the time of Munich Settlement in September, 1938, it had become clear that "the main capitalist powers had no objection to the expansion of Hitler and Mussolini, provided that their own 'vital interests' were not touched—interests which they did not regard as including the integrity of Soviet Russia."⁵

Hitler put an end to all ideas of co-existence when he invaded Poland on September 1, 1939. When the Soviet Union invaded Finland on November 30, 1939, the League of Nations for the first time as well as the last expelled a Member, the U.S.S.R., and "only Sweden's refusal to allow British and French troops to pass through Swedish territory in order to come to the aid of Finland saved Great Britain and France from being at war with Germany and the Soviet Union at the same time." In course of the war, the Soviet Union was, however, brought to the side of the Allies, when on June 22, 1941, Hitler attacked Russia. The beginning of 1942 is also the beginning of the great alliance known as the United Nations.

The alliance of the U.N. transformed itself into an organisation of the U.N. through the U.N. Charter which came into force on October 24, 1945. This Charter embodies the principles of peaceful co-existence to such an extent that no important step in international affairs can be effectively taken without unanimity of the great powers required under its Articles 27, 106, 108 and 109. But the U.N.O. failed to secure world peace effectively. In fact, in the post-war years the tension between the Communists and the non-Communists or anti-

Communists developed in the form of a crescendo. The U.N.O. tended to become less important than other alliances and counter-alliances, and even the Comintern, dissolved in May, 1943, was virtually revived as the Cominform in September, 1947. In 1954, Shri Nehru took the initiative to emphasise the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence, which have now become famous as the Indian Panch Shila.

FIRST OBJECTION

But is the Panch Shila the final answer to the problem of world peace?

The first objection to the Panch Shila is that it is Communist-inspired. Dr. A. Appadorai has pointed out that the Declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation adopted at the Bandung Conference does not contain the word "co-existence" because of its having a supposed Communist touch.⁷ The fact that peaceful co-existence is inspired by the Communists is no defect of the ideal itself. It only shows perhaps that in view of modern scientific developments, the Communists have modified their earlier ideas against co-existence. Properly understood, the Panch Shila is inherent in the religions and philosophies of all countries of the world. Indeed, in view of the fact that it is Shri Nehru who gave the principles of peaceful co-existence their present worldwide significance, they may be spoken of as Indian-inspired. It is in this sense that these principles are now called the Indian Panch Shila.

SECOND OBJECTION

In the second place, it is usually objected that the principles of the Panch Shila are very vague. Terms like "territorial integrity," "sovereignty," "non-aggression," "non-interference," "equality" and "co-existence" have been differently interpreted by different thinkers. Students of political science are more or less familiar with the confusion connected with these terms except "co-existence" which is more or less a newcomer in modern political vocabulary. Co-existence might mean the existence of the *status quo* in all its details, a kind of co-existence which is obviously impossible in our political world which is essentially dynamic. If, however, peaceful co-existence implies that certain changes are permissible, then does it also imply the idea

5. Laski, *Communist Manifesto: Socialist Landmark*, p. 84.

6. H. J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations* (2nd Edition), p. 524.

7. *India Quarterly*, July-September, 1955, Vol. XI, No. 3, p. 130.

covered by the words "peaceful change"? If it be said that only minor changes are permissible, but not major changes, what should be the criterion for determining the permissible limit? Again, co-existence may be possible between nations, between systems like Communism and Capitalism or between blocs of nations.

In concrete terms the difficulties may be illustrated if we ask whether the Panch Shila permits a "peaceful invasion" of Goa by the Indian Satyagrahis for the incorporation of that territory into the Indian Union, whether the Western nations of Europe can pursue a policy of "peaceful conversion" of the Communist nations of Eastern Europe through propaganda, economic boycott, etc., and whether the U.N.O. should co-exist side by side with the NATO, the SEATO, the East European Union and a possible MEDO?

But though the details of the ideas covered by the principles of the Panch Shila are not always very clear and definite, yet their broad outlines are sufficiently understood.

THIRD OBJECTION

A third objection against the Panch Shila is that its principles are rather deceptive. For, according to classical Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrine, peaceful co-existence between Communism and Capitalism is rather unthinkable except as a temporary expedient. According to Mr. Raymond L. Gartoff:

"The Soviet conception of 'peaceful co-existence' is one of the hardest to define and document, for the simple reason that it is not a basic doctrinal belief, . . . but is rather a vaguely formulated contradiction of doctrine, originally devised to legitimise the establishment of Soviet diplomatic relations, later adopted as an effective weapon in Soviet and world Communist propaganda."⁸

As early as April, 1916, Lenin wrote:

"Every 'peace programme' is a deception of the people and a piece of hypocrisy unless its principal object is to explain to the masses the need for a revolution, and to support, aid and develop the revolutionary struggle of the masses."⁹

The Bolshevik leaders for the first time bowed to the need of some form of co-existence with the capitalist world in March, 1918, by signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the German Empire. But the "Left" Communists regarded with misgivings this unorthodox compromise of the Marxian view till they fell from power in the mid-1920's. Even Lenin himself observed in his address to the 8th party Congress in 1919:

"We are living not only in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with the imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before the end comes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable."¹¹

Referring to this passage Stalin wrote in 1926, "clear, one word think," and frequently quoted in his pronouncements.¹²

It may be noted that in every one of Stalin's statements to foreign interviewers in the 1930's and 1940's to the effect that peaceful co-existence is possible, "he neglects to specify how long and on what terms."¹³

In 1952, a Soviet writer, of course, asserted that

"The second half of the twentieth century will bring the complete victory of Communism throughout the world."¹⁴

But Stalin declared on the eve of the 19th party Congress in October, 1952:

" . . . War with the U.S.S.R., as a socialist country, would be more dangerous to capitalism than war between the capitalist countries, for if war between the capitalist countries poses only the question of the supremacy of some capitalist countries over other capitalist countries, war with the U.S.S.R. should certainly pose the question of the continued existence of capitalism itself."¹⁵

He added, "In order to eliminate the inevitability of wars imperialism must be destroyed."

This passage of Stalin emphasises more the aspect of co-existence in Communist thought than that of an inevitable clash.

In December, 1952, Stalin said to Mr. James Reston, Diplomatic Correspondent of the *New York Times*:

8. *Readers' Digest*, November, 1954, pp. 17-22.

9. *Problems of Communism*, 1953, Vol. 2, No. 5, p. 5. Published by Documentary Studies Section, International Information Administration, Washington-25, D.C.

10. *Selected Works*, New York, 1943, Vol. 5, p. 237.

11. *Works* (3rd Russian Edition), Vol. XXIV, p. 122.

12. J. Stalin, *Works*, (Russian Edition, 1954), Vol. 8; pp. 70-71.

13. *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 27, No. 2, January, 1949.

14. Quoted in *Problems of Communism*, 1953, Vol. 2, No. 5, p. 7.

15. Stalin, *Bolshevik*, No. 18, 1952, pp. 18-20.

"I still believe that war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. cannot be regarded as inevitable and that our two countries can in future live at peace with each other."¹⁶

Malenkov and Bulganin also have expressed their support for a policy of co-existence between two different systems—Capitalism and Socialism.¹⁷

The fact, perhaps, is that the Soviet leaders, being increasingly impressed by the destructive power of nuclear weapons, are inclined to waver in their belief in—or desire for—an inevitable clash between the two camps, hoping that the world crisis of capitalism will "come about in some other way. Malenkov declared in March, 1954, that another World War would mean the "destruction of world civilization,"¹⁸ and not simply of the capitalist civilization.

It seems reasonable to hold that the destructive powers of science have at last dealt serious blows on the Communist thesis of the inevitable clash, a thesis already shown to be untrue by those who do not explain history through economic factors alone or through the over-simple formula of class struggles and violence. It was on July 16, 1945, that the U.S.A. set off the world's first experimental atomic explosion. On August 6 and 8, 1945, atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing nearly 100,000 persons. In the summer of 1949, the Soviet Union also exploded her first atomic bomb and in August, 1953, she even exploded her first H-bomb. The U.S.A. tested her H-bomb in March, 1954.

In view of all this it is not difficult to realise that a long war between the two powers well-armed with atomic weapons certainly would produce an order of radio-activity which would involve all, victors as well as vanquished, and might end the human race.

FOURTH OBJECTION

It has been stated by some that the Panch Shila is borrowed from the Charter of the U.N. and is, therefore, more or less redundant. The similarity or even the identity of the Panch Shila with the principles of the U.N. Charter

is too patent to be ignored. (The first principle of the Panch Shila, i.e., "mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty" corresponds to Article 2(1) and 2(4) of the U.N. Charter which state that

"The organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members," and that "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations."

The second principle of the Panch Shila, i.e., "Non-aggression" is also covered by the reference to refraining from "the threat or use of force" in Article 2(4) of the U.N. Charter. The third principle of the Panch Shila, i.e., "Non-interference in each other's internal affairs" is evidently found in Article 2(7) of the U.N. Charter which states:

"Nothing contained in the present charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII, i.e., for action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression."

The fourth principle of the Panch Shila is divisible into two parts, one "Equality," and the other, "Mutual benefit." "Equality" is obviously covered by the phrase "the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members" in Article 2(1) of the U.N. Charter, and the principle of "mutual benefit" has been stated in Article 2(5) as follows:

"All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter and shall refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action."

The fifth principle of "Peaceful co-existence" may seem to follow derivatively from the preceding four principles of the Panch Shila; and in that sense may be treated as included in the corresponding principles of the U.N. Charter. But, more fundamentally, the fifth principle must be read and understood with an emphasis on the prefix "Co" in Co-existence. In the latter sense, existence is understood to imply the existence of more than one, and not simply of one who may have self-existence by

16. Moscow Radio Broadcast, December 25, 1952.

17. Their speeches and statements, dated March 9, 1953, March 13, 1954, April 26, 1954, June 26, 1955, etc.

18. *Izvestia*, March 13, 1954. Quoted in *Problems of Communism*, 1955, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 9.

avouring neighbours all around. Thus, the final principle of the Panch Shila essentially implies that nations or systems should have peace among them for living "jointly, together and mutually." In this sense, the first four principles of the Panch Shila do not necessarily imply peaceful co-existence, nor does peaceful co-existence necessarily imply any or all of the first four principles.)

Properly understood, anything in the Panch Shila is not really redundant. For an emphasis placed on fundamental principles of any kind can never be redundant, and certainly not when this emphasis can save us from a moment of crisis. As Shri Nehru said :

"There was nothing new about the idea of peaceful co-existence. Nevertheless, it was a new application of an old idea and an application to a particular context. Ever since those ideas were initially mentioned and promulgated, they have not only spread in the world and influenced more and more countries, but have acquired progressively a greater depth and greater meaning too."¹⁹

FIFTH OBJECTION

The circumstances in which India was unable to persuade China, or was herself persuaded by China, to accept the Panch Shila, bring out clearly the reason for the rejection of the final objection against the Panch Shila that it is ineffective for maintaining world peace. The Communist China has not only been denied her legitimate seat in the U.N., ever since 1949, but has been even declared an aggressor by the U.N. General Assembly in the course of a three-year war on Korea ending in July, 1953. The Berlin Conference during January-February, 1954, solved no international problem. Nor did the Geneva Conference up to June 12, 1954, when the Laniel Government in France fell. At almost the same time when Nehru and Chou were reaffirming the Panch Shila in Delhi, Churchill and Eisenhower in Washington issued statements demanding the solidarity of Atlantic nations, a self-defence organization for South-East Asia, atomic energy co-operation between the U.S.A. and the U.K., and referring obviously to Eastern Europe, even emphasized that

"As regards formerly sovereign States now in bondage, we will not be a party to any arrangement

or treaty which would confirm or prolong their unwilling subordination."²⁰

Soon after, the Geneva Agreements were signed on July 21, 1954, establishing an armistice in Indo-China where a 7-year-old war had then reached a decisive stage with victory for the Communists. The gathering strength of the Panch Shila seems to be the main reason why the Communist-backed Viet Minh armies were halted midway in their victorious march all over Indo-China.

Again, the international situation began to deteriorate when on July 23, 1954, a British Sky-master was shot down, through mistake, by the Communists near the Chinese coast. Tension mounted over similar other incidents, the unsolved problems of Korea and Formosa, SEADO Treaty of September, 1954 and, above all, over Paris and London Treaties of October, 1954, providing for the end of occupation in West Germany and her inclusion in the Western European Union and the NATO for purposes essentially of rearmament. The U.S.A. tightened her defence measures for the protection of Formosa against the Communist China specially since December, 1954. On February 25, 1955, the SEADO Council even designated Communism as a menace. In May, 1955, the U.S.S.R. carried out her threats announced since December, 1954, to annul her treaties with France and the U.K. during the World War II, and arranged also an East European Security Pact for a unified command of the 8 Eastern European countries.

It seemed that anything might happen at any moment.

However, the anti-war forces or the forces of peaceful co-existence again gathered momentum and gave a new direction to the tide of events as the top leaders of 29 Asia-African countries representing a majority of the world's population endorsed on April 29, 1955, a Declaration covering the Panch Shila. On May 10, 1955, the U.S.A., the U.K. and France invited the U.S.S.R. to a Big Four Meeting at the highest level, a proposal which the latter immediately accepted. On May 15, 1955, the Austrian Peace Treaty was signed. A Russo-Yugoslav Declaration was signed on June 2, 1955, ending their 7-year-old quarrel and endorsing substantially the Panch Shila. Soon

19. *The Sunday Statesman*, September 18, 1955.

20. Quoted from the *Readers' Digest*, November, 1954, p. 18.

after, Shri Nehru visited Moscow and Prague and issued joint statements with the Prime Ministers of the respective Governments on June 22 and 25, 1955, respectively, in both of which the Panch Shila was endorsed. One month later the victory of the Panch Shila was complete when the Big Four held the historic conference "at the summit" from July 18 to 23, 1955, and reached complete agreement on a plan for future negotiations about the key issues of European security, Germany, Disarmament and Development of contacts between East and West, all for the purpose of reducing East-West tension.

FUTURE OF PANCH SHILA

It cannot be denied, therefore, that the Panch Shila has been so far very effective in reducing the world tension at critical moments. But what about the future? Peaceful co-existence in the world today may be said to be achieved through the simultaneous operation of a number of factors: First, fear of modern destructive weapons; second, world public opinion; third, wise diplomacy; fourth, international morality; and fifth, international law, including the law of the U.N. with special reference to disarmament, collective security, judicial settlement, and peaceful change. Of them, fear is not a desirable weapon of peace. It is not effective either. It is not desirable, because it destroys the moral fibre of humanity. It is ineffective, because war to-day is total war, i.e., of all, by all, for all and against all, and all cannot be restrained from the path of violence simply by producing what may be called fear psychosis. The contribution of the Panch Shila to peaceful co-existence is essentially in the spheres of producing a world public opinion for peace, of giving guidance to diplomats in their work for peace and of strengthening the moral fibre in every man in his aspirations for peace. But the Panch Shila adds little or nothing to international law for peaceful co-existence, though it may do so by creating climate of peace leading ultimately to suitable changes in international law in the direction even of a world state.

Even according to so realistic a thinker as Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau:

"There is no shirking the conclusion that international peace cannot be permanent without a world state." It is also true, as Prof. Morgenthau further maintains, "that the world state cannot be established under the present moral, social and political conditions of the world."

But, he adds:

"There is also no shirking the further conclusion that in no period of modern history was civilization more in need of permanent peace and, hence, of a world state."²¹

Here the Panch Shila can make its most significant contribution to the history of human civilization, if it generates and strengthens the feeling in all that the world struggle for peace today is far more important than all our struggles for power which lead ultimately to World War, and, consequently, that our loyalty to the world, to the whole humanity, is more important than our narrow loyalties to our separate nations. They talk of revising the U.N. Charter now, but they forget that if there be any tension among the Great Powers, all such proposals for revision are bound to be vetoed under Articles 108 or 109 of the U.N. Charter. The Panch Shila, and the Panch Shila alone, can create today an atmosphere conducive to peace, necessary not only for our survival, but also for launching our next steps towards a world state with world loyalty, world law and world institutions. Prof. Morgenthau believes:

"There can be no world state without the peace-preserving and community-building processes of diplomacy."²²

But he forgets that wisdom in modern diplomacy is to be found not simply in national interest,²³ i.e., in national self-existence alone; but in world interest, i.e., in peaceful co-existence, which, however, must be treated, not as an ideology²⁴ in the sense of a deception or disguise, conscious or unconscious, but as an inspiring ideal.*

21. H. J. Morgenthau, *Politics among Nations* (2nd Edition), p. 481.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 534.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 528.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 80ff.

* A paper read by the author at the 18th session of the U.N. Political Science Conference held at Bhopal from December 27 to December 23, 1955.

RURAL AND URBAN COMPOSITION OF INDIAN POPULATION

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

INTRODUCTION

In a country with a balanced economy the population is fairly evenly distributed between the towns and rural areas. The concentration of population whether in the rural or in the urban areas gives rise to a serious problem of an economic, social and political character. India had a fairly evenly distributed population even as late as the first half of the 19th century. The villages were self-supporting autonomous units, regulating their communal affairs through panchayats. The cities were the centres of industries fostered by rulers who supported a large number of officials and favourites in comparative splendour. These princely courts created a demand for artistic products and, along with the wealthier merchants and landowners who surrounded them, employed a fairly large number of merchants, middlemen and craftsmen. These urban centres obtained their foodstuffs from the rural districts round them in exchange of their manufactured products.

The Industrial Revolution in England brought with it far-reaching changes in the distribution of population. The artisans and craftsmen who were deprived of their means of livelihood by means of the introduction of machinery were absorbed in increasing numbers into the rapidly multiplying factories. Large numbers from the rural areas were attracted to the already congested cities. The improvement of farm implements and introduction of machinery into farming contributed to the migration from the village to the city, a migration which was facilitated by improvements in communication.

Thus in the West the era of machinery and large-scale production resulted in the urbanisation of the population. In India, on the other hand, the introduction of cheap machine-made goods and the imports of manufactured goods from abroad led to the destruc-

tion of handicrafts in towns and cities. The urban population that made a living out of these new crafts was compelled to fall back upon the land as the only means of livelihood. From being manufacturing and industrial our country was transformed into a predominantly agricultural country.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PROBLEM

(The distribution of population between rural and urban areas is highly significant. Economic progress in every country has been marked by a corresponding increase in urban population. Rural life and urban life present sharp contrasts all over the world and the contrast is perhaps sharpest in India. The preponderatingly rural character of our country is a sign of her economic backwardness.) It shows unmistakably that we are yet far behind other civilized countries in the development of trade, transport and industry. (The rural-urban distribution of population is also significant from another point of view. It throws light on the people's national character. The rural people are lethargic, conservative and superstitious and enjoy a high social and cultural stability arising out of cultural and ethnic continuity and homogeneity.) All the traditional mores of culture are strongly preserved in a rural society, which offers the greatest resistance to innovation and reform. Thus villages act as a drag to economic progress, whereas the urbanisation is the result of industrialisation, increase in trade and commerce and growth of modern arts and science. The urban people consequently are alert, industrious and resourceful. It is from the cities that progressive ideas radiate and civilization spreads around.) The fact that we have only a few cities shows that the springs of economic progress are weak. (Ranade, commenting on the progressive ruralisation, pointed out that it meant loss of power, intelligence, and self-dependence.)

RURAL AND URBAN DISTRIBUTION

It is still true to say what Mahatma Gandhi told in his life-time that "The Indian nation lives in its villages." According to the 1951 Census, there are 558,089 villages—large and small, thriving or stagnating—in the plains and on the hills, dotted over the face of the country; and in these villages live 2,950 lakhs of the population—the average population per village being 529. The number of occupied houses in the villages is 541 lakhs so that each village on an average comprises 97 occupied

houses and each rural household on an average consists of 5.5 persons.

In contrast to this, there are only 3018 towns in India with a total population of 619 lakhs—the average population per town being 20,510. The number of occupied houses in the towns is 103 lakhs so that each town on an average consists of 3,413 occupied houses and this gives almost exactly 6 persons to a house in a town.^a

The following table gives the distribution of population according to rural and urban areas since 1901:^a

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
Area in Sq. Miles	1,766,597	1,802,657	1,805,332	1,808,679		1,269,910
No. of Towns and Villages:	730,753	722,495	687,981	699,406	602,703	561,107
(a) Towns	2,148	2,153	2,316	2,575	2,703	3,118
(b) Villages	728,605	720,342	685,665	696,831	600,000	558,889
No. of Occupied Houses:	55,841,315	63,710,179	65,193,389		76,035,345	51,460,319
(a) In Towns	5,590,859	6,037,456	6,765,014		9,599,251	10,300,000
(b) In Villages	50,250,456	57,672,723	58,433,375		66,436,094	51,100,000
Total Population:	294,361,056	315,156,396	318,942,480	352,837,778	314,766,380	356,829,185
(a) In Towns	29,244,221	29,748,228	32,475,276	38,985,427	?	61,825,214
(b) In Villages	265,116,835	285,408,168	286,467,204	313,852,351	?	295,004,271
Male:	149,951,824	161,338,935	163,995,554	181,828,923	?	83,305,654
(a) In Towns	15,499,786	16,108,304	17,845,248	?	?	39,997,300
(b) In Villages	134,452,038	145,230,631	146,150,306	?	?	143,337,000
Female:	144,409,232	153,817,461	154,946,926	171,008,855	?	173,523,531
(a) In Towns	13,744,435	13,639,924	14,630,028	?	?	35,319,000
(b) In Villages	130,664,797	140,177,537	140,316,898	?	?	138,196,000

The following table shows the variation in Census:

Classification	1911
Under 500 Inhabitants	552,109
500 to 1,000 "	107,545
1,000 to 2,000 "	45,843
2,000 to 5,000 "	14,643
Total Rural Population	819,440

Rural population in 1911, 1941 and 1951

<i>No. of Villages</i>		<i>Population (in millions)</i>			
1941	1951	1911	1941	1951	
450,902	380,020	102.0	94.2	78.2	
123,911	104,268	74.6	86.9	72.9	
57,408	51,769	62.2	79.3	71.1	
22,151	20,508	41.2	63.4	59.1	
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654,372	556,565	280.0	323.3	281.4	

The following table which gives the rural urban ratio of the Indian population reveals

how little progress has been made towards the urbanisation of India:

The Rural Urban Ratio of Indian Population

Census Year	Rural	Urban
1872	91.28	8.72
1881	90.59	9.41
1891	90.54	9.46
1901	90.12	9.88
1911	90.58	9.42
1921	89.80	10.20
1931	89.00	11.00
1941	87.20	12.80
1951	82.70	17.30

1. According to the *Census Report* for 1951, a village means "a cluster of houses whose inhabitants are regarded by themselves as well as others as a distinctive social unit with its identity marked by a distinctive local name. The village in the administrative sense is the *mauza*—a settled area with defined boundaries, for which village records have been prepared."—Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 42.

2. The average population per village as against per town:

1901	265	13,615
1921	465	14,016
1931	450.4	15,140
1941	517	18,365
1951	529	20,510

3. Vide *Census of India* for 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 572; *Ibid* for 1911; *Ibid*, for 1921, p. 3; *Ibid*, for 1931, 1941 and 1951.

The very small proportion that the urban population bears to the whole is clearly indicated by the close relation between the variation in total population and that in the rural population as contrasted with the general antithesis between the total and urban populations. Since 1891, the total population of India increased only by 2.4% while that of the towns rose by 7.3% in 1901. During 1921-31 the total population increased by 10.6%, while there was an increase of 2% in urban and 9.6% in rural population. The Census of 1941 showed an increase of 32% in the urban population over the figure in 1931 as against 14.3% increase of the total population. While in 1941-1951, the total population increased by 13.5%, there was an increase of 54% in urban and 7.4% in rural population. All the same the predominantly rural character of Indian population remains. Villages, i.e., localities with a population of less than 5,000, absorb about 83% of the people in the country. Population of 7 cities with one lakh or more inhabitants increased in the decade ending in 1951 by about 74 lakhs. Population of towns with 5,000 to one lakh inhabitants increased by 140 lakhs.

In 1872, the percentage of urban population was 8.7% and at the beginning of the century it was between 9 to 10%. In western countries the percentages of urban population towards the beginning of the 19th century were: England and Wales, 21.3; Scotland, 17.0; France, 9.5; Prussia, 7.25; Russia, 3.7; and U.S.A., 3.8.⁴

Urban development in India had progressed at the beginning of this century. In 1901, 1/10 of the population lived in places classed as urban and the remaining 9/10 in the villages. Of the citizens of towns more than 1/2 were found in places with at least 20,000 inhabitants, about 1/5 in those towns with 10,000 to 20,000, and the same proportion in those from 10 to 15 thousands, while about 1/3 dwelt in smaller towns. Excluding Ajmer and Baroda the tendency to live in towns was most marked in Bombay, Rajasthan, Berar, and least in Bengal, Assam and Kashmir.⁵

In 1911, only 9.5 per cent of the population lived in towns (compared with 78.1 per cent in England and Wales and 45.6 per cent in Germany) and 90.5 per cent in villages. More than half of the urban population was found in towns containing upwards of 20,000 persons, about 1/3 in towns from 10 to 20 thousands; the remainder about 1/5 lived in towns with less than 5,000. The tendency to urban agglomeration was most marked in the north-west and least so in the north-east. The proportion of urban to total population in the main provinces ranged from 18 per cent in Bombay to 3 per cent in Assam, 6 per cent in Bengal, 3.4 per cent in Bihar, 8 per cent in M.P., 11.7 per cent in Madras, 10.2 per cent in U.P., 13 per cent in Rajasthan. The reason for this variation were partly a matter of race and partly a matter of historical and political considerations. The proportion of urban to total population fell during 1901-1911 from 9.9 to 9.4 per cent. The main reason being the prevalence of the plague more in towns than in rural areas, which spread to all parts except the east and the south; as also an epidemic in the towns of M.P., M.B., and U.P.; which drifted away the people to villages.

In 1921, only 10.2 per cent of the population lived in towns as against 89.8 per cent in the villages. The proportion of urban to total population varied from 19 per cent in Bombay to 4 per cent in Assam, 6.7 per cent in Bengal, 3.7 per cent in Bihar, 12.4 per cent in U.P., and 13.4 per cent in Rajasthan. The reason for this increase in urban population was that the conditions were improved.

Since 1921, there has been a gradual increase in the percentage of population living in towns and a smaller decrease in that living in villages. This has been mainly due to the development of industries and transport in the country which facilitated the movement of surplus farm population to the towns in search of employment. The war also gave a great fillip to the increase in urban population.

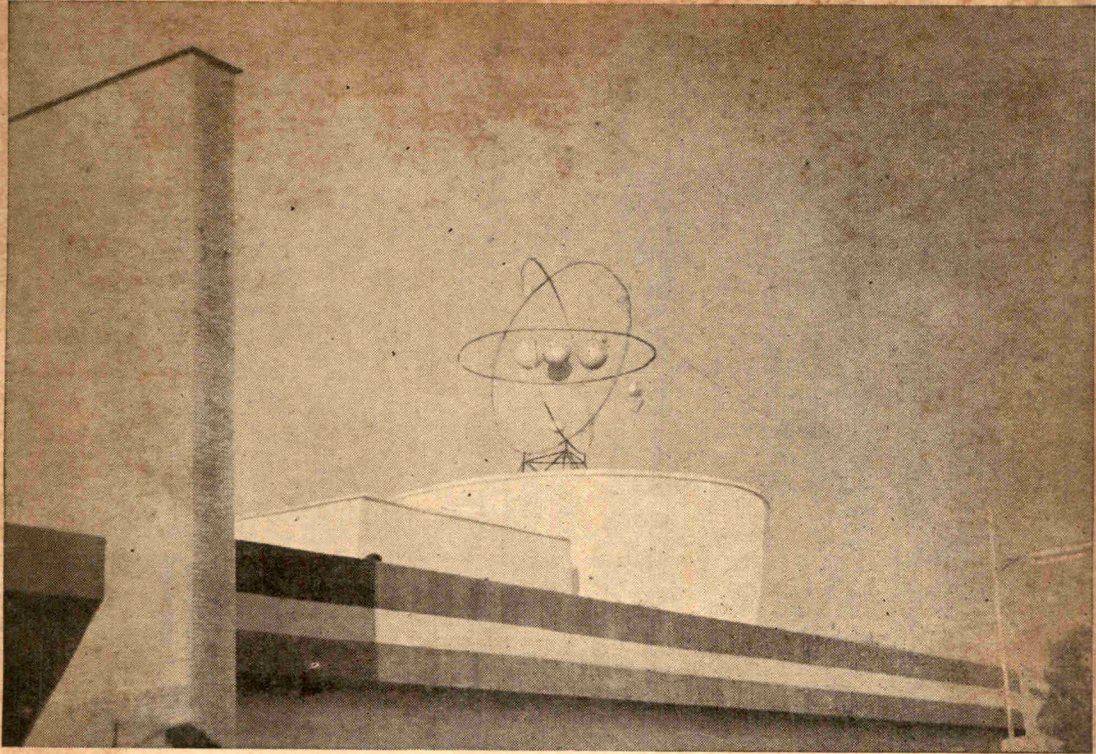
The following table gives the percentage of rural population living in villages (of different dimensions) in the different zones.⁶

4. A. F. Weber : *Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (1899). Quoted by Dr. Gadgil in *Industrial Evolution in India* (1933), p. 139.

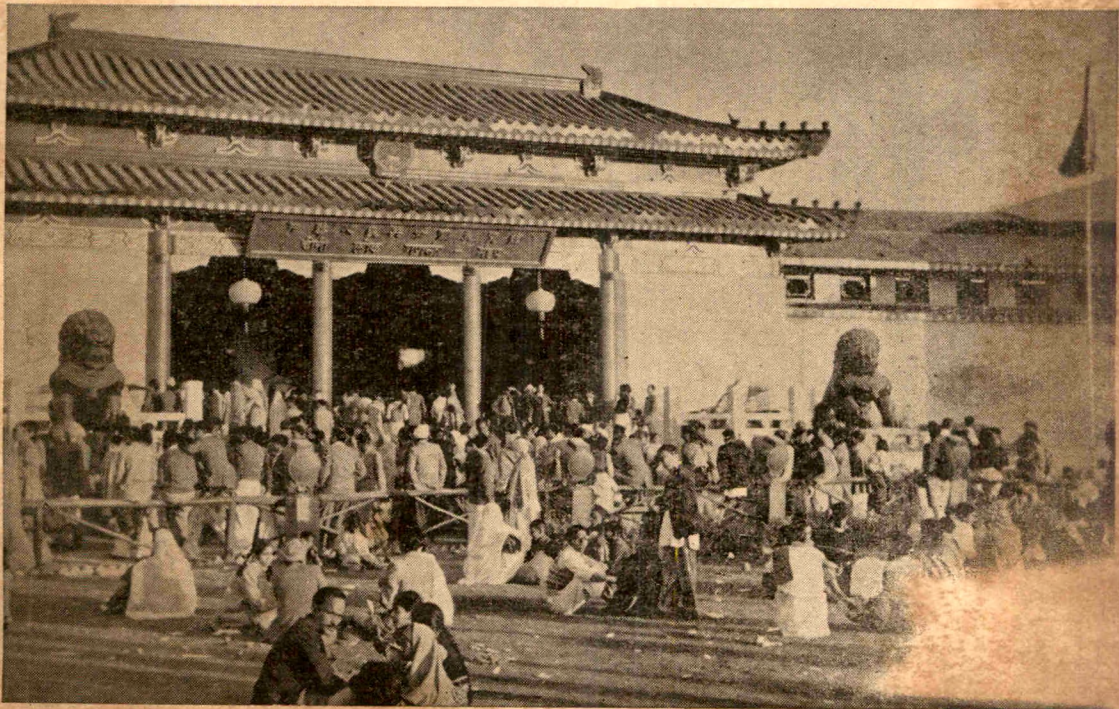
5. *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 27.

6. *Census of India*, 1951, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 43.

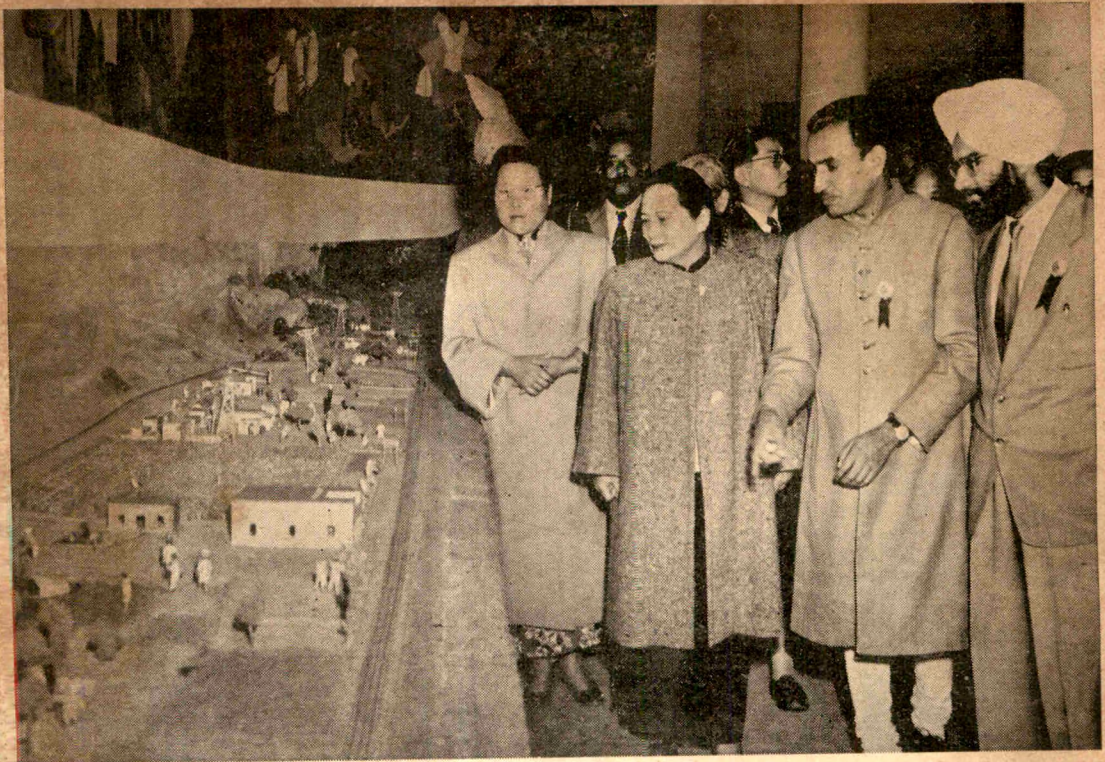
INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR



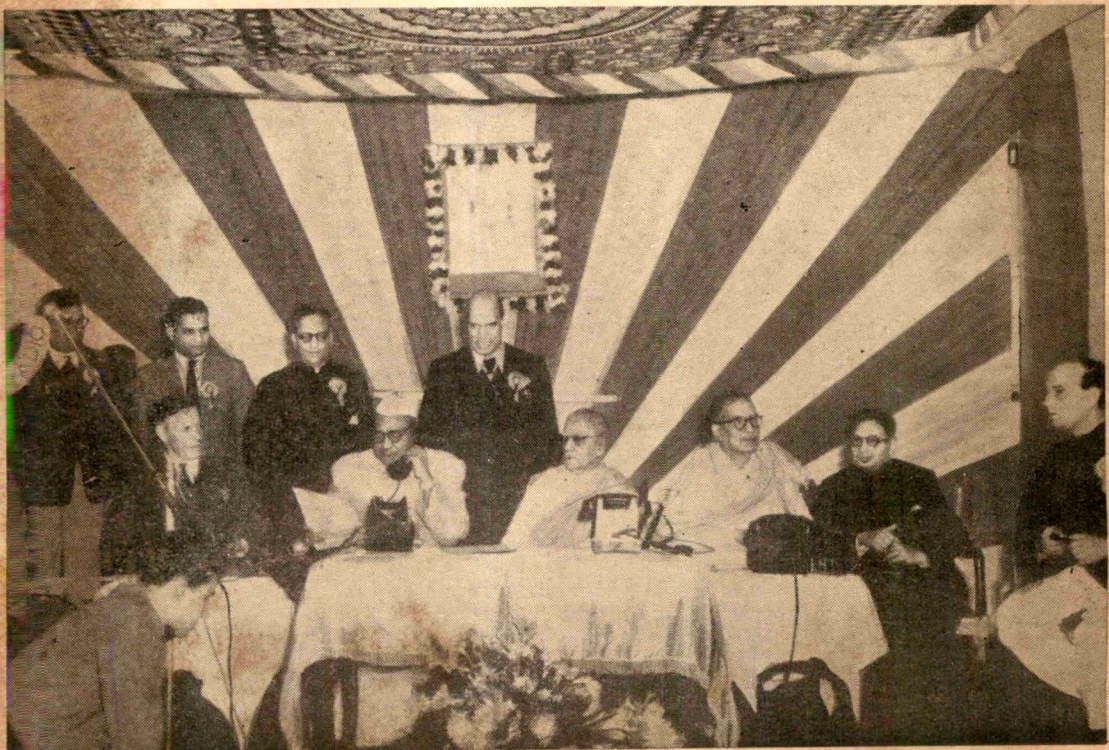
Atom for peace



Entrance to the Chinese Pavilion



Madame Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) at the Indian Industries Fair in New Delhi



Sri Jagjivan Ram inaugurating the direct radio telephone service between Calcutta and London at Hatikanda (Calcutta Centre). Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Dr. B. C. Roy and Sri D. C. Das, Jt. Secretary, Ministry of Communications, are also seen in the picture

RURAL & URBAN COMPOSITION OF INDIAN POPULATION

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Percentage of Rural Population living in—

	<i>Small villages</i> (under 500)	<i>Medium-sized villages</i> (500 to 2000)	<i>Large villages</i> (2000 to 5000)	<i>Very large villages</i> (over 5000)
North India	29.8	55.3	13.5	1.4
East India	33.8	48.6	14.3	3.3
South India	9.4	38.5	35.3	16.8
West India	18.1	55.0	23.9	3.0
Central India	35.7	50.4	13.0	0.9
N.-W. India	30.4	50.9	16.4	2.3
India—Total	26.5	48.8	19.4	5.3

99.4 per cent in Manipur and only 17.5 per cent in Delhi.⁷

DEFINITION OF TOWN, CITY, ETC.

The chief defect in the statistics of urban population in India is that the definition of a 'town' has varied from Census to Census. Not only this, but the Provincial Superintendents of the Census have interpreted this definition each in his own way.⁸ The Census authorities have divided the two into various classes, as given in the table below. Even the Census Commissioner for 1951 gives a four-fold classification of towns—those that have a population of one lakh and over are termed as 'cities'; those with a population between 20,000 and 100,000 as 'major towns'; those with a population between 5,000 and 20,000 as 'minor towns' and those with a population under 5,000 as townships. According to this classification the pattern of India's urban population is as shown below:

<i>Classification</i>	<i>No. of towns</i>	<i>No. of town dwellers (in lakhs)</i>	<i>Urban population percentage</i>
Cities	73	236	33.0
Major Towns	485	186	30.1
Minor Towns	1,848	178	28.6
Townships	612	20	3.3
	3,018	619	100.0

From the above table it will be clear that more people live in medium-sized villages than in others.

As mentioned earlier, about 83 per cent of the population still live in the villages. The condition in the West is quite the reverse. In Western countries the percentage of rural population varies from 44 per cent in U.S.A., and Germany to 68 per cent in Sweden; 29 per cent in Italy; 58 per cent in France; 23 per cent in England and Wales; 55 per cent in Austria; 59 per cent in Canada and 36 per cent in Japan. The percentage of rural population ranges from 92.5 per cent in Bihar to 85.7 per cent in U.P.; 78.9 per cent in Madras; 67 per cent in East Punjab Union; 80 per cent in Rajasthan; 50 per cent in Saurashtra; 78 per cent in Travancore-Cochin; 57 per cent in Ajmer and

<i>Urban population classification</i>	1872 No. Pop.	1881 No. Pop.	1891 No. Pop.	1901 No. Pop.	1911 No. Pop.
Towns of 100,000 and over.	4,321,917	5,295,097	30 6,173,123	31 6,605,837	30 7,075,782
50,000 to 100,000	1,856,297	2,411,470	48 3,255,175	52 3,414,188	45 3,010,281
20,000 to 50,000	3,338,490	4,470,995	148 4,448,034	166 4,904,461	181 5,545,820
10,000 to 20,000	3,634,373	4,842,072	407 5,487,983	471 6,457,339	442 6,163,954
5,000 to 10,000	3,587,372	5,029,457	896 6,164,900	856 5,938,957	848 5,944,503
Below 5,000	1,344,035	1,886,291	505 1,642,026	569 1,879,465	607 2,007,380
Total urban population	18,082,484	23,935,382	2,034 27,171,241	2,145 29,200,247	2,153 29,748,228
Total population	206,162,360	287,314,617	287,006,054	294,317,082	313,488,37

7. Calculated from the figures given in *Census Paper*, No. 1 (1951), pp. 16-22.

8. e.g., in Uttar Pradesh towns have been classified as "(a) every Municipality, (b) every notified area, (c) every town area, (d) cantonment, and (e) any other continuous group of houses permanently inhabited by usually not less than 5,000 persons which the State Supdt. of Census operations decided to treat as Census Form."

In West Bengal, a town is "(a) an area, irrespective of population, which has been declared to be a municipality, and (b)

which has a population of not less than 5,000; (c) a density of not less than 1,000 inhabitants per square mile, and (d) the area has some importance as a centre of trade or distribution or administration, and about three-fourths of the adult male population are engaged in pursuits other than agriculture."

"The fundamental criterion" in Madras is reported to be "the existence of urban features—which can be judged by the way in which houses are situated and how they have been built and the availability of urban amenities (such as bazar facilities, for education, recreation and medical treatment)."

Urban population classification	1921		1931		1941		1951	
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.
Towns of 100,000 and over	35	8,211,704	38	9,674,032	57	15,900,000	75	23,551,000
50,000 to 100,000	54	3,517,749	65	4,572,113	95	6,100,000	111	7,556,000
20,000 to 50,000	199	5,925,675	288	8,091,288	321	9,600,000	401	11,804,000
10,000 to 20,000	450	6,209,583	543	7,449,402	733	10,000,000	856	11,681,000
5,000 to 10,000	855	6,223,011	937	6,992,332	3,017	20,500,000	3,101	20,754,000
Below 5,000	690	2,007,880	674	2,205,760				
Total urban population	2,313	32,418,776	2,575	38,985,427			4,544	75,346,000
Total population		316,017,751		352,837,778				356,879,000

As pointed out earlier the percentage of total population living in the towns has been very small; although of late it has been increasing. The following table gives the percentage of urban to total population:

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951
10,000 & over	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.5	2.7	4.0	5.5
50,000-100,000	1.1	1.2	.9	1.1	1.3	1.6	2.1
20,000-50,000	1.6	1.2	1.8	1.9	2.3	2.5	3.3
10,000-20,000	1.6	1.7	.9	2.0	2.1	2.6	3.2
5,000-10,000	1.9	2.2	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.1	2.2
Under 5,000	1.1	1.4	.7	.7	.6		
Urban Pop.	9.5	9.9	9.4	10.2	11.0	12.8	17.3
Rural Pop.	80.5	89.1	90.6	89.8	89.0	87.2	82.7
Total Pop.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

FACTORS AFFECTING THE GROWTH OF TOWNS

The slow urbanisation points to the fact that we are still a backward country. Over a long period the proportion of the urban to the total population has remained almost unaltered except in the last two decades, when this proportion has changed considerably. In England, the development of new industries brought about a rapid industrialisation of the population, of which a large percentage lives in towns. From the point of view of the urbanisation test, India has tremendous lee-way to make up. We shall consider, in brief, the different forces acting on the growth of towns in modern India.

Prof. Videla Blache states that

"A city is a social organisation of much greater scope than the village; it is the expression of a stage of civilization which certain localities have not reached, and to which they may perhaps never of themselves attain."

Cities are primarily important as centres of trade and industry, but they are also important as centres of Government,

of finance, residence and education, etc. The commercial city is like a giant sitting at the gateway of his estate; with one hand he sweeps up the products which the people of his hinterland prepare, with the other he reaches far out to other people, strangers perhaps, and offers his own people's products in exchange for something which he can send back to his subjects. . . . Whereas the industrial centre resembles another kind of giant, one who works with his hands to make machinery, cloth, chemicals, furniture and other articles of comforts and luxury in a great profusion of kinds. He too engages in commerce, exchanging his manufactured goods for the food and fuel and raw materials that he must have if he would keep busy."

The time-worn saying that God made the village and man made the town offers a key to the study of the evolution of Indian towns and cities.

(1) (Railways and navigation have brought into existence new commercial centres and have increased the importance of some of the old ones.) The advent of railways to a town meant generally an increase in trade and it also had the effect of creating new centres of trade in the tract through which it passes. (One of the earliest results of the British rule was the growth of the great mercantile centres, which were connected with each other by railway lines, and it might be said that the British have played the role of town-builders in India. Bombay, Madras, Kanpur, Calcutta, Delhi, Bangalore and Hubli serve as illustrations of the new commercial towns. Railway junctions by affording facilities for the growth of a collecting and distributing trade give rise to towns, and in many cases they form the centres of manufactures or industries connected with the railways. Kharagpur, Gorakhpur, Mogal-

sarai, Ajmer, Jubbulpur, Kanchanpur, Waltair, Arkonam and Raichur are important railway settlements. Delhi is essentially a model city being connected by railways with Calcutta, Bombay and Amritsar.)

(2) (The rivers of northern India have played a very important part in the development of towns. Indian town-planners have preferred sites on river-banks, sea-coasts or on land routes. The orthodox treatises on town-planning make it a rule to establish towns on the right bank of rivers. Consequently, all Hindu towns in India are situated on the right bank of rivers. Hence, any town in India whose location violates this rule, *e.g.*, Calcutta, may be presumed to have grown up or been established under non-Hindu influence." This explains to some extent the development of the cities of Allahabad, Agra, Kanpur, Patna, Monghyr, and Hooghly on the right bank of the Ganga. Most of these cities have grown at points where the river takes a wide bend, as the position is favourable to the landing and loading of goods in boats. These river towns owe their importance to the development of trade in goods in large quantities which break bulk.

River fords also develop towns, *e.g.*, Cuttack on the Mahanadi, Bezwada on the Krishna and Rajmahendri on the Godavari. Navigable rivers offer a very suitable site for the development of a sea-port near their mouths, but the importance of the ports depends also on the prosperity of the hinterland and the availability of the facilities for safe harbourage. Surat on the Tapti, Broach in the West Coast, and Calcutta are the prominent examples of this type of ports but while Surat and Broach have declined, the latter has developed considerably.

(3) Places sacred from the religious point of view attract large numbers of occasional visitors. Banaras, Hardwar, Gaya, Mathura, Puri, Brindaban and Nathdwara in Northern India, and Madura, Tanjore, Conjeevaram and Nasik are the principal religious centres in the South.

(4) With the foundation of residential universities various university towns have gradually been formed, *e.g.*, Aligarh, Patna,

Rajmahendry, Mysore and Annamalai Nagar, and Vallabhnagar.

(5) Owing to the intense heat in the plains of India it is often necessary for the well-to-do population to go to the bracing climate of the hills and the sea-coasts. The Himalayan slopes, covering a height of 5,000 to 8,000 ft. have furnished some of the important hill-stations of Northern India, while in the Nilgiris we find some of the loveliest hill-resorts of South India. The expansion of the hill-station depends, in addition to its attitude on the facilities of transport, on the availability of level space for house-building, while if the site chances to be selected also as the official summer-residence of the State Heads it acquires an additional importance. Muree, Darjeeling, Dalhousie, Simla, Nainital, Mussourie and Almora in Northern India, and Kodaikanal, Coonoor and Ootacamund in Southern India, are important hill-stations. The east coast of India with its shallow water is suitable for sea-bathing. Hence, Puri, Gopalpur, Waltair and Madras are the principal sea-side resorts in the east while Juhu near Bombay is most important on the west-coast.

(6) "A city," as Prof. Geddes has remarked, "is not only a place in space, it is also a drama in time." The geographical factor or the factor of situation alone does not explain the development of a town, as the historical and economic background has also to be taken into account. Many towns have grown or decayed in India owing to the changes in the political history of the country, *e.g.*, Fyzabad, a town of historical importance, was shorn of its glory when Asafuddaula began to dislike it and transferred his capital to Lucknow. Delhi regained its glory as the result of the change in the capital of India. Hence, the original cause of the foundation of a town may be its suitable natural situation, or the historical factor, but its development is principally determined by economic causes chief among which are the expansion of trade and commerce and the development of organised industries. Industrial factors have played a very important part in the growth of towns. The leading industries of the country have contributed to the conversion of villages into towns and towns into cities. Bombay, Ahmedabad, Hubli, Sholapur, in Bombay; Titagarh, Kankinara, Budge Budge,

Kamarhati, Naihati in Bengal; Naini, Ferozabad, Kanpur, Moradabad in U.P.; Amritsar in East Punjab; Bilaspur, Jubbulpur, and Katni in M.P.; Bisra, Maihar and Gwalior in M.B.; Rajkot and Okha in Saurashtra; and Burnpur, Jamshedpur and Jhala in Bihar have developed mainly due to the existence of one or more industries like cotton, woollen, sports, printing, glass, chemicals, cement, iron and steel, etc. These industrial towns are not fettered by the consideration of the local food supply as they can command a wide area for it. They spring up either (i) at centres having proximity to raw materials, *e.g.*, Bisra, Sholapur and Dindigal, or (ii) having proximity both to raw materials and supply of fuel, *e.g.*, Jamshedpur, Burnpur and Nagpur, or (iii) close to the port of export like the mill-towns close to Calcutta or Okha, or (iv) at convenient railway centres like Jubbulpur, Kanpur and Moradabad. Centres for the collection and partial manufacture of important raw materials have also developed into towns. Amraoti, Wardha and Nimar in M.P., Broach, Nasik, Ahmednagar, Dharwar and Belgaum in Bombay are important towns for the collection of raw cotton.

The development of these industrial towns is not out of all proportion to regional consideration as their size is limited only by the extent of manufacture and prosperity of the industry, *e.g.*, the rapid expansion of Jamshedpur is principally due to the springing up of a large number of industries in the immediate neighbourhood which are connected with the steel industry. The development of Mirzapur as an industrial centre has been arrested owing to the gradual decline of the lac industry and the manufacture of brass utensils. With the development of the sugar mill, the cement factory and the paper mill, Dehri-on-Sone (Dalmianagar) in Bihar, and Modinagar in U.P., have developed into important industrial centres. Similarly, with the gradual concentration of a number of industries, Coimbatore has increased in size and importance while the coal-mining towns of Bengal and Bihar have received a set-back due to the slump in the coal trade.

(7) Mining towns spring up close to the site of the mines, hence unless the deposits are concentrated within a small area these towns cannot increase in size. The Bihar mining towns have not attained large dimensions owing to the occurrence of the deposit over a wide area and the mobile nature of the labourers employed there. The Kolar gold-field owing to the compactness of the deposit and the facilities of electric supply from the Sivasamudram Falls is in a position to support an ever-increasing population.

(8) Besides the above factors, famines are among the causes which deplete the countryside and increase the volume of the urban population, *e.g.*, due to the great Rajputana famine of 1868, Agra, Delhi and other adjoining towns almost doubled their population.¹² It may happen that a part of this addition is permanently absorbed by the occupations in towns, though most of it is certainly lost owing to people returning to their villages after the advent of the rains.

(9) The rise of a class of landless labourers in the villages as a result of the famines and the dispossession of the old peasant proprietors and the transformation of artisans into wage-earners, also promotes urbanisation to some extent, for the landless labourer is often ready to migrate to towns if he can find employment there.

(10) The city life has a great charm for the middle-class people. Electric light, running water, tram and bus, large general hospitals, specialised and advanced clinics with the latest equipment, all play their part. Educational facilities like universities, colleges, libraries and academies, and recreational facilities like parks, sports, games, cinemas and theatres, are some of the attractions of the towns. In fact, the comforts and the amenities of life in big towns and cities are responsible for the increase in their numbers. Administrative centralization has increased the urban importance of the district headquarters and the provincial or State capitals and the *taluka* towns in comparison with the villages.

(To be continued)

THE PLACE OF FRANKLIN IN AMERICAN THOUGHT

By DR. PERRY MILLER,

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[BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, whose 250th birth anniversary will be celebrated the world over on January 17, 1956, was perhaps the most eminent mind that has ever existed in America. | | |

Born in Boston, the 15th in a family of 17 children, poor Franklin, with only two years of formal schooling, rose to independent wealth and fame in every field of endeavour—as printer, publisher, scientist, writer, philosopher, diplomat, statesman, economist and humourist.

Though Franklin was an excellent and successful businessman, he retired from active business at 42 and spent 42 years more in the service of the public. He might have made a fortune if he had patented his stove or his lightning-rod.

In his famous *Poor Richard's Almanack*, which he published annually from 1733 to 1758, he preached his gospel of industry and thrift through wit and wisdom. The idea of free, individual enterprise, as Franklin taught it, became the most inspiring and dynamic force in 18th century civilisation.

His maxims in diverse fields are as valid today as two centuries ago. Among other things, he taught that each basic freedom carried with it a clear and definite obligation.

Franklin stands today a colossal figure in the world's memory, his popularity in no wise lessened by lapse of time.]

The place of Benjamin Franklin in the history of American thought can be defined only by paradox. Or, if not by outright paradox, then by two statements, apparently contradictory, which indicate how complex this ostentatiously simple man really was: on the one hand, he is for America the supreme apostle of the European Enlightenment, the pre-eminent philosopher; on the other, he is entirely an outgrowth of the Protestant culture of provincial, Puritan New England. In the second definition, he did nothing all his long life but work out in a secular context implications which in that culture had been concealed behind a theological facade.

On the first score, he was indeed the arch-embodiment of the 18th century's ideal of the scientist-philosopher. More than any American, more even than Jefferson, he stood for those virtues of genial tolerance, rational control of the passions, adoration for the order and symmetry of the physical universe, dislike of pedantry, which the age of Voltaire admired. Indeed, in Europe he seemed virtually the only figure who along with Voltaire realised that ideal. He was fully conscious of the impression he made, and during his mission to

France deliberately played up to the role, both to charm the enlightened society and to facilitate his practical purpose.

However, he could not so have aroused the enthusiasm of ladies and of *savants* had he not from the beginning nourished a consuming passion for what the era called "philosophy," which meant mainly natural philosophy or what the 20th century calls applied science. As he wrote, back in 1743, in "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge Among the British Plantations in America" (he was constantly to hammer at this theme), the first drudgery of settlement being over, there were now many sufficiently at ease "to cultivate the finer arts and improve the common stock of knowledge."

Perhaps the most important idea Franklin formulated in a country where hard work in one's calling was already the inexorable law, and for centuries would remain the overriding compulsion, was his begrudging the time given to "mere necessities." This would not be remarkable had he been an other-worldly theologian like Jonathan Edwards, or had he been an aesthete who shrunk from such rude contacts. But he was the man who above all set the pattern for worldly success, who assiduously kept his shop until it could keep him, and who enjoyed every minute of the social climb. For the man who made a profit out of everything to which he turned his hand, and who turned his hand to every sort of business, to insist that all this was only preliminary to the real business of life, the philosophical quest for discoveries that may assist the cause of mankind—this was to provide a model of enlightenment not only to American millionaires but to Western civilization.

However, Franklin is unique—though also a child of his century—in that he did not accumulate money simply to give it to charities or to institutions: He proposed to undertake the scientific labour himself. He lamented that political and diplomatic demands distracted him from the pursuit dearest to his hearts, and he accomplished his triumph as man of affairs, all the time wishing he could be in his laboratory. His easy escape from the theological prepossessions of his native society came not so much from intellectual repudiation as from sheer annoyance that they hindered any dispassionate study of nature.

Volumes have been written about his religious opinions, but the essence of them he put in a letter to his father, in 1738, when the old man was disturbed over rumours about the son's infidelity:

"I think opinions should be judged of by their influences and effects; and, if a man holds none that tend to make him less virtuous or more vicious, it may be concluded he holds none that are dangerous; which I hope is the case with me."

So, in his rare periods of leisure Franklin investigated phenomena, notably electricity, and he made discoveries. Because he accepted Newtonian physics, it is customary to term him a Newtonian rationalist. Yet in the sense in which popularisers of Newton, if not Newton himself, were rationalists, Franklin was never a Newtonian. He would not subscribe to such a dogmatic systematisation of the universe as Voltaire derived from the *Principia*, or as did such British expounders as Colin Maclaurin in *An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries* (1748).

Instead, Franklin's conception of scientific method came from the pre-Newtonian phase of the Royal Society's programme; it was ever empirical, wary of finally, proceeding by rule-of-thumb rather than by mathematics or by deduction from *a priori* laws. After his first letters on electricity, Franklin wrote Peter Collinson in 1747 that he had subsequently stumbled upon phenomena that could not be accounted for on the principles he had laid down, and he was ashamed of having expressed himself positively.

"In going on with these Experiments, how many pretty Systems do we build which we, soon find ourselves obliged to destroy!"

The moment we recognise this strain in his make-up, we realise that this man so markedly a product of his century was in fact rather a stranger in it than an inhabitant in the European sense. Herein consists his place in American thought. The innermost motive for all his immense activity—mercantile, political, scientific—was not a devotion to pure science or to theory, but the irresistible urge to be doing God's will in this world, here and now. Not only in inculcating frugality, thrift, sober industry was he the ultimate extrapolation of the "Protestant ethics," but he carried into every area of performance the same Puritan paradox of working in the world and of loving the world, all the while never accepting it as the final resting place.

The Puritan mind in America was never hostile to the scientific advances of the 17th century; instead, it welcomed them as further revelations of the Lord's plan. Franklin came of age in Boston when the high-priest of Puritan theology, Cotton Mather, was expounding Newtonianism as a "Christian Philosophy." More importantly, he grew up under the influence of Cotton Mather's *Bonifacius* (1710), better known as *Essays to Do Good*, to which in later life Franklin freely expressed his debt. This work crystallised the effort of 18th-

century Puritanism to give over the quest for a holy commonwealth and to settle for a pious activity in society, including the making of money, to be justified by the benefits such sanctified industry would bestow upon the community. Everywhere in Franklin's thinking—in business, in research, in his almanacs and periodicals, in his diplomacy—we come back to the single inspiration:

"To relieve the misfortunes of our fellow creatures is concurring with the Deity; it is godlike."

To take this phrase—"it is godlike"—in all its astounding implications is to get an insight into the subterranean daemonism behind Franklin's superficially suave and relaxed manner. Early in the previous century, American Puritans agreed on a description of the Christian's attitude toward the pleasures of this world: he loves them (wife, business, position) with "weaned affections." He plunges into the world, does its work heartily, but never deceives himself into supposing that its arbitrary exactions are more than temporary. The saint's true home is elsewhere, and once he arrives there, all these distractions will have become as nothing.

Franklin took the further step of refusing to confine the unconfineable into any man-made formulae, least of all those of theology. Hence he was wary about speaking of God's purposes, and resigned himself to functioning in the world as it happened to be constituted, without for a moment regarding any modality as permanent. He put traditional Christianity aside, not because he was an infidel but because he found its synthesis premature. And he held both Newtonian physics and mercantile economics in a like disregard. In the end of all, we must say that the fundamental trait of Franklin's mind was detachment—if, that is, we immediately couple this statement with the opposite one that for him detachment implied no renunciation of life and its foibles, but joyous acceptance of things as they are, along with a steady determination to make them better than they are. And all this with no visionary dream of realising heaven on earth—because here are finite limits to any mortal's ability to become godlike.

In the final reckoning, then, the importance of Franklin in American thought is not any one idea, discovery, action—important as are his contributions in a dozen specific fields—but his posing of the central riddle, which he not only posed but happily lived with, of how man may live in the utmost temporality without ever being deceived by fleeting appearances.



THE INDIAN MUTINY OF 1857

Was It a 'National Movement' ?

By PROF. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.

THE Mutiny of 1857-58 has been characterised by almost all the British historians as 'a Sepoy Mutiny', indicating that it was not a National war of independence at all. Some of them have even expressed that opinion openly and in unmistakable terms. This British theory was first successfully challenged by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the great Hindu Mahasabha leader in his worthy book *The Indian War of Independence—1857* (1909). Ever since then, these two diametrically opposite view-points have been contending against each other. But serious attention to the 'national aspect' of the question has been paid only very recently, that is after the Hon'ble Maulana Azad in his Presidential Address at the 31st session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at Mysore announced that the Indian Government had sponsored the writing of a comprehensive history of the 1857 rising, and suggested in that speech that in all probability it was a 'national movement.'

We shall examine both these views with reference to the best materials available to us. But before that a caution must be observed. I, a teacher of history, shall take it up as a question of history,—and never as a question of politics. That is to say, I shall try to examine this question as impartially as is humanly possible for me. It is important to note that English historians were not impartial, as they had to keep the interest of the British Indian Empire in view in everything they said or did. From their standpoint it would be a damaging confession to admit that the Mutiny was a 'National War of Independence'. On the other hand, the present endeavour of the Indian historians and of the Indian Government may not be completely free from political prejudices of a different type. Thus, it is not so easy to arrive at a correct conclusion in the matter. In this matter, the merits and demerits of "official history" as discussed by Prof. H. Butterfield in his *History And Human Relations* (1951), are very interesting.

First of all it is very interesting to note that the English historians have called it a Sepoy Mutiny, mainly on the ground that the Indian Sepoys took the leading part in it. How strange! In a National War of India's Independence, do they expect non-Indians to take the leading part? I have no doubt that because the Indian Sepoys took the leading part in it, its national character is all the more clearly established.

Next, if before the outbreak of the Mutiny there never had been any national resistance or anti-British manifestation, then, in that case, one could contend that the Mutiny was not a national struggle. But, that was clearly not the case. For the last one century just before the Mutiny, there were, on many occasions, very clear historical evidences of constant resistance against foreign domination. Thus, Haider Ali and his son Tipu in Mysore, were the personification of this anti-British

resistance. Again, the Marathas under the leadership of Nana Fadnavis, resisted the British. Again, when Baji Rao II concluded the Treaty of Bassein and accepted the Subsidiary Alliance, Scindhia and later Holkar resisted the British to keep the independence of the Marathas. The Gurkhas resisted the British, the Sikhs resisted the British, the Amirs of Sindh did so, the Nizam also on many occasions resisted the British. Many of these national leaders at different periods invoked French support to oust the English. All these go to prove that although for the last one century just before the Mutiny British Empire in India was spreading, there was constant and undying opposition. This opposition might not have been unified, but it was there all the same. Thus when the Mutiny came close on the heel of this continual series of national resistance, the only sensible and sound conclusion is that it was a War of National Independence.

It is pointed out by some that the Mutiny was suppressed with the aid of Indian nationals. If it was a national war how could it be possible? In this matter it is important to note that in such a vast country there will never be wanting a few self-seekers who will always take a reactionary role. But, that never means that the Mutiny was only a Sepoy Mutiny and not a war of national independence. For, if we argue like that, then it should not be called even a Sepoy Mutiny, for some Sepoys did co-operate with the British in suppressing the Mutiny. So, that will not do. The correct attitude in this matter is described by a not at all pro-Indian English historian, when he writes: "And the attitude of the Frontier chiefs and the bigger men of the countryside was 'When we know you are top dog we will support you'"¹

Lt.-General Sir George Mac Munn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., in his book writes:

"It is important to realise that it was only one army, that of Bengal, that was engulfed, and not the sister but quite separate formations, the armies of Madras and Bombay."²

It must be admitted that this is indeed a very sound argument. But what Lt.-General Sir George Mac Munn fails to realise, and what is perhaps more important, is that if it proves anything, it proves that it was not a Sepoy Mutiny, but a popular rising. There may be very sound reasons why the Bengal Army alone was moved and not the armies of Bombay and Madras, but that does not prove the Mutiny was not national in character. For now it is clearly established that there were risings in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. And if the Sepoys there did not take part in it, then, even according to the British thesis, in Bombay and Madras it was surely not a Sepoy

1. *The Indian Mutiny in Perspective*; By Lt.-General Mac Munn, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., Colonel Commandant, The Royal Artillery, p. 75.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Mutiny, but a popular rising. Moreover, it is important to note that the Bengal Army was by far the most important and largest of the three Armies in India.

The prejudiced and partial attitude of the British can be very well imagined if we take one news-item from the *Times*. Hardly had the Mutiny begun in Meerut on the 10th of May 1857, and no one could foresee its nature or course when the *Times* wrote on the 19th May, 1857:

"It is reassuring, moreover, that the Mussulman, the Sikh, the Gurkha, has no share in the prejudices of the Hindoo. The Government may always count on the votaries of Islam for support in any tumult arising from the teaching of an idolatrous creed."

Thus the idea or better, propaganda, that it was not a national rising representing all sections of the people of India was indulged in when almost the first news of the outbreak of the Mutiny reached England. This news-item within one week of the outbreak of the Mutiny in such a representative paper as the *Times* makes it very clear that the British attitude about the character of the Mutiny was already made up even before the Mutiny was one week old. How extremely wrong was this hope expressed in the *Times* is seen if we consider the following lines of another English historian, who was also not pro-Indian in any sense:

"The Mahomedan element in the ranks of the native army has hitherto been looked as a counterpoise to the power of the Hindoos, but recent events have shown how thoroughly they can fraternise with the latter when the object is to destroy a common foe The bitter hatred with which Orangemen and Roman Catholics used to regard each other in Ireland has its intensified type in the feeling entertained towards us by the whole Mussulman race."³

The "recent events" refer to the Mutiny. Thus the attempt to show that it was a partial rising in which the Muslims would not or did not co-operate fails completely. Further, here the important confession is made that the British were regarded as the "common foe." Is it not completely clear after this that the Mutiny was a national war of independence? There were as many important Muslim as Hindu leaders of the Mutiny. In his famous study *The Martyrs of Allahabad* Reverend Robert Meek makes the significant statement:

"It was manifest to all that the Mutiny was not, as at first supposed, of a partial or local character, but the result of a deep-laid, well-ordered, and widely spread conspiracy for the overthrow of the British dominion—for the expulsion of the Christians and Christianity from India. A time was fixed for striking the final blow, and for the general rising and massacre of the Europeans. The somewhat premature outbreak at Meerut anticipated this—led to the discovery of the fearful plot, and thus providentially put the Europeans on their guard."⁴

This honest, straightforward, and clear confession makes these points clear. First, it was not a 'local' or 'partial' rising but a national one. Second, there was a well-organised 'plot,' an important fact which English historians are usually not willing to admit lest the organised national character of the Mutiny be proved. And third, the rising had for its object 'the overthrow of the British Dominion.' After this can there be any doubt about the national character of the rising?

There is another important fact which is usually ignored by the historians—English and Indians alike. Supposing the Mutiny was just the rising of a section of the Indian people, it would never have aroused the sympathy and goodwill of the European nations like the French and the Italians. These nations had every reason to wish the English success as against the Indians if the Indian rising was not of a representative character. They would never have offended the English just to please a section of the Indian people, and such an unstable and non-political section as the Indian Sepoys. They would take that risk only to gain the sympathy of the entire Indian nation. That is as plain as anything. And we find if we read the newspapers of those days that these European nations had a very great sympathy for the Indian freedom-fighters. This is all the more significant, because this was the period when England and France had fought together the famous Crimean War against the Russians, and England was a great sympathiser in Italy's fight for freedom against Austria. What is the explanation of this strange French and Italian attitude? It is this: Italy knew very well from her recent memories how bitter was foreign domination, and how much support should be given to a nation in its fight for national freedom against a European imperialist Power. It was the expression of a very sincere appreciation of a freedom-loving people in the struggle for freedom of another nation. As to the French, it should be noted that ever since the French Revolution (1789), the French have been the radicals in Europe, and the champions of freedom and democracy, and nationalism. They co-operated with the English to crush Czar's domination in the Balkans and in Turkey as champions of freedom and nationalism. But they were not prepared to extend their moral support to their recent allies to crush India's national war of independence on the same score of freedom and nationalism. In the 'Newspaper Cuttings' maintained in the National Library at Calcutta the following cutting appears from a cutting not dated and from a Paper not named: "Since the tide of success in India has been turned against the Mutineers, notwithstanding their numbers, by the unconquerable fortitude of our isolated countrymen, the journals of certain European states have exchanged their forebodings of disaster for depreciations of vengeance, and, instead of forecasting the ruin of England, have employed themselves in

3. *Sepoy Revolt: Its Causes and Consequences*: By Mr. Henry Meade, pp 29 and 30.

4. *The Martyr of Allahabad: Memorial of Ensign Arthur Marcus Hill Cheek of the Sixth Native Bengal Infantry*: By the Reverend Robert Meek, M.A., p. 10.

denouncing the spirit of revenge which they assume to be rampant in British hearts."⁵ Under the Title *A Debate on India* in the English Parliament, published in the *Times* on November 11, blame is put on "the Indian insurgents, less enlightened no doubt than their patrons at Paris and Turin."⁶ Another reference is made by an English historian to this moral support by other Europeans to the cause of the Indian freedom fighters. He writes:

"Whilst an Irish journal howled with delight over our difficulties, a French writer recognised in the rebellion God's judgment upon us as a wicked nation."⁷

So, this rising in India was recognised and hailed in France as God's judgment upon English rule in India, and not as a mere Mutiny of the Sepoys of the Bengal Army. It was something definitely greater than mere Sepoy Mutiny. And what is really interesting is, that that was the impartial view of the third party, the French, who had, just before this incident, fought the Crimean War, as comrades-in-arm. It should be noted that I, an individual, could collect only a few pieces of evidence within my limitations, and if a proper perusal is made of all the European Journals and Papers of the period 1857 to, say, 1859, further interesting and very useful evidence may surely be got.

A curious fact is that His Excellency Canning was all for tolerance and forgiveness. But, the 'Clemency Canning' took the earliest opportunity to pass a Gagging Act. On the 13th of June, 1857, Canning introduced this Bill before the Legislative Council and it was passed the same day. On the 17th of June three Indian Presses were seized at Calcutta. It proves one thing very clearly, namely, that even though the actual offenders who did not take a leading part could be tolerated, the free publication of inconvenient news could never be tolerated. This anxiety to prevent the free publication of news during the Mutiny can be explained only on one ground, that is, not to enable the posterity to know that it was a national rising. Although the Act was passed for one year, it should be noted that June 1857 to June 1858 was the vital year. And the suppression of news at that very moment was of momentous consequence and effect.

The fact that some Indians co-operated with the British in suppressing the Mutiny is given undue importance by many. It is taken to prove that the Mutiny was not a national rising. But it does not really prove that. After a century of British rule it was clear that there should be some supporters of the British, that is, the vested interests that solely depended on the British. That should not surprise any one. Moreover, if we take the case of a few reactionaries to prove that the Mutiny was not a national movement, then one can as well prove

that the "Quit India Movement" of Gandhiji was not a national movement for were there not a few Indian leaders even at that time who refused to co-operate with him? So, that does not lead us anywhere. An eminent French writer on Indian history summing up this tendency in Indian history writes:

*"Et les cas de trahison, les exemples de généraux ou gouverneurs vendus, sont anormalement nombreux, dans l'histoire indienne."*⁸

Which should mean in simple English,

"The cases of treachery, the examples of generals or governors sold, are abnormally numerous in Indian history."

Now, if this is true then it is plain that at all moments of our history (so long as this tendency is not overcome), at every moment of a national rising there must be a few traitors. So, that was nothing special about the Mutiny. Moreover, if one argues like that, then it may be pointed out that since in the Second World War, Marshall Petain co-operated with Hitler and even more closely than Petain, General Darlan co-operated with Hitler, the French resistance against the Germans was not national. Then there was the son of a prominent British leader who regularly broadcast anti-British speeches over the Berlin radio. Will any one on that account say that the British resistance to Hitler was not national? Exactly in the same way if a few Indians co-operated with the English in the Mutiny that should never be taken to prove that the Mutiny was not a national movement.

I can do no better than to close with a famous Broadcast over the A.I.R., Delhi on April the 10th, 1955, by Sri Arun Chandra Guha, Minister for Revenue and Defence Expenditure, Government of India. The Hon'ble Minister rightly pointed out: "It was really a popular rising having spontaneous support from the people." Generally, British historians have tried to attribute the entire rising to religious prejudices on account of the introduction of greased cartridges and to the machinations of some dispossessed native princes and their satellites. At least one British historian Colonel Malleon has effectively demonstrated the falsity of this theory. He has written in his memorable book *The Indian Mutiny of 1857*:

"The greased cartridge was never issued to a great body of troops if indeed to any. There must have been a latent motive power to make of an un-issued cartridge, a grievance so terrible as to rouse into revolt men whose fathers and whose fathers' fathers have contributed to the making of the British Empire in India."

In the famous book he again writes:

"Circumstances had proved to me that extraneous causes were at work to promote an ill-feeling, a hatred not personal but national, in the minds of men who for a century had been our truest and most loyal servants."

5. Newspaper Cuttings at the National Library, Calcutta.

6. *The Times*, November 11.

7. *The Sepoy Revolt*: By Mr. Henry Meade, p. 187.

8. *Histoire De L'inde*: By Pierre Meile, p. 117.

THE UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

By D. K. HINGORANI,

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WITH independence has come a new look on things in our country. Among many other things it has brought a broadening of functions and responsibilities of public service. And in that connection there has been, lately, considerable questioning of the selection policies and procedures of the Indian Public Service Commissions in the States and at the Centre. Do they conduce to recruitment of the right type of persons for increasingly complex, skilled and exacting functions of a newborn national government?

For instance, so far a university degree has tended to dominate the essential requirements for selection through Indian Public Service Commissions. That has done good neither to university education nor to government service. On the one hand, it has led to overcrowding of Indian universities with consequent lowering of their academic standards; and, on the other hand, it has tended to exclude large resources of potential talent from public service. No wonder, therefore, that there has been, of late, considerable talk about reorganizing Indian Public Service Commissions, so as to shift emphasis from mere academic qualifications to innate abilities and acquired experience in their recruitment and selection procedures. The recent appointment by the Government of India of a high-powered committee to examine the existing system of Public Service Commissions in the country reflects the urgency of the problem.

In this connection, it may be worthwhile to know something about the organization and activities of Public Service Commissions in other countries. The United States Civil Service Commission offers an excellent example for study, particularly as both India and the United States have a federal system of government with jurisdiction over vast areas. From that point of view alone, the experience and achievements of the U. S. Civil Service Commission can have a significant relationship to our conditions and may offer constructive suggestions for the solution of some of our problems.

ELABORATE ORGANIZATION

The U. S. Civil Service Commission, like the Union Public Service Commission in India, is the central personnel agency for recruitment of employees for the Federal Government, and is located in Washington D.C., the capital of the nation. Each of the 48 States in the U.S.A. has its own State Civil Service Commission. The U.S. Civil Service Commission is a typical American institution, established in a small way to meet a specific purpose but soon outgrown to assume much wider responsibilities. It was established in January, 1883, soon after the assassination of President James A. Garfield by a disgruntled job-seeker had stirred the American people

to act and end the Spoils System. Since then the Commission has grown from a small unit of about 20 to one of the largest government departments, with about 4,000 employees.

Its primary objective has been to see that the Executive branch of the Federal Government recruits and retains efficient and loyal officers and staff so as to ensure effective leadership in the Central Government. This is no small job now. The U.S. Federal Government today employs 2½ million people in more than 70 departments, comprising 15,000 different occupations. The Federal civilian pay roll amounts to more than 9 billion dollars, which is roughly one-sixth of the entire Federal Government budget. Slightly less than half of all civilian employees work for the Department of Defence; more than one-fifth of them in Post Offices; about 8 per cent in Veterans Administration; and only 21 per cent in all other departments,—Treasury, Agriculture, Interior, Commerce and Health, Education and Welfare, etc. Ninety per cent of all these Federal Civil Servants work outside Washington D.C. Only a few departments have their own recruitment systems. For instance, Foreign Service of the U.S. Government is a separate organization.

For such a big job, the U.S. Civil Service Commission necessarily has a very elaborate organization. At the highest level it has three members, not more than two of whom may belong to the same political party. Usually, they belong to the party in power. One of the two is designated by the President as the Chairman of the Commission who acts as the chief executive and administrative head of the whole organization. In the present administration, the Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission has been given for the first time a place in the cabinet to advise the President from time to time on the employment policies of his government.

The three Commissioners are assisted by the Executive Director and the Technical Advisor. Five Bureaus constitute the core of the organization: Bureau of Programmes, Bureau of Inspection and Classification, Bureau of Field Operations, and Bureau of Management Services. The first three Bureaus plan, operate and review more than a score of personnel management programmes; the fourth directs all operations of the Commission's regional offices; and the fifth is responsible for housekeeping activities. Three Boards,—the Board of Appeals and Review, the Fair Employment Board, the International Organization Employees Loyalty Board; and three staff offices,—the Law Office, the Security Appraisal Office, and the Public Information office,—complete the whole organization.

WIDE SCOPE OF ACTIVITIES

This elaborate organization reflects the wide scope of activities of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. The main activity of the Commission, of course, is to plan and implement programmes of recruitment and selection of best qualified persons through examinations which afford equal opportunity and treatment to all citizens. In addition, the Commission administers the Classification Act of 1947 which regulates the pay of more than a million white-collar employees of the Federal Government, on a nationwide basis so as to ensure satisfactory implementation of the principle of equal pay for substantially equal work without discrimination. The Commission also administers the Civil Service Retirement Act under which about 1,700,000 employees compulsorily contribute 6 per cent of their income to the Civil Service Pension Scheme. Even the questions of vacation and sick leave for the Federal employees are determined by the Commission.

A marked evidence of the democratic character of the Federal Service is the right of both individuals and agencies to appeal matters coming under the jurisdiction of the Commission. One of the Commission's many responsibilities is to see that such rights are fully protected. Numerous questions and complaints pertaining to selection and training, salaries and fair employment, pension and incentive awards, security and retrenchment, investigations and general grievances come up before the Commission for active consideration and decision from day to day. In fact, the Commission acts as a competent custodian of the rights of federal employees consistently with its duties and responsibilities to the Federal government and tax-payers.

DECENTRALIZATION

With so many varied activities over such a large area—the U.S.A. is more than twice the size of India in area—one would think the Commission would be cluttered up with too many routine matters. That is not so. The main reason is that it is one of the most decentralized organizations in the world. It has eleven regional offices located in different parts of the country, each of which carries on all the activities of the Commission in its region with minimum supervision of the central office. Decentralization is, in fact, one of the chief and most interesting features of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. The idea is to provide maximum service to the maximum number of people at their maximum convenience.

The regional offices are located in principal cities from where they conduct all field civil service activities in their respective areas. They, in turn, have decentralized some of their activities. For instance, for information a candidate does not very often have to go further than the local or neighbouring post office. There are about 2000 such information centres located in post offices all over the country in such a way that there is a place near almost every sizable community where the public can get full particulars about federal employment opportunities. What is more, most of these centres also conduct all examinations sponsored by the U.S. Civil Service Commission. There is a wide network of nearly 800 boards of examiners all over the country helping the Commission to carry out some of its important functions.



Oral examination—Group performance test

MERIT SYSTEM

These functions mainly relate to competitive examinations sponsored by the Commission for selection of suitable candidates for various vacancies in different departments of the Federal government. Over many years, the U.S. Civil Service Commission has built up what is called the Merit System according to which most of the vacancies in Federal government service are filled strictly on the basis of merit, as determined by examinations, and other procedure conducted by the Commission. Increasingly successful efforts have been made ever since the establishment of the Commission to enlarge the scope of the Merit System so as to combat the traditional Spoils System. By now, about 86 per cent of Federal Government employees are appointed through the Merit System; and only about 14 per cent as a matter of political patronage.

Two broad types of examinations are used by the Commission in connection with the Merit System,—“Assembled” and “Unassembled.” In the former, a written test is employed to form the basis for ranking competition by relative ability; in the latter, the candidate's experience and training are evaluated against a pre-determined set of standards. Sometimes, both techniques are used in the same examination. In some cases, other approaches, such as an investigation or a performance test are used to supplement the basic techniques. On the basis of the examination results a list of those rated eligible is set up in the order of scores. The appointing authority must select one of the top three eligibles. Boards of Examiners, consisting of officers of various departments, do much of this work under the supervision of the Commission.



In the examination hall

JUNIOR MANAGEMENT ASSISTANTSHIP PROGRAMME

The U.S. Civil Service Commission is not merely an examining body, nor is it simply the guardian of the merit system in federal appointments. The needs of the Federal Government service have caused a steady evolution in the functions of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. One of the long-standing and glaring needs of the Federal Government has been a strong and stable career civil service. The Commission has, therefore, been deeply concerned in recent years to build such a service.

The Junior Management Assistant Programme is one of the many efforts being made by the Commission in this direction. It was envisaged to be a partial solution to the twin problems of discovering and developing administrative skill for the Federal Civil Service. What began in 1936 as a hopeful experiment

has become, with suitable changes and modifications in 1939, 1947 and 1949, an established institution. It is a systematic programme for the recruitment, identification and development of administrative talent in the Federal Civil Service.

This programme may be compared to the Indian Administrative Service, but with some essential differences. On the one hand, it is not the only avenue for entrance into the U.S. Civil Service as is the I.A.S. examination to Indian Civil Services; on the other hand, it has much wider goals than mere selection of suitable candidates. Selection of suitable candidates is, of course, the primary part of the programme. This is done through an examination with written and oral tests. The purpose of these tests is to recruit outstanding young people who are trained in management, social sciences or public affairs, for careers leading to high level positions in personnel, budget, organization and executive work in different departments of the Federal Government. The tests are particularly intended to identify the young men and women who show outstanding promise of developing into future administrators.

The examination is designed to appeal mainly, although not exclusively, to college graduates. Applicants with a Bachelor's degree in arts, social sciences or business administration have greater chance of selection than others. A successful candidate with a B.A. degree is started on Grade 5 with a salary of about \$285 per month. A person with an M.A. degree, if selected, receives about \$65 more per month.

But unlike the I.A.S. examination in India, the J.M.A. examination in America does not require a college degree. Appropriate experience for three years, or an equivalent combination of education and experience can be substituted for mere academic requirements. And, candidates can appear for the J.M.A. examination during the last year of college studies even before they have taken and passed their degree examination. There is also no age restriction. Lastly, the examination is devised to test not text-book knowledge, but abilities and personality qualities.

WRITTEN EXAMINATION

The J.M.A. examination is announced in October each year. The written part is given early in January in several hundred cities simultaneously throughout the country. It consists of two papers. The first is a test of general abilities which all candi-

dates must take. It has three parts: a test of verbal abilities, to measure reading comprehension, effectiveness of expression, grammar and vocabulary; a test of quantitative reasoning ability, including the ability to interpret charts and graphs; and a test of abstract reasoning ability. The verbal and abstract reasoning parts are given most weight in this paper which altogether is assigned three hours.

The second paper, also a 3-hour written test, consists of 70 questions either in administrative judgement or in the field of public affairs. Every candidate is given a choice of these two subjects, which he can make beforehand. And, in the examination room he is given both papers and fifteen minutes to decide which one he will take.

The administrative judgement test is centred around the common types of problems which occur in large organizations and emphasizes an understanding of key administrative problems rather than mere factual formation in the field of administration. The public affairs test is a broad-gauge test on social and economic problems. The test requires knowledge of events in the world today and previous events which are related to present developments. It emphasizes broad knowledge rather than specialized understanding of any one field of public affairs.

A candidate is rated in both papers on a scale of 100. To make a passing grade, he must attain a rating of at least 70 in each paper. But he is not graded in the second paper unless he receives a passing score in the general abilities test. The scores on the two tests are then averaged to determine ratings on the written examination as a whole.

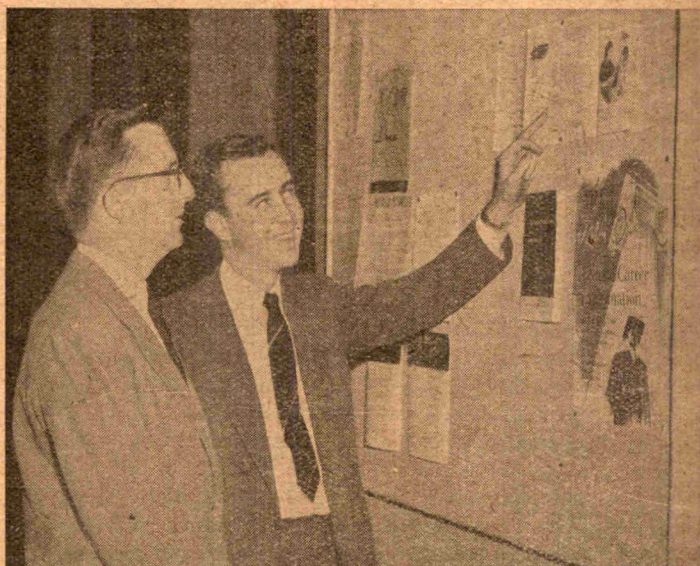
INQUIRIES AND ORAL EXAMINATION

Candidates successful in the written examination are interviewed in March at places determined by the distribution of candidates. The intervening period between January and March is also utilized in sending confidential enquiries regarding personal qualities, to six references that each candidate provides. The information thus received is carefully evaluated and used at the interview and employment stages. It gives the interviewer as well as the employing department, supplementary information to assist them in arriving at their decisions.

The interview also consists of two main parts: the group oral performance test and the individual

interview. The interviews are given in order of rating on the written examination from the top of the list of tentative eligibles, down as far as the needs of the service require. They are intended to measure personal qualities of the candidates,—physical, mental and moral. A number of teams of two departmental officials are employed to conduct both kinds of interviews.

The group oral performance test is a very interesting project. Two examiners sit at the ends of a table and four candidates on the sides, two on each. One of the examiners gives the candidates slips of paper on which a discussion subject is defined and then makes a few introductory remarks about the purpose and methods of the assignment. The subjects



Wide publicity given to J.M.A. programme

usually involve problems of public policy on which official action has been taken, but do not need specialized technical knowledge.

The candidates are given five minutes to study the subject and then thirty minutes to discuss it and resolve the issues involved. They are expected to make some settlement of issues on which there may be significant and legitimate differences of opinion. While the discussion goes on, the examiners unobtrusively evaluate, on a detailed prescribed form, various personal qualities, like integrity, imagination, intelligence and so on, important in an executive position, as revealed by each candidate's performance. They are also rated on their abilities to comprehend different aspects of issues, to understand the ideas of others, to formulate and express their thoughts properly and to work effectively with and through a group. The side which each candidate takes on an issue does not matter.

The performance is repeated by each group with a different discussion subject and altogether lasts for a little over an hour. For example, the following is one of the discussion subjects given to J. M. A. candidates this year:

"You are the executive board of the U. N. World Health Organization. During one of its meetings it is considering this problem. A representative of a member-country has violently criticized the work of the W.H.O. and announces his nation is withdrawing from it. His country objects to W.H.O.'s requirement that any country, as a condition to receiving W.H.O.'s aid, must meet certain standards in the administration of such aids, and to the organization's practice of withholding aid when the requisite standards are not satisfied. His country does not quarrel with the responsibility of the standards themselves. He states that his nation will no longer contribute its share of financial support, nor make further payments on the amounts of their contribution in arrears. The country in question has an extremely high infant death-rate. Assuming that the withdrawing nation would still accept W.H.O.'s assistance, should the board move to discontinue W.H.O.'s assistance to that nation or to continue assistance, despite its withdrawal?"

Then, each candidate is interviewed individually by the two examiners. The examiners have now the opportunity to get even a closer and more intimate look at each individual candidate's personality. That is also the time when the candidate often turns to the examiners for answers to many questions that may have been troubling his mind regarding the possibilities and problems of the proposed career. In fact, it is one of the standing instructions of the examiners to do everything possible to induce an atmosphere in which candidates may feel free to share with them their questions and misgivings. And so, not infrequently the tables are turned; it is candidates who interview the examiners!

Candidates are rated on an "in-or-out" basis in the interview and confidential enquiries. The examiners do not attempt to rank them. They fill out a detailed rating form for each candidate and prepare a narrative report on his performance. Their main idea, however, is to determine whether the performance of the candidates meets the high standards of the J.M.A. Programme.

And, indeed, the programme has high standards. The general abilities tests eliminate about half the candidates, the specialized written tests an additional 35 per cent, and the interviews and reference returns somewhat more than half of the remaining candidates! For instance, about 4,500 candidates applied and appeared for the J. M. A. examination this year. Very little screening of applications is done. 800

passed the written tests and only 300 were finally selected after oral interviews and evaluation of references, giving about six as the percentage of successful candidates.

EXAMINATION OF EXAMINERS

The importance attached to the interview as part of the J.M.A. examination is illustrated by the fact that all interviewers are required to join the J.M.A. Trainee Institute for a day in Washington D.C. before starting their operations in different parts of the country. It is, indeed, most interesting to observe how carefully the examiners are briefed about their duties and responsibilities. Nothing is taken for granted.

They are given an idea of the significance and philosophy behind the J.M.A. programme. They receive detailed advice and literature about techniques of interview, standards of evaluation and variety of rating factors. An actual demonstration of group interview is held to give the examiners a first-hand knowledge of its objectives and techniques. They even get a long list of questions which may be asked of them by candidates, with specific answers so that they may be able to deal with them satisfactorily! At the end of each item of the agenda there are questions and answers followed by a final period of an overall discussion of the entire programme. The talks and literature, demonstrations and discussions afford the examiners a needed opportunity to examine themselves as to their knowledge and ability to handle the examination properly.

The conference is, in fact, an objective lesson in objectivity and understanding. It also serves as an example of the unique collaboration between the U.S. Civil Service Commission and the federal government departments in the J.M.A. Programme. The J.M.A. Training Institute is sponsored by a committee representing the departments who participate in the programme. The committee elects its own chairman and the Civil Service Commission appoints a staff member to work in a liaison capacity with the committee. The committee takes active interest in the implementation of different aspects of the J.M.A. programme, exemplifying close co-operation between the Civil Service Commission and government departments.

INTERNE TRAINING PROGRAMME

The Committee even takes steps to insure that the departments use the selected candidates effectively and provide adequate training opportunities for them. As indicated earlier the J.M.A. programme is something more than a single crucial examination. Emphasis is laid in putting the selected persons in jobs which will fully utilize their abilities in the administrative field, either immediately or in the long run.

The programme further stresses the need for adequate training for the selected persons. The depart-

ments where they are posted provide most of this training. In general, the J.M.A. training in the departments consists of orientation, formal classes, and planned work assignments in which the employee assumes progressively greater responsibility.

The Civil Service Commission also offers suitable facilities for a limited group of candidates. Each summer the Commission takes a group of J.M.A. internes for training. The training is designed to acquaint them with the entire operation of the organization. Whenever possible, regular or practice work assignments are used to provide opportunity for first-hand experience of different operations of the organization.

The internes are encouraged to organize in any manner they choose to assist in their own training. Regular periods are set aside for group sessions. Discussions and seminars are conducted by the internes on subjects chosen by the group. Time is also set aside for an individual research or administrative project chosen by each interne.

CONCERN FOR CANDIDATES

This emphasis on self-training is in tune with the general approach of the J.M.A. programme. The core of that approach is a deep concern for candidates. Wide publicity given to different aspects of the programme, including the examination, is a reflection of that concern. The publicity is designed to reassure the candidates; detailed instructions, including samples of tests, are willingly and attractively offered to induce and put prospective candidates at ease. The anxiety of examiners to accommodate candidates is best illustrated by the fact that in the oral examinations, sometimes examiners go to places even where there is only one candidate to examine! Decentralization, detailed description, and training of examiners are some of the features of the J.M.A. programme conducive to the convenience of candidates.

There is no attempt to catch or confuse candidates for the J.M.A. examination. On the contrary, every effort is made to facilitate their selection and adjustment to career situations. For instance, after the results of the examination are announced in April and circulated simultaneously to all departments participating in the programme, selected candidates are free and even encouraged to visit the departments in which they are interested before making their final choice by summer. Evaluation of the interests of

selected candidates is considered of prime importance in their correct placement.

Inspired by the same concern, there are active proposals for implementation, in the near future, to widen even further the scope of the J.M.A. examination so as to include a greater cross-section of candidates, and to keep it open the whole year round, instead of holding it once a year.

This concern for candidates is qualified only by the need to insure the quality of selected candidates. To that end, efforts are continuously made to improve the standards and objectivity of various tests used for selection of candidates.



U.S. Civil Service Commission Building, Washington

RESEARCH AND REFORM

In fact, continuous research is another unique feature of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. For over ten years the Commission has had a continuing research programme in the field of management and administrative selection. The Bureau of Programmes and Standards—one of the five Bureaus of the Commission—is wholly devoted to research in respective fields of the Commission's entire scope of activities.

In that Bureau there is a separate Test Research Section, employing about 12 psychologists and 28 assistants, which constantly carries on research into improved examining methods and selection techniques. It has devised, since 1946, about 500 tests which are currently used in the many written examinations held by the Commission throughout the country for different positions in federal government departments. The Commission has an excellent library for reference and research on all aspects of personnel management and administration.

That does not mean that the Commission has discovered any "magic" method for measuring personality. The present position of selection techniques is considered far from perfect. It is even worse in other countries. There is frequent criticism of the selection tests used in various examinations, including the J.M.A.; for instance, that they are not comprehensive nor objective enough. Often, too much is read into the examination results,—particularly of the oral and group and individual tests.

For that matter, there is frequent criticism of the organization and policies of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, as a whole. Only recently, a new book, *Crisis in the Civil Service*, spotlighted this criticism and referred, among other things, to "the need for a new effort to combat the rising tide of spoils-manship" in the Commission.

The significant thing, however, is that the Commission itself is aware of its inadequacies. Last

October, the American Assembly, a national non-partisan voluntary organization, called a big conference, in which the Commission fully co-operated, of all official and unofficial agencies concerned with problems of personnel administration, to examine thoroughly all aspects of the Federal Government Service and suggest suitable solutions for the present problems. The Hoover Commission's Report, published last February, made a radical proposal to institute Senior Civil Service in America on the lines of the British Civil Service. All these proposals are on the anvil. And more, there are departmental committees within the Commission itself suggesting organizational and technical reforms from time to time.

This spirit of self-examination and constant search for solutions and reforms is perhaps the greatest source of strength for the U.S. Civil Service Commission.

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INDIAN INDUSTRIES FAIR A Show Window

By PARIMAL CHANDRA MUKHERJEE

Fairs and fairy tales have always been enchanting to people irrespective of age and sex. The recent Indian Industries Fair held in Delhi was no exception. Originally scheduled to remain open from 29th October to 15th December, 1955, it had to be extended up to 1st January, 1956. Such was its popularity.

Hundreds and thousands of people from all ranks and walks of life—scientists, engineers, technicians, technologists, artisans and craftsmen, labourers, peasants, traders and businessmen, simple village folks, ladies sophisticated and rustic, wealthy mothers with attendants carrying the babies, mothers with comparatively smaller means carrying the babies themselves, not to mention the V.I.P.s, diplomats and other dignitaries, kept the place busy.

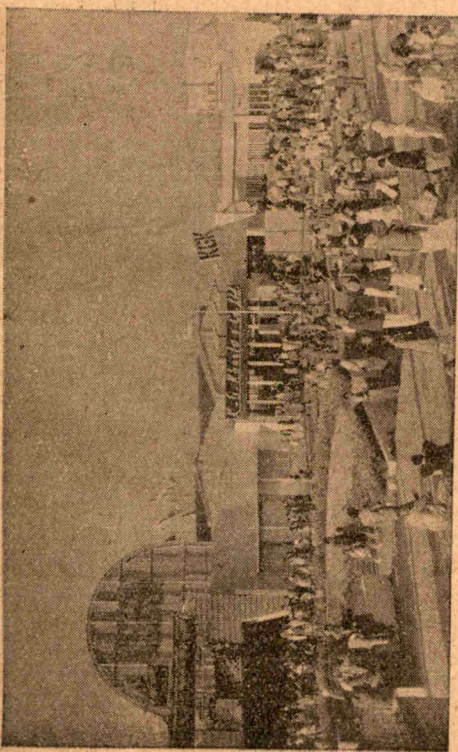
The different sorts of outlook with which these people went to see the fair are difficult to describe. In essence these can be summarised as inspecting, enquiring, wandering, frolicking, and passing time just for the sake of fun. Amongst these divergent views one thing must have crystallised to all Indians and that is the gap that exists between the world progress in science and in its application and that made in India. This naturally leads to an appreciation of the efforts that we have to make to line up with the world progress.

This was needed specially when we are on the verge of the Second Five-Year Plan, for the success

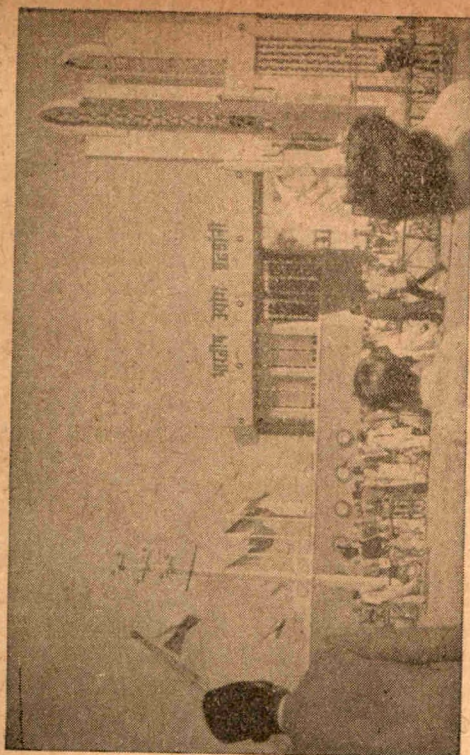
of which the common people have to be educated and strengthened for participation. They have also to be shown that industry and village life can exist side by side complementing each other. Under the existing system of social structure with special reference to economic development it was necessary to know the correct line of demarcation between the private and the public sector; they must co-operate with each other for an effective and all-round progress.

Twenty-one foreign countries, Austria, Belgium, Burma, China, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, France, Hungary, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Poland, Rumania, Russia, the United Kingdom, U.S.A., West Germany and Yugoslavia, took part in the fair. Goods exhibited ranged from cranes and machine-making machines to all types of daily necessities and luxuries. Barring war equipments one cannot mention an item which was not exhibited in the fair. Nevertheless, it would be of interest to mention some of the exhibits which attracted most visitors.

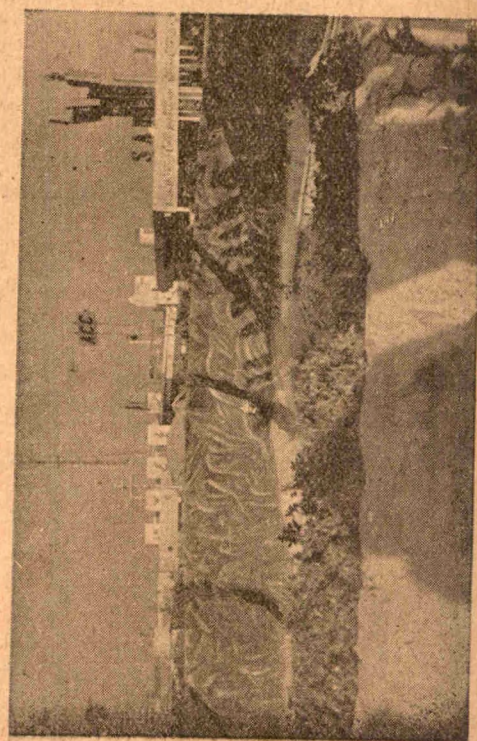
The Atom for Peace pavilion of the U.S.A., a streamlined building with a suggestive atomic-structure symbol on the roof, was quite impressive. Inside, in addition to other items of general interest, the magic hand placed in an airtight glass case fascinated all visitors. The pair of hands inside the case could be operated from outside. They can do almost everything that human hands can do.



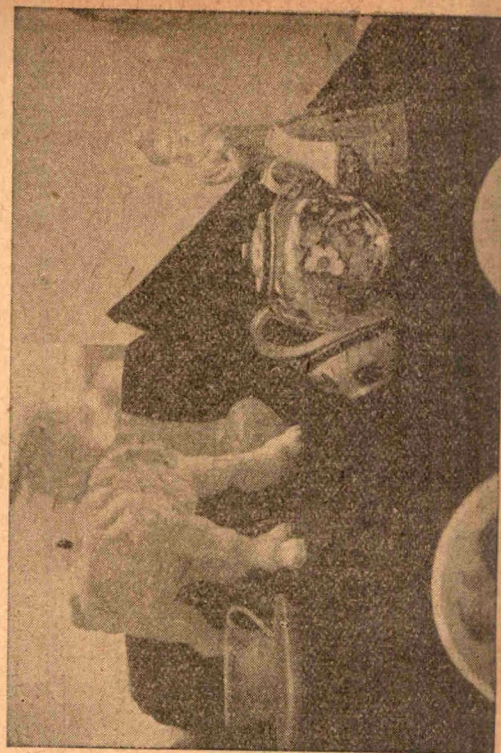
An inside view of the Fair



The streamlined Gato



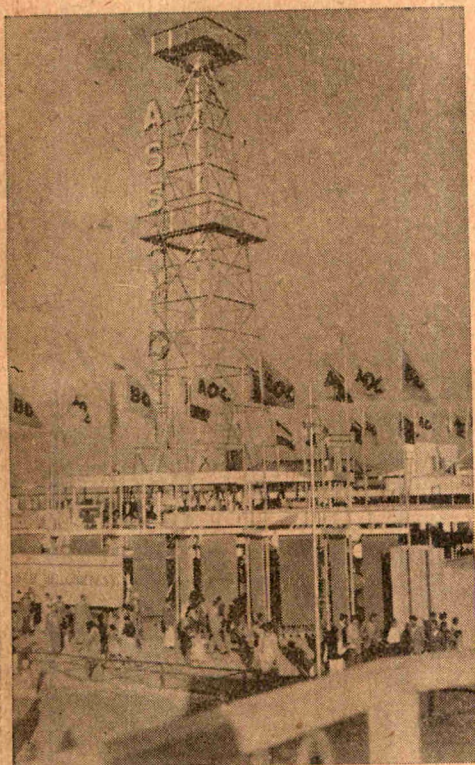
Yakra-Nangal project model



China-clay potteries and dolls

Television programmes provided by the Philips and the U.S.S.R. were very popular.

In one of the pavilions of the East European Democracies fancy goods and toys were so attractive that in the visitors' book kept there one could come across remarks like, "What a pity your goods are not for sale," "Still yours is the best show." I am sure most of the visitors would generally agree with such remarks.



The Assam Oil Co. Pavilion

In the main entrance to the Russian pavilion the white clay model of Lenin was really remarkable. On the walls you could see life-size enlargements of photographs of Shri Nehru and Russian leaders shaking hands, indicating Indo-Russian friendship and co-operation. In the general layout the aesthetic stress on the items exhibited could be noticed throughout. Agricultural products kept either open or in beautiful glass jars fascinated many. China clay potteries and dolls compared favourably with those brought from the land of China.

The Chinese pavilion was built in the typical Chinese fashion in size as well as in construction well illustrating the tremendous efforts towards progress made by that great people. Many of the articles exhibited, specially the electrical instruments, did not, of course, represent an 'A' class finish, but one could not miss the sincerity of purpose and unstinted effort

behind these articles and the firm resolve and desire to make a beginning for self-sufficiency. In the entrance to the main hall was placed a gigantic white clay model of Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic.

The East German pavilion brought in visitors curious to see the Glass Man depicting the human system hidden underneath the skin. The high class precision instruments exhibited do not require any special mention as they are already famous in this respect.

The Indian pavilion occupying the largest area of the Fair provided a lot of varieties, though not always indicating high industrial progress. Various moods of Indian life and activities, and the general lay-out of the Second Five-Year Plan and what it can achieve have been well-illustrated by charts and figures. Of the various river-valley projects, the model of the recently started Bhakra-Nangal project was very impressive.

The still model of a Dehati on Cycle on the top of the Star of India pavilion and the paddling model of an youth inside the Hind pavilion would startle any visitor. Both these models came near to reality. Assam Oil Company very successfully explained the various aspects of their activities starting from drilling to refinery. A walk through the rooms of the Imperial Tobacco Company would give you interesting historical details of smoking and show you the making and packing of cigarettes in an automatic machine.

Although the Fair covered as big an area as 73 acres of land, yet the general outward display was artistic throughout. Just in front of the streamlined entrance gate the sculpture of a couple stepping out in unison to greet visitors indicated the cordiality of India. Then there were the murals and relief-works depicting the agricultural and industrial life of India. The attractive lighting at night and the constantly changing colours of the fountains would almost place you in a dreamland.

All these would have been of no avail had there been no arrangements for refreshment and recreation. Justification for such a remark cannot be understood unless it is known that to pass through all the Pavilions of the Fair one would have to walk about twelve miles. On this long-winded path you would have to see hundreds of thousands of articles exhibited. To relieve you in your long walk there were restaurants, cafeterias and tea and coffee stalls arranged by the Indian Tea and Coffee Expansion Boards. There were boats for your joy-ride and amusement park with Giant Wheels and other attractions for children as well as their parents.

The Fair was a big thing covering a space of 73 acres requiring some three crores of rupees to man the show in which some nine hundred participants,

Indian and foreign, brought in goods to show. In spite of all these I think it would not be out of place to mention certain things which probably could have been avoided with a little care. Although in holidays and crowded moments, persons attending the various stalls could have no chance of explaining things to visitors, yet whenever a question was put it should have been correctly answered. But unfortunately this procedure was not followed in all instances.

Somebody has called the Fair a buyers' lounge and those who went to see it during the last few days would agree to this remark. In the majority of cases the machines and industrial products were affixed with

cards with the word 'sold.' It is said that East Germany alone secured orders worth two crores of rupees.

Had you happened to walk out of the Fair about the closing time and wanted a taxi or a tonga it would have been almost asking for the moon. If, by necessity, you had to catch an outgoing train that night, then you would have been ashamed to see the frantic efforts made by your host to catch a taxi or a tonga. You would then be forced to hire one at an exorbitant rate. As it rushed to destination, you would look back to have a last glimpse of the beautifully illuminated dreamland of the Fair.

Photographs by P. C. Mukherjee.

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ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS, CALCUTTA

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE 20th Annual Exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts was opened by the Governor at the Indian Museum on the 16th December, 1955, in the presence of a large number of distinguished guests, the Maharaja and Maharani of Nepal, and all the top-ranking artists, art-connoisseurs and critics. The Governor's speech was an inspiring address, dilating on the high status of artists in society and also making a passionate appeal to the citizens of Calcutta to patronize art and artists. It remains to be seen what response to this appeal will be made by our good citizens, who, as a rule, extend their patronage more to music and literature than to the productions of visual arts. Ever since Abanindra Nath Tagore began his new movement in Indian Art in this city, continued attempts have been made to awaken the art-consciousness of our citizens and to induce them to encourage and patronize artists, but it is notorious that notwithstanding incessant exhibitions of paintings and other works of Art, held throughout the year at the hospitable halls at No. 1 Chowringhee, at the Artistry House, at the Indian Museum, and, at other places, there has not developed any great demand for Art and there have been more exhibitions than buyers of pictures. Indeed, it is notorious that the number of unemployed amongst artists is growing every year, while their counterparts in the field of music are basking in the sunshine of prosperity, thanks to the succession of Music Conferences and the crowded programmes for music on the Radio. Even our great literary luminaries love to boycott our picture exhibitions, where they are seen very rarely with the result that art and literature live in water-tight compartments—and the literature of Art has not yet taken its birth in India, for our cultured gentry have not yet acquired a trained eye to look at pictures, much less power to understand and critically appraise

them. The Visva-Bharati and our Calcutta University have tried, in a feeble way, to arouse the interest of students in the visual arts, but the majority of our



At pond
By Gopal Ghose

scholars, our Bachelors and Masters of Art, file out of the portals of our University, every year, in formi-

dable battalions without any nodding acquaintance with our masterpieces of painting and sculpture, whether of the old schools or the new. So that the products of our Universities, our future citizens, never qualify for performing the duties of good citizenship by setting up public galleries of Art or by helping artists to live and contribute to the spiritual hunger for beauty and fulfil the demands of the higher aspirations of life. It has not yet been realized that Art has a dynamic role to play in building up a truly socialistic pattern of life, of which we frequently hear



Day's catch
By Rathin Maitra

so much, as hackneyed slogans on the lips of Communists as well as Congressmen. The above reflections are provoked by the rich array of paintings and sculptures assembled in the current exhibition of the Academy of Art. They have come from all parts of the Indian Union, Madras, Bombay, Delhi, Mysore, Nagpur, Darjeeling, Dehra Dun, Nasik, Poona and Santiniketan. Such a variety of exhibits offer convenient evidences, on which one can judge the prevailing trends and tendencies in Indian contemporary art. They at once prove to any casual observer that most of our practising artists are suffering from a debilitating fever of imitating the language of the

various "Isms" of the Modernistic art of Europe. Even artists, formerly treading on the sober path of Realism and Vision, such as Kanwal Krishna, Devayani Krishna, and Makhan Datta Gupta, have begun to worship at the shrine of Cubism, and Abstractionism, shamelessly ignoring the brilliant history of Indian painting, covering a period of five thousand years. The painter of beautiful Himalayan landscapes is attempting in vain in his *Shakti* (206) to interpret in the name of progress the solemn symbols of *Vajra-yana* mysticism in the 'vulgar' language of European jargon, disdaining the lessons of the Nepalese and Tibetan masterpieces. Yet the brilliant canvases contributed by Pannikar (178, 185, 189, 194, 197, 211), Makhan Datta Gupta, Rathin Maitra and others in their emphatic and impassioned compositions and vigorous brush works, lift their heads far above the mediocre levels of the exhibits in oil in the Academic manner. But the two unassuming little canvases of Jagadish Roy: *At the Door* (174), and *Grey and Green* (267) hold their own in their sober, restrained treatment of homely themes, extracting tons of beauty in the much-maligned Academic manner. We are still expecting our Indian Constables and Turners to set down in the sober language of Oil the permanent records of beauty, which our depopulated Bengal villages are still nursing in their abundance. One would not repudiate them even if they are interpreted in the brilliant colours and vehement brush works of Van Gogh illustrated in his landscapes of the French "Provence" or in the dreamy Pointillism of Seurat. Whatever may be the techniques used, they must represent Bengal, her cottages, her paddy fields, and her river scenes. There are a few Bengal landscapes in the Oil section (233, 237, 250, 262, 269) and a few very picturesque forest scenes of Assam by S. Basu Roy Chowdhury (25, 37, 41, 44, 47, 136), but they do not attain the honour of a permanent place in our National Gallery. Special prizes should inspire our talented Constables to set down in permanent records the beauty of rural Bengal. In the domain of Portraiture, we have several talented artists in Bengal as well as in Bombay and other centres, but our best talents are not receiving commissions to paint worthy portraits of our leaders in politics, literature, and science, to fill our national Valhala. The poverty of portraits in the show is really tragic. The pretentious though vigorous brush work of A. P. Santaraj's *Portrait of an Old Man* (198) easily outstrips the sober if somewhat tame canvas of Sri Kisory Roy's *Mother's Portrait* (224) and the accomplished and restrained beauty of G. Banerjee's *Portrait of a Friend* (273). But they do not represent the height which many of our portraitists are able to cover under intelligent official patronage and a really national call. The mere display of skilful brush work in the puerile portrait of Rabindranath Tagore (287)

does not enhance the reputation of modern portrait-painting in India. This will be evident if one refers to the brilliant study of our national Poet painted by a modern Japanese master, reproduced in colour in



Grey and green
By Jagadish Roy

an album, widely circulated in this city and cited in a small block in the current Number of *Desh* (10 December, 1955, p. 434). There is no justification whatsoever for placing on the wall a large canvas by the same artist, entitled *Lest We Forget*, a slipshod work with no drawing, no colour, or sense of composition. As pointed out by another critic, many items in the water-colour section have been accepted by the Hanging Committee, which should have been omitted if only to raise the general level of the show. We have no critically trained public to judge and appraise independently the merits of works of art correctly and dispassionately, and the inclusion of mediocre works only help to confuse honest picture-goers, beginning to understand what to admire and what to depreciate in current productions of Art.

As usual the Academy has appropriately assigned a special room to pictures in Indian style. But this has unfortunately emphasized the general low level of this section, this year, which the Academy has attempted courageously to redeem, by way of ballasts, by citing three examples from the brush of Dr. Nanda Lal Bose, which seem to rebuke the weak and futile conceptions of the majority of the "Indian" pictures. Yet brilliant pieces rear their heads above this slough of despondence: (1) *The Bee* (334) in which A. Almelkar has creditably presented Rajput traditions in a new and developed form with convincing decorative

qualities, (2) *Balcony* (336), in which A. Chowdhury gives a convincing interpretation of Indian style in a new, original, and progressive technique of astonishing merit, (3) A brilliant study of *Palasa* (349) in the Japanese manner by Indra Dugar and (4) *Damru Dalani* (316), in which Dipen Bose has put new life into the conventions of Ikon-painting in Bengal. His work, recently exhibited in a one-man show, have raised high hopes for the languages of indigenous Indian painting, which he is assiduously pursuing, demonstrating, incidentally, that "Indianism" is, after all, the best form of "Isms," suitable to the genius of Indian artists. In this connection a happy surprise is provided by Sri Samar Gupta (one of the famous stalwarts of the Tagore School), who exhibits three pieces of Oil, never encouraged by devotees of "Indianism," and he demonstrates that the Indianists can equally handle the medium with conspicuous success, as in his *Basket Weaver* (236), *Captive* (278) and his vibrating study of *Yacca Gloriosa* (308).

Some "problem" pictures are contributed by Anil Bhattacharyya: "No. 1" (222), a cryptic *Cup of Poison* and No. 2, and No. 3 (259, 307), which though revealing careful craftsmanship, are marred by the unfair use of "spraying."



The bee

By A. A. Almelkar

The water-colour section has very few high lights to attract attention. The only pieces worth mentioning are: *Lane in Khatmandu* (64) by Ganesh Haloi, Anil Paul's happy study of *Nakhoda Mosque* (142) and Ramen Dutt's *Station Under Mist* (46). The black and white section is equally disappointing and enveloped in gloom, which is redeemed by D. Mitra's able study in brush, *Drawing* (98) and Adinath Mukherjee's *The Cranes* (105) which skilfully extracts poetry out of a sordid, prosaic subject-matter.

The sculpture section is very rich in numerous successful pieces, in a diverse variety of techniques, ranging from the Academic to the Abstract. It is easy to admire the sentimental treatment of a pair of goats, *Greedily* (36) for their grass. But there is a stately solemnity in the moving piece of architectural sculpture: *We Open the Gate* (35) contributed by Kumar Robin Roy, deserving high praise. This could be fittingly utilized by our city-fathers to decorate any of our city-roads. In this kind of decorations there is plenty of scope for Municipal patronage to provide employments for many of our talented sculptors, eager

to render their services to transform our city of squalor into a city of beauty. The kind attention of the Mayor and the ex-Mayor of Calcutta may be drawn to this serious demand for contribution to citizenship.

The Exhibition offers many valuable lessons, for what to admire in contemporary Art, what to buy to fill the walls of our National Gallery yet to materialize, and how to utilize our living artistic talents to enrich and glorify the hard-earned Independence of the Indian Union.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"China and Asian Stability"

Permit me to point out a few inaccuracies in the article "China and Asian Stability" by Dr. Kalidas Nag in *The Modern Review* for December, 1955.

(1) The author writes on p. 445: "After a second revolution on July, 1913 Yuan Shih-kai was elected President." But Yuan had been President since an earlier period in the sense as Dr. Sun Yet-sen was President. With Dr. Sun's resignation Yuan acceded to the presidency of the Republic of China on March 10, 1912. The "Second Revolution," so called, was an abortive effort of the southern provincial lords to oust Yuan from the presidency. After the failure of that attempt Yuan, through murder and intrigue, obtained his own election as the regular President for ten years from October, 1913.

(2) The statement about thirty years' Communist war against Chiang is hardly borne out by history.

(3) Bandung Conference was held in April, 1955, and not in July, 1955, as stated on page 446.

(4) Chou En-lai did not "finally emerge Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic" (p. 446) but rather as the Premier of the State Council under the 1954 Constitution.

(5) Mme. Sun Yat-sen (Soong Ching-ling) is not "also Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic." No doubt she had been so in the beginning. But after the promulgation of the new constitution in September, 1954, she has been one of the Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China.

(6) China again is not "a sub-continent of 32 provinces and 12 municipalities" (p. 447). At least in the recent past she had not been so divided administratively. Until June, 1954, China (except Taiwan) was administratively divided into 28 provinces grouped into six Greater Administrative Areas and fourteen centrally administered municipalities. After the re-organization of June, 1954, China (except Taiwan) is now divided into 25 administrative provinces, two national autonomous regions and three centrally administered municipalities.

[See Liao Kai-lung—*From Yen-an to Peking*, pp. 146-150; Chou En-lai—*Report on the Work of Government*, delivered before the first session of the National People's Congress of P. R. of China in September, 1954, p. 33; Shie I-Yuan—"Changes in China's Administrative Divisions" in *People's China*, May 16, 1955, pp. 28-30.]

(7) The characterization of the ten years 1939-1949 as the period of the liquidation of the Kuomintang was neither in accord with the facts nor with the accepted history. The period 1937-1945 was marked by Kuomintang-Kungchintang alliance against Japan. Even the Chinese Communists do not regard 1939-1949 as a period of struggle against KMT. During the period of the anti-Japanese National United Front the most notable incident straining the KMT-Kungchintang relations was the New Fourth Army Incident in 1941. But the controversy was not pressed by either side. Therefore, the reference to 1939-1949 as the period of the liquidation of the KMT was not clear.

(8) The omission of any reference to the adoption of the new Constitution in 1954 made the history of the period incomplete in an important respect.

SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKAR

"Capital Formation in India"

I have read with great interest the article on "Capital Formation" by Miss Bela Bose in your journal of January, 1956. Before discussing the question it would be better to put compendiously Miss Bose's views on the subject. She states that

(1) In an underdeveloped country, like that of India, capital formation being a function of savings, is very low, as the latter itself is very low, being the result of the low real income which itself is due to the low productivity, thus constituting a vicious circle.

(2) The problem of capital formation is thus a problem of increasing the income of the majority.

(3) The passive role that is played by the various Banking institutions and the Bank Rate and the Open Market Operations in increasing Savings and Investment is discussed.

(4) She favours nationalisation of industries, provided, of course, they are profitable!

(5) Lastly, a surplus budget is favoured and high taxation is rejected on the Colin Clarkian principles.

It seems from the outset that Miss Bose is quite partial to the classicals. The problem of capital formation is not a function of savings but of creating something new which does not exist, say up to the mark. "It is a problem of curtailing consumption and diverting the existing factors of production from producing consumers goods to producers goods." This is true only in case of highly developed countries and the question of restricting consumption for capital goods in an under-developed country does not arise as an under-developed country has many idle resources which are not all exploited. The idea that the economic development conditioned as it is by growth in the stock of social capital is essentially limited by what may be termed as the 'savings fund' is out-dated and wrong.

"In recent years there has been a growing inclination among economists to regard such a pre-existing 'Savings Fund' as a myth; and in general terms the argument that a country's potentiality for investment is not limited by any such factor is now sufficiently familiar. This general argument amounts to the contention that the margin between income and consumption may be enlarged by augmenting income as well as by lowering consumption and that the carrying out of plans of capital construction will augment income from the moment of their inception. While the margin between income and consumption will thereby be widened, this can occur without any absolute fall in the consumption

either of the community as a whole or of any individuals in it. This latter conclusion depends on the assumption that the economic system contains elements of reserve productive capacity, and *this is true of an under-developed country,** which can be mobilised for constructional work without competing with the production of consumption goods. Subsequently as the capital equipment under construction comes into operation it will have the positive effect of facilitating consumption: new sources of power or new technical equipment will raise the productivity of labour already engaged in the production of consumers' goods."†

Even accepting the contention that the problems of the war and planned economies stand on the same footing with regard to the developed and under-developed countries and a sufficient gap must be created between income and expenditure so as to have capital formation there is no limit how much the consumption can be curtailed provided, of course, the wage rates are increased. That would lead indirectly to deficit financing. Deficit financing would no doubt lead to a rise in prices which would stimulate further production not only in consumption goods but in capital goods as well. If the increase in consumption goods is greater than the capital goods, so far the better, for an under-developed country needs badly an export surplus for the import of certain capital goods which cannot be produced in the home country itself.

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* *Italics mine.*

† Maurice Dobb: *Soviet Economic Development Since 1917*, p. 23.

WORK ON GANGA BRIDGE PROJECT IN FULL SWING

THE field work on the Rs. 16-crore Ganga Bridge Project at Mokameh is now in full swing. Over 12,000 men and women of all categories are working round the clock on the erection of the approach bank and the construction of a guide bund, both of which have to be finished before the next monsoon.

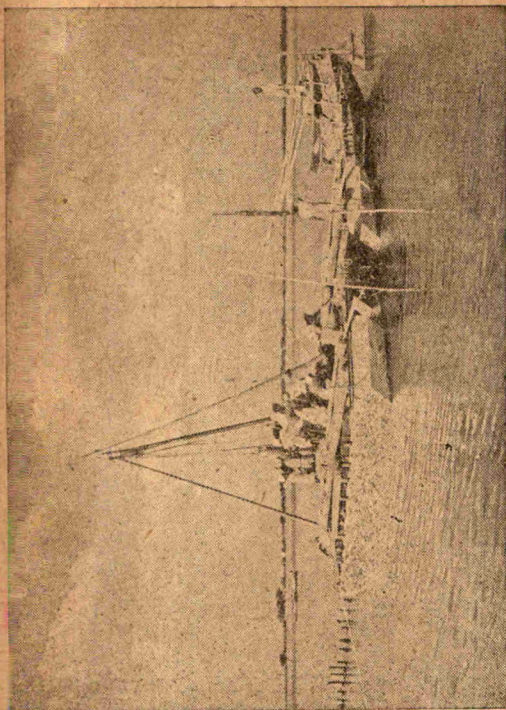
The approach bank will require 40 million cubic feet of earthwork and the guide bund 25 million pieces of pitching stone and 30 million cubic feet of earthwork. About 90,000 cubic feet of pitching stone, equivalent to a load of 500 ordinary metre-gauge wagons, is being carried daily across the river to the site of the guide bund by the Wagon Ferry. This represents a record performance for any single ghat working in the country.

About three miles upstream of the bridge site, the river Ganga flows into two channels, north and south. The north channel which carries 30 per cent of the river-discharge is being blocked by the approach bank to be protected by stone pitching leaving the south channel to be bridged across.

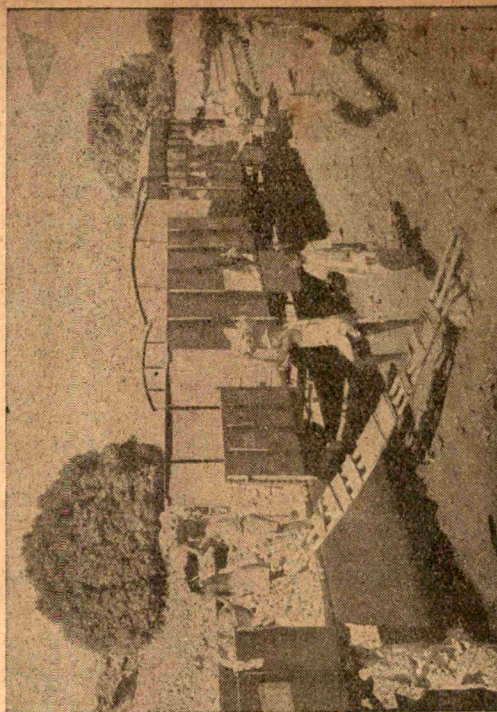
BRIDGE FOUNDATIONS WORK IN PROGRESS

The work of bridge foundations is also in progress, and well curbs for five piers out of the 15 have already been laid, and sinking and concreting started on two. The wells have to be sunk into the river-bed up to 165 to 175 feet below the winter water-level. The launching of caissons for the three wells which have to be laid in 20 to 30 feet deep water this season is also on this month's programme. The foundations will need 4 million cubic feet of concrete. The entire quantity is being manufactured by a crushing plant with a capacity of 100 tons per hour erected on the south bank of the river. The manufactured product—both coarse and fine—is loaded mechanically by an endless rubber conveyer belt into boats for taking across the river.

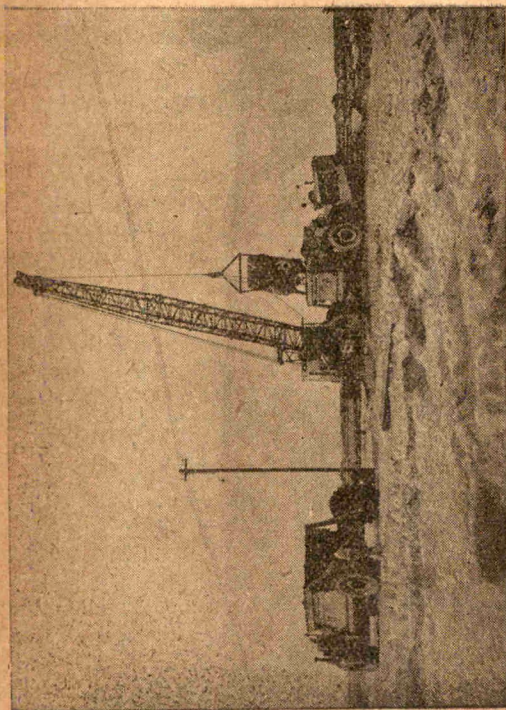
Temporary but suitable accommodation has been provided for the personnel close to the site so as to avoid inconvenience to the staff. Tube-well water supply has been arranged and canteen and medical facilities provided near the site of work.—*PIB*.



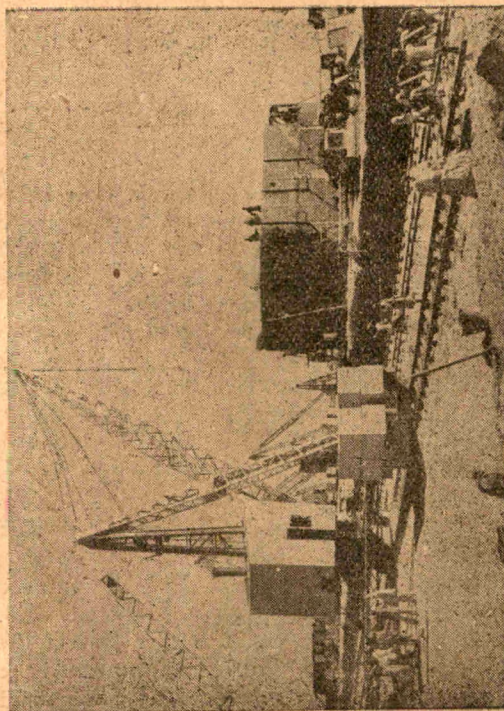
Bandalling being done in Ganga river to reduce flow in North Channel of the river, which has to be blocked



Loading stone for transport across river for Guide Bund of Ganga Bridge



Earthwork by dragline excavators and dumpers on the construction of Guide Bund of Ganga Bridge



Erection of a well curb weighing 140 tons for 400 ft. spans of Ganga Bridge

THE UNITED NATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

By DR. SUSHIL CHANDRA SINGH, M.A., Ph.D., D.LITT.,
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THE Universal Declaration of Human Rights is not a creation or a discovery. It is an evolution, a growth, the slow-bought gain of the ages. The Congress of Berlin, the Brussels Conference and the two Hague Peace Conferences were the earlier steps towards recognition of the human dignity. The ruthless suppression of the human personality during the two world wars brought into limelight the problem of safeguarding human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Allied statesmen realised the need of emphasizing the respect for human rights. President Franklin D. Roosevelt put forward his pleas for four freedoms—"freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want and fears everywhere in the world"—in a message to the Congress in 1941. Mr. (now Sir) Winston Churchill declared: "When this struggle ends with the enthronement of human rights, racial persecution will be ended." The Atlantic Charter, The United Nations declaration of 1943, and Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, 1944, gave expression to the aspirations of the common people for the protection of human rights. In 1940 a committee sponsored by London *Daily Herald* drew up a model International Bill of Rights. Individuals and organizations created public opinion for a world recognition of human rights. The result was that the United Nations Charter framed in June 1945 at the San-Francisco Conference contained no less than seven emphatic references to human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Charter laid down the foundations of a plan of human rights. The Commission of Human Rights was set up early in 1946. As a result of its efforts during 1947 and 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights gradually took shape. It was finally passed by the 3rd session of the General Assembly on 10th December, 1948. It was adopted without a single dissenting vote.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DECLARATION

As the declaration itself shows, it is "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations." It is a proclamation of historic importance and has been ranked with the Magna Carta of 1215, the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679, the Bill of Rights of 1689, the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in 1789. It is a landmark in the struggle for human rights and freedoms. As Carlos P. Romulo, President of the fourth session of the General Assembly, said, it is "the most comprehensive document, the first in history to define from a truly universal standpoint the basic rights and fundamental freedoms to which all men everywhere are entitled." Mr. Trygve-Lie thinks that the Declaration "is destined to become one of the great documents of history." Herbert Evatt of

Australia believed that millions of people all over the world will receive inspiration from this document. Charles Malik of Lebanon regards it as "a document of the first order of importance." Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt regards it as "the international Magna Carta of all men everywhere." Prime Minister Jawahar Nehru hopes that the Declaration will give impetus to certain positive values in life which we must respect and hold on to, if life is to be made worth living."

There are certain chief features of the Declaration. It represents the highest aspirations of the common people—the aroused conscience of mankind. It defines rights without any discrimination whatsoever. It has a universal application. It is meant for all people of all countries. For the first time a large majority of the nations of the world have accepted in theory at least the principle of the recognition of human rights. The list of rights mentioned in the declaration is a very comprehensive one. All types of rights, social, domestic, political and economic have been mentioned. A survey of all these rights brings before us the fact whether it is at all practicable to confer all these rights on citizens. It seems as if the duties are submerged in the ocean of rights.

THE IMPACT OF THE DECLARATION

Already the declaration has been published in 30 languages of the world. The General Assembly has passed a resolution urging the various U.N. bodies to popularise the contents of the declaration. The U.N.E.S.C.O. has taken a leading share in publicising the declaration. It has prepared pamphlets, transcripts, films, posters, special articles and exhibit materials throwing light on the various aspects of the declaration. Dr. Torres Bodet, U.N.E.S.C.O.'s Director-General, took initiative in launching the idea of the national and international observance of the anniversary of the declaration. As a result of its efforts, Human Rights Day has been solemnized the world over. Various international organizations representing trade unions, women, businessmen, Christian associations, Churches, Jewish organizations, Catholic missions and various other persons and institutions have taken steps to emphasize the principles of the declaration. The World Federation of U.N. Associations seems to have dedicated itself to do this work.

The human rights programme of U.N. includes a wide variety of activities concerning freedom of information, status of women, discrimination, protection of minorities, abolition of slavery and forced labour, etc. Already various commissions and committees of U.N. are tackling problems concerning human rights.

The General Assembly has taken keen interest in finding solutions to problems concerning human rights. It has discussed several times the treatment of the people of Indian origin in South Africa. The General Assembly recommended to the Soviet Union to withdraw the measures which prevent the Russian wives of citizens of other nationalities from leaving their country with their husbands. During its fourth session it took action on the question of discrimination practised by certain States against immigrating labour. It recommended the inclusion of certain rights and freedoms in the Eritrean Constitution. It applied the declaration to non-self-governing territories. The Social and Economic Council has taken various decisions based on the declaration. It has urged equal pay for equal work. The Trusteeship Council has cited the declaration in its various decisions. The specialized agencies like the I.L.O. are playing their part in implementing the declaration. In various international agreements, such as, Netherlands-Indonesian Union, Somaliland agreement, the European Convention for the protection of human rights, Japanese peace treaty, etc., show an impress of the declaration. Various national constitutions show its impact. The Indonesian constitution is the first case in which the human rights have been based almost entirely upon the declaration. The constitutions of Costa Rica, Syria, El Salvador, Haiti have been effected by it. Laws have been passed in France, Canada and Germany embodying some provisions of the declaration. Even the International Court of Justice has taken note of it. In the dispute between Colombia and Peru involving the right of asylum of Mr. Victor Haya de la Torre, Judge Jose Azevedo in a dissenting opinion cited the declaration. The various U.E. Courts have done the same.

EFFORTS TOWARDS IMPLEMENTATION

The Human Rights Commission has taken up the task of drafting the Covenant on human rights which would constitute a treaty binding on the various states and prescribe measures by which they could be implemented. In the beginning the idea was to draft a single Covenant, as desired by the Assembly. The Human Rights Commission, therefore, drafted a single Covenant and submitted it to the Economic and Social Council in 1950. In 1951, however, the General Assembly asked the Commission to prepare two separate Covenants. By the middle of 1954, the Commission had practically done its work. It sent the two Covenants to the Assembly. The matter came up before the Assembly in December, 1954, when it gave for the first time a first reading to the Covenants and decided to consider them article by article at the next session.

The two Covenants have a common preamble with much of its language derived from the preamble of the Declaration. Attempt has been made to show that human rights belong to the nature of man. They are not the creation of an external authority. All people and nations have been given the right to self-determination. States which agree to the Covenants must consent

to promote the realisation of the right in all their territories. One draft Covenant deals with economic, social and cultural rights and the other draft Covenant deals with civil and political rights. The draft Covenant on economic, social and cultural rights contains several regulating provisions on non-discrimination, on general limitations on the exercise of these rights and on the retention of existing rights. Progressively legislation has to be introduced to implement the provisions of the Covenant. A reporting system has been suggested. The draft Covenant on civil and political rights ensures to all individuals within the territory of a state the rights in the Covenant without discrimination. Each state agrees to take the necessary steps to adopt such legislative or other measures as are needed to implement the provisions of the Covenant. Judicial remedy for the violation of these rights has been ensured. A Human Rights Committee is suggested. It will implement the rights in the civil and political Covenant. The Committee will consist of 9 members to be elected by the International Court of Justice. It would hear and mediate disputes between states over alleged violations of the rights given in the Covenant. A reporting system has been suggested here as well. The two Covenants are fairly exhaustive. They deal with nearly every aspect of the individual's life in society. If fully implemented they will go a long way in ushering in a new era of peace and understanding.

LACK OF UNDERSTANDING

The declaration is good so far as it goes. But it is not enough. Something more is needed. What we want is its implementation. Already we have mentioned the steps taken towards that end. We believe that the declaration is greater than the United Nations. If all its contents are accepted in right earnest there is no necessity of the U.N. or rather the work of the U.N. is immensely facilitated. That is what we aim at when we talk of the U.N. and its activities. As Lord Acton declared about the French declaration of the Rights of Man that it was greater than all the armies of Napoleon, similarly we may assert that if all nations are true to the declaration, it can surpass all the resolutions passed in international conferences so far and even all the armies recruited by the U.N. to combat aggression. But if wishes were horses, beggars would ride on them. There is a real lack of understanding among nations. Today they accept one thing, tomorrow they violate. We have seen how the Hague decisions, Locarno Pacts, Pact of Paris, London and Washington decisions have been thrown to the winds. Today we know how Indians are being treated in the South African Union. They have no political rights worth the name. They are being treated like helots in different parts of South Africa. It is a clear challenge to the whole United Nations Organisation and in spite of its best efforts nothing has materialised so far. The people of South-West Africa have been tagged against their will to the White dominion of South Africa and they do not

enjoy any right at all. This treatment to a dependant people is being meted out by South Africa, a so-called civilised country and member of U.N. and day in and day out supported by the white nations of the British Commonwealth. The French Government which claims to base her policies on the declaration is not following it when it is a question of her colonies. We know how political opposition is being suppressed in Morocco, Africa and elsewhere. The British Government which claims to base its policies on self-government is adopting very slow steps towards political emancipation of her colonies. She is adopting a halting attitude in her colonies. We are already familiar with the Sereste Kham'a case when the Labour Government refused to recognise a tribal chief because he had committed the so-called sin of marrying a white girl, Ruth Williams. This was the action of the Labour Government of Mr. Attlee and this was done to humour Dr. Malan. Already there are rumours going on that the British protectorates of Swaziland and Bechuanaland may be handed over to the South African Union. The British Government has created a Central African Federation only because they want that that region of Africa be dominated by the Whites of Southern Rhodesia. The U.S.A. has been the 'Arsenal of Democracy' and Roosevelt was the American

President who enunciated the four fundamental freedoms. Every time the U.S.A. stands for human dignity and political integrity. Wilson played a leading part in the evolution of the League of Nations and the mandates system. The American policy in Philippines, in her overseas territories and in her Trust Territory is worth emulation and worth admiration but what is happening to the Negroes within her borders is a matter of constant blame to the successors of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. The recent Dulles-Cunha statement on Goa has shocked enlightened world opinion. It seems as if the traditional policy of anti-colonialism is being reversed. The U.S.A. is indirectly supporting the cause of western imperialism. Nearer home, the communist governments of China, Russia and eastern European countries have played with the rights of the people who are living in a region of Iron Curtain, regimentation and totalitarianism. All this is happening at a time when we have already on the Statute Book of the United Nations a declaration known as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We should pray to God and create necessary public opinion, world-wide in scope, so that the declaration may not be a farce but may be "a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations" as it is supposed to be.

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A FLOOD AND ITS CONTROL

By SURATH NATH SARKAR, M.Sc.,

River Research Institute, West Bengal

THE devastating effects of floods are too well-known to be described but the gravity of the problem is generally not fully realised and often soon forgotten. It is only after repeated and severe losses from disastrous floods that people are aroused to adopt measures for protection from them.

Floods at any point on a stream are caused by the water reaching there from above in larger quantities than the stream can carry at its bankful stage. When the capacity of a channel at any place is inadequate to carry off this abnormal quantity of water it will cause the river to overflow its banks and inundate surrounding low-lying areas. Frequently, an arbitrary elevation in many important rivers is marked as the so called 'danger level' to specify the flood stage. Floods undoubtedly follow certain natural laws which have more or less been known, but they generally involve much complexity. To forecast the flood conditions is thus a difficult problem, but it is on the correct forecast that the success and adequacy of the protective measures adopted largely depend.

It is to be noted in this connection that the need for flood-control arises mainly from man's attempt to make use of the flood plains of streams. The encroachment of river channels and flood plains due to growth of cities and industrial concerns, railways, highways and bridges has restricted the natural flow of rivers and thereby caused water to flow at a higher stage so as to overflow the banks. Flood problems have thus aggravated now-a-days much more than they were before. True it is that floods will occur for all time to come and they cannot be prevented completely for ever, but they can certainly be controlled by regulating the flow of natural channels.

Before dealing with flood-control measures, it will probably be not out of place to discuss briefly the various factors which contribute towards floods. The two main factors affecting the magnitude of a flood are: (i) Excessive rainfall and (ii) size and characteristics of the watershed.

EXCESSIVE RAINFALL

This is the principal cause of all floods throughout

the world except possibly in the polar region. But adjacent to oceans floods may be caused by unusually high tides due to wind and storms. Besides, flood stage may sometimes be augmented due to debris carried away from the watershed. Generally speaking, an intense precipitation over a small watershed or heavy precipitation for a number of days over a large watershed or warm spring rains over accumulated snows are the causes of serious floods. The intensity, duration, and distribution of rainfall all are important factors. The amount of precipitation required to cause flood again depends on topography, size and shape of the basin. When a large deposit of snow over a watershed starts melting during spring as a result of continued high temperature and if this is accompanied by heavy rain a flood is to be apprehended.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WATERSHED

The surface slope of the catchment area is an important factor. The steeper the slope, the more rapidly water will flow and the shorter will be the period of concentration. If the ground surface is loose and dry, the run-off may be considerably reduced and flood may not occur. Since the infiltration capacity depends on the nature and vegetative cover of the soil, they also play some part on the magnitude of flood. The distribution of channels is also to be considered in this connection.

Let us now come back to the problem of flood-control. In developing flood-control measures, it is highly important to estimate the probable magnitude of future floods on which the success of a project will largely depend. For this purpose, the rainfall data, the size, shape and other physical characteristics of the watershed require to be carefully studied. A detailed record on the magnitude and frequencies of major floods for a catchment over a long period is extremely useful for the design of flood-control works. Systematic discharge records of a stream for a number of years is of great importance for this purpose. The discharge measurement aims at obtaining data showing relation between discharge and stage of a stream. The discharge figure is obtained from measurement of the cross-sectional area of a stream and the mean velocity of the flowing water. But unfortunately no systematic record for a long period exists on any river. Although long-stage records have been kept in some countries they have served little purpose because of incompleteness of data. It is often found that records of rare floods do not exist so that recourse must be made for estimating probable floods based on rainfall data. The consideration of rainfall is thus an important adjunct in flood-control studies.

The measures for flood-control may broadly be divided into two classes. The first comprises provision of adequate channels that will hasten the flow of flood water from the watershed. While the second comprises use of those which retard the flow by storage, damp down the peak intensity of flood and regulate the flow to such

extent as the channel can safely carry. While the former may be accomplished by channel improvement, the latter is done by means of reservoirs. Improvement of a channel for flood-control is usually made by (i) straightening and deepening it or (ii) by providing by-pass to direct a part of the flow down the channel away from the river or (iii) by construction of levees to prevent or reduce overbank flooding. Recently a suggestion has gained ground that by controlling the vegetation of a drainage basin and adopting improved agricultural practices, flood flows may be diminished. But the efficacy of it has not yet been fully demonstrated.

The improvement of existing channels increases their carrying capacity whereby the flood water will move faster. The duration as well as the height of flood will be diminished as a result. This can again be achieved in two ways, namely, (i) by increasing the cross-section of a stream and (ii) by enhancing the rate of flow of water. The first one is only practicable for a small and shallow stream having a small watershed. The channel can be dredged to some depth and widened if necessary, which is neither practicable nor economically feasible for a large river. The hydraulic properties of stream as well as its sediment characteristics will determine the method of control and its effect. The velocity or the rate of flow of water can be increased by reducing the roughness of the river bed, increasing the hydraulic radius or the slope of the water surface. This is also possible only for small streams where the removal of weeds and other obstacles may be easily done to reduce the roughness of the bed. The river bends which also form obstacles to flow may be eliminated by short cut-offs. The hydraulic radius may be increased either by deepening or widening the channel, the former being more effective than the latter. It is generally better to raise the banks by levees than lowering the bed by dredging operation. Slope can be altered by straightening a stream by means of cut-offs. But this action may be justifiable only after careful examination of the nature, size and width of the flood plain of a stream. It is only in small streams or streams whose beds and banks do not easily erode, the cut-off channel is made as wide as the natural channel. On a large alluvial stream, usually a narrow channel is dredged down to its low water level. When water flows through it during the rising stage, the channel gets enlarged gradually by nature. Shortening of a large stream having wide flood plains is usually no effective remedy. Because the volume of flood water may be so large that the increased discharge due to cut-offs will not be enough to prevent overflowing the banks. Construction of levees away from the banks is a common practice in such cases. Levees for confinement of overbank flow produce two effects, namely they reduce cross sectional area for high stages resulting in active scouring, and the reduction in channel width causes a tendency for the river to increase its slope. Cut-offs may disturb the regimen of a stream for many miles

above and below and the stretch of increased velocity may be subjected to severe erosion. The cost of such operation may also be very high. Alluvial streams sometimes present peculiar problems. They generally do not possess stable banks or bed. They wander back and forth across their flood plains. The river bends of such streams deflect current whereupon the concave banks are eroded and materials thus scoured get deposited away on the other side. Such a stream rectified by cut-offs may get crooked again as before. But large streams may, however, be improved by cut-offs, if the banks above and below the stretch are rivetted against possible erosion controlled by diking and dredged above to adjust the bed slope and deposits that may be formed below are removed. The effect of tributary flows *i.e.*, the size and location of tributary streams and the time required for their flood water to reach the main valley should also be considered for channel improvement purpose. The shortening of a channel by cut-offs will decrease the channel distance and flood water from both may be concentrated simultaneously to cause a maximum stage in the lower stream the effect of which will be disastrous.

Bypasses are sometimes adopted for local control of flood. This is done by diverting a portion of flow through another channel, and thus relieving the present channel of part of its burden. The chief effects of bypasses on the flow in the main stream are steepening of slope above the point at which the channel leaves it and the local flattening of slope and reduction of discharge below. Carving of banks often reduces the carrying capacity of channels by forming sandbars downstream. Such banks are protected by structures of pile-dikes, tree-retards or rivetment. Clusters of piles are driven to river bed, braced and lashed together in the pile-like method. This retards water and causes deposit on the downstream. Tree-retards consist of a number of trees bound together into a raft which is anchored along the bank to be protected to concrete piles that are sunk into the bed. These rafts form permeable dikes which retard water flowing through them.

Levees are small earth-structures placed away from the banks to serve as artificial channels during flood periods and protect the low lands from being overflowed. Levees as measures for flood control have been widely used from olden times. But the design of a levee for a particular flood discharge, its spacing and height, alignment and grade, etc., are not an easy job. Measures are to be adopted for protection from seepage, erosion by current or wave action. Generally, concrete lining, sheet piling along the toe of the slope and some sort of grass cover are used for this purpose.

Reservoirs can no doubt prevent flood, but the cost in most cases becomes prohibitive. In fact, the feasibility of controlling flood by building reservoirs depends on the cost of construction, availability of

proper reservoir sites and on the value of benefits to be derived. If the topographic conditions are favourable for storing a large volume of water the construction of a reservoir will be economically justified. The beneficial effect also rapidly diminishes with distance, depending on the storage capacity and inflow to the valley below the reservoir. Reservoirs are therefore built near the area desired to be protected by them. A series of reservoirs on the tributaries will involve huge cost and for this reason, reservoirs are generally built for multiple purposes, like irrigation, power and navigation and not for flood control alone. Of course, a number of reservoirs have been built solely for flood control purposes in different countries.

Reservoirs for flood-control are very effective and well applicable to small watersheds. A system of reservoirs, one on each of the principal tributaries solves the problem for a larger watershed. Reservoirs are to be located at the headwaters or the upper reaches of a stream. There are generally two types of reservoirs according to their functions, storage and detention reservoirs. A storage reservoir is provided with gates at the base of the dam so that flood water may be emptied out in quantities as desired. A detention reservoir has a number of openings in the base which remain open for all times. They will always store water in excess of that the openings can discharge. Storage reservoir has the advantage of flexibility of operation to meet any emergency and these can be used for multipurposes. The advantage of detention reservoirs is that they are not manually operated but their use is mainly restricted to flood control purposes only and applicable to comparatively small watersheds.

It will appear from above that the economic factor stands mainly in the way of constructing flood control projects. Multipurpose dams are generally therefore looked for solution in such cases. But the requirements for such purpose are generally quite conflicting. Reservoirs for flood control should empty out water as soon as possible so as to be ready for the next storm, whereas for irrigation and other purposes water is to be stored and taken out only when required. Moreover, multipurpose reservoirs should have much greater capacity than those required for flood control.

It is to be noted that flood-control either by reducing flow by means of reservoir or protecting flood plains from overflow by levees always constitutes a local problem which admits of no general solution. On some rivers levees may serve best, on others the reservoirs and on still others a combination of both. In fact, each particular case is to be judged on its own merits. Where a combination gives the correct solution the extent to which each can be used is also to be determined. Each situation requires to be studied carefully by means of river models with reference to practical and physical considerations.

THE PATH THAT LEADS TO SCHOOL

By KALIDAS RAY

[Translated by Umanath Bhattacharya, from the original Bengali]

The *babul* in blossoms brings to my mind
The dear old way,
Long whose slender path in early youth
To school I used to go, day by day.
Enclosed with hedges green, here and there,
In tiny door-yards of cottages gay,
The children run and play;
How busy are their mothers with household care!
Beside a holy tomb, in ruins and bare,
With eye-lids down, in prayers entranced,
Full many a soul, a-kneeling in rows.
Gales blow in the Siva's Shrine; Aglow's
The Dutch graveyard with blooms of divers hues;
Rightward smiles the pool, with lilies in bloom,
Leftward swings in winds the clump of bamboos to
and fro.
Gales blow in the smithy hearth;
Beneath the *bakul*-trees the gipsies pitch their tents;
Strewn's the earth with half-burnt logs.
Ding! Dong! Swells the bell in the Armenian Church,
Slowly comes the parson, infirm and old;
Under the arch he takes his stand and greets.
Here the chapel is; No more the devotees;
No more the people of the fold.
The priest to-day, alone he hears the chimes of Time,
And his hour awaits.
To tiny pitchers trickles th' juice
In the roadside dates
The wind's in the palm-trees; -
The nests of weaver-birds it shakes.
Ah, with these, and many such glimpses untold,
The woodland-path doth gleam in my mind!
To lips of mine did language give
The school-shrine;
Messages brought from home and abroad;
My empty bowls it fill'd with treasure fine
And fit me for the journey.
Time and again, I salute her!
And that sylvan path! It did kindle in me
A torch of hope and intuition,
A fondness and feelings deep,
Gave me a new birth, and roused me from sleep;
Gave wings to my imagination, spurred my fancy,
Stir'd up the yearnings of my soul—
Taught me divers modes of Muse
And fit me for the poet's role—
Never shall I forget it.
To this weary, desolate life, to this day
Solace it brings with manifold gifts,
Transcends and uplifts;
A new eye and a new ear it gave to me,
Put forth new impulses of soul and sense,

Never shall I forget it!
With its shady green, with what tender care
How often would it wipe away my cares!
The fatigue of reading, languidness,
The fret and sweat and melancholy gloom!
Ah, a part of my life hath it become, that tender care!
Like a creeper abloom,
Its memory hath entwined me for ever
With Nature fair.
The prime of my life haunts there still!
The pollens of my blooming days
Lie scatter'd on its dust;
What an attachment deep did I feel
For each shrub and tree!
Every cot to me was dearly known.
Stretching their supple arms from stems of trees,
Fluttering in the breeze,
Oft would the creepers greet me in the way,
With their floral bliss.
Hallowed with sweet dreams of boyhood,
How vivid are they today
Those objects of tender ties,
Associated with that path!
When and how a purple twig
With leaves of emerald green did shoot,
When and where a tender bloom
Mellowed to a dainty fruit,—all this I knew.
In th's bosom is writ on what trees and when
The fury of the North-wester struck the
branches dear.
They lie shatter'd in the dust here—
The fond hopes of my boyhood-day
That built their homes on those boughs!
Yes, that path! it knows, it knows my vows
And all the secret of this life!
Many a hush'd wish of my youth
Have I left behind with the birds,
Twittering in the coppice there!
Still wet is the grass with tears I shed,
My joys and sorrows cling to it;
Dapp'd with light and shade, dank with dews,
How sweet
An' sublimated, lovely an' variegated
Are they to-day—
In dust and dirt and breath of the woods!
In the quiet neighbourhoods,
All my wistful desires are sobbing still
Night and day, in the choir of the crickets,
Pining for the kindred.
And the gilded dreams of youth are blossoming still!
Lo! The Yellow clusters, they throb and thrill
Upon the boughs of the Laburnums.

INDIAN SHIPPING AND SHIP-BUILDING INDUSTRIES

By PROF. G. S. KAMAT, M.COM., M.A. (Econs.)

EVEN before the birth of Christ, Indian ships plied the seven seas. Thereafter a period of uncertainty and dependence intervened and the past bright tradition was cut off. Now we are a free nation. Our old aspirations have naturally risen again. We have the inspiration and encouragement of our past glorious history and the sea is as if beckoning to us to re-establish our maritime traditions. It is true that it will take time but we must hurry up before it is too late to bring our shipping and ship-building into their own.

It is intended to review the present position of these industries on this background in this article.

India has a coastline of 3000 miles and she is in need of an adequate merchant navy for the transport of her goods and passengers. India's volume of overseas trade is growing very fast. Further a strong navy serves as an efficient second line of defence for the country.

The present volume of cargo exceeds 22 million tons per annum. But India's merchant navy falls too short for its handling. The aggregate Indian-owned shipping registered tonnage for operation on coastal and overseas routes was 4,75,000 by October, 1954. It is not even half per cent. of the world tonnage. India's share of international trade exceeds 2 per cent. But with the present tonnage hardly 5% of it is carried with great difficulty. India needs at least 2 million tons to satisfy the immediate needs. Between 1947-54 India paid nearly 150 crores by way of shipping freight for the import of foodgrains only. Had there been an adequate navy for its carriage there would have been a considerable saving in the foreign exchange. As per the First Five-Year Plan, by 1956, India proposes to reach the target of 600,000 G.R.T. With the marked activity now being shown by the Indian shipping companies it is hoped that the target will easily be reached.

Shipping and ship-building industries belong to the category of heavy industries. They require crores of rupees by way of capital. But this itself will not suffice. There are many other factors. Some are within the control of shipping companies and some are beyond their reach. For example, national and international circumstances, import and export policies of Government, ability of the country to find markets for its goods abroad, modern facilities at ports, rail-sea co-ordination, co-operation of labour, etc., all these are beyond the control of the shipping companies. On the other hand, size, type and speed of the ships, organisational

efficiency, etc., are matters entirely in the hands of the ship-owners.

A coastal ship costs nearly 50 lakhs of rupees while an overseas ship requires nearly a crore of rupees or even more. Capital formation is very difficult in an underdeveloped country like India, with the result fresh additions to the fleet by constructing new ships become difficult. It is true that the Government has been providing liberal loan facilities to the shipping companies for acquiring new ships. But a further liberalisation of terms and conditions is being asked for. At present the Government gives 85 per cent. of the cost of the ship whether newly built or second-hand at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the coastal ship and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for the overseas ship. This rate though it apparently looks attractive imposes a big burden on a shipping company particularly as a unit in the overseas trade where there is keen competition. Supposing a ship costs a crore of rupees and a loan for the like amount is to be returned within a period of ten years, the annual burden in case of one steamer alone would be in the region of about 10 to 12 lakhs and when it is further realised that minimum depreciation of 6 per cent has also to be provided, the two items will account for as much as 15 to 17 lakhs of rupees. Ship-owners are, therefore, rightly suggesting that the rate of interest should be reduced and the period for repayment may be raised to the normal life of the ship i.e. 20 years. The period of repayment also should start after the fifth year and not as at present.

Since the Government gives financial assistance to the shipping company and in view of the fact that India has a ship-yard of her own it is natural that the Government should insist on ships financed by them being built at the Vizag Yard. It is doubtless the intention of the patriotic ship-owners as well. But the present practice of pricing the Vizag Ship on the U.K. parity results in a considerable disadvantage in regard to his competitive capacity as compared to a ship-owner who runs ships built in Germany or Japan where deliveries are also quick. There have been unconscionable delays in the delivery of the Vizag Ship criticism about which was voiced on the floor of the Indian Parliament recently. We hope this is a temporary phase and in any case it cannot be allowed to last long.

For a cheap and efficient transport the shipping companies must evince a greater care in regard to type, size and speed of the ships. Requirements of coastal trade have been met and continue to be met satisfactorily by ships of 10 knots speed. But in overseas

services after World War II especially all newly built ships have a greater speed reaching 14 knots cruising speed (which is above the economic speed). Doubtless there are some ships having 10½ knots speed. As regards fuel used it is worthy to note that a large proportion of vessels in the overseas trade is oil-burner, coal-using steamers being confined to coast only. It is natural as India's supplies of coal are abundant.

It is unfortunate that the existing merchant navy should be dominated by secondhand ships. Nearly 60% of the tonnage added or to be added during 1946-56 is old and hence not economical. Out of 138 ships (5,68,227 GRT) 94 ships (3,48,118 GRT) have been secondhand ships. These ships required a sum of nearly 20 crores of rupees. The remaining new ships would require an amount of 31 crores of rupees. It is very difficult to raise so much amount. Old vessels are not economical and also affect the efficiency of companies. Both factors are important in the overseas transport where keen competition cannot be avoided. The Government should, therefore, discourage Indian ship-owners from going in for secondhand tonnage.

As disclosed by Shri S. N. Haji during the discussion, some time ago which I had the honour to have with him, the average age of the ships is now coming down. In view of the new tonnage ordered by the Scindia Steam Navigation Co. Ltd. it is expected that it would come down to 11 years or so by 1956-57. It was 23 in 1945-46.

Since national lines provide a number of established services between India and many other countries, it is reasonable and just that the companies should look to the Government for patronage which will provide opportunities both for the improvement and expansion of Indian shipping. Government of India has been practically the largest single importer of goods for the last few years. In 1951, nine million tons of cargo was imported on the Government account. In 1952 the figure stood at 6 million tons. Now that food position has improved, imports of grains will be reduced. However, a large tonnage of goods will continue to be imported under various international agreement such as Technical Co-operation Agreement, etc. It is estimated that imports on the Government account are likely to remain in the neighbourhood of 4 million tons per year. If Indian shipping companies are afforded an opportunity to undertake the transport of these it will increase their receipts and will enable them to add new tonnage. Moreover, crores of rupees which India pays annually to the foreign companies would be saved and would strengthen the exchange resources of the country.

At present it seems, there is lack of co-ordination or co-operation among different ministries on this subject. Shipping and ship-building are closely connected. But at present its charge has been divided among various departments and ministries. The problems pertaining to this field are at present looked after by three ministries. The subject of import and export is handled by the Commerce Ministry, shipping as such by the

Transport Ministry and construction aspect of it by the Directorate General of Supplies and Disposal working under Housing, Power and Works Ministry. These three activities of Government need to be co-ordinated and as suggested by Shri Haji, India would benefit a lot if activities of these are canalised through one central co-ordinating agency. It may be explained further in this connection that while ship-building is wholly Governmental, shipping is private and therefore, the problems of each are distinct; one is the producer, the other, consumer. However, co-ordination should not be difficult.

The XVth biennial Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce was held in Tokio last May. The subject of "Flag Discrimination" was placed on the agenda. The representatives of leading ship-owning countries presented some cases "as flagrant cases of 'Flag discrimination.'" While charging in this way they had least regard to the views of the representatives of the underdeveloped maritime countries.

India holds the view that every maritime nation has a right to develop its mercantile marine according to its requirements of trade and defence. The Government must protect national shipping as it protects other industries. The Government as a shipper has a right to choose its own ships and such choice cannot be described as "Flag discrimination."

India has long back accepted the provisions contained in the International Maritime Ports convention of 1923. It aims at preventing restrictive practices regarding port dues and navigation in case of ships belonging to other contracting states. The equality of treatment covers facilities such as allocation of berths, loading and unloading facilities, as well as dues and charges of all kinds levied in the name or for the account of the Government, public authorities, etc. India signed the convention when she was not a free nation. But even today after becoming independent, she continues to honour these provisions.

Till World War II the term 'Flag discrimination' was limited to port dues, berthing facilities, etc. Now its meaning has been stretched a bit further so as to apply to patronage to national ships. And this will have no end. Really any attempt to extend the scope of 'flag discrimination' is uncalled for. Even the existing leading ship-owning countries has adopted various discriminatory practices in their earlier stages of development and they are today what they are! Nobody had opposed them at that time. The restrictive navigation laws of England are well-known to the students of history. But the same practices have come to be charged as 'flag discrimination' today.

The Inter-Governmental maritime Consultative Organisation (Geneva, 1948) has also recognised the assistance and encouragement given by a Government for the development of its national shipping and for that purpose it does not constitute discrimination, provided of course, it does not curtail freedom of shipping of

all other flags to take part in international trade. Therefore, to term "subsidies, tax concessions, loans at concessional rates of interests, reservation of state cargo to national vessels, insertion of suitable clauses in bilateral trade agreements concluded with other countries" as 'Flag discrimination' is not correct. Even today British writers like Mr. N. D. Rothan remarks that "When we cease to discriminate against ships of other flags we will have a stronger argument to bring forward that other countries should cease discrimination against British vessels." (1955 Annual of *Fairplay*). Coastal trade is wholly reserved for the national vessels and is not termed as 'flag discrimination'. Similarly, whatever is done for the legitimate development of national shipping cannot be termed as such. Calling upon shippers and importers to patronise the nation's ships are not more reprehensible than the slogans: "Buy British, Buy American," etc. India has recently become a free nation. She has a coast of 3000 miles and was in the past a leading maritime nation. She is economically progressing, her industries are growing. She must have, therefore an adequate merchant navy as early as possible. Reservation of 100 p.c. of coastal trade and 50 p.c. of overseas trade to national ships should be regarded as reasonable and attempts for fulfilling the legitimate ambitions of a maritime nation should be regarded as just. The national flag to grow needs all legitimate protection.

Conferences provide another headache to the national shipping companies. The economic position of our shipping companies is not very satisfactory. They have practically no reserves with the result they cannot stand competition. Hence they have to adopt a policy of negotiation for securing the right to lift cargo from ports situating on their regular runs. Indian companies experience difficulties on getting admission into conferences which govern trades between the intermediate ports in the India-U.K. continent sector. The Indian ships cannot lift cargo from the intermediate ports although foreign members of the same conference are allowed to do so. For example, an Indian ship loading cargo from Calcutta for discharge at Colombo will not be allowed to load cargo from Colombo for say London although this port situates on its regular route.

This restriction normally affects the earning capacity of the Indian companies. A ship should always sail with as little empty space as possible. But Indian ships have to suffer on this account. Unless our Government takes a bold initiative and enables the companies to face the competition in the international services, we may not be quite hopeful about the future of Indian shipping.

The Union Minister for Commerce and Industry while speaking before the Import Advisory Council's Meeting on 21st May, 1955, warned the foreign shipping companies who have threatened to bring about an unwarranted rise in the freight surcharge on goods

carried to India, that their ships will not be allowed to touch our ports. These companies want to raise their freight surcharge by 25 to 30 per cent because of delay in clearance due to labour trouble. But non-co-operation of the dock labour is experienced not in India alone. It has become a usual thing in foreign countries like U.K. also. We do not, however, hear about a similar threat being given by any shipping company touching the British ports. It is hoped that they will put off their decision of levying a freight surcharge in case of Indian goods.

Commenting on the warning given by the Commerce and Industry's Minister of the Government of India, Shri Haji said that it was not possible for India to prevent foreign ships from touching our ports, because we are bound already by the International Regime of Maritime Ports (1923) convention; but instead we may impose a surcharge on the income accrued to them from the carriage of Indian goods and this will be more effective.

Another question pertains to rail-sea co-ordination. It has assumed a serious proportion recently. For example, coal is being carried more cheaply by rail than by sea against a well-accepted canon of economics that sea transport is cheaper than rail transport. However, this queer position is going to be examined by the proposed Committee for Rail Coastal Shipping Rates Co-ordination whose recommendations, it is hoped, would put the business on its natural footing.

Ship-owners have been urging government for tax concession. Indian shipping industry is still in its infancy. Today it is concerned with sale-tax, duties and levies on stores, etc. Especially, the 1946 amendment to the Income Tax Act has hit the industry. Under this the sale proceeds and amount realised from the underwriters for maritime mishaps are being taxed. There is a higher frequency of accidental total loss as also of disposal of fully depreciated ships. The shipping interests want an exemption from the operation of this clause. It is true that the Government have allowed initial depreciation and double normal depreciation in respect of new assets and in case of ships, they are allowed on secondhand ships also. The ship-owners feel that this does not give them a real relief but merely defers the payment of tax to a future date. According to them not merely underdeveloped countries but even the leading maritime countries have granted various concessions in regard to taxation. For example, the U.K. Government have recently sanctioned an "Investment allowance" to the extent of 20 per cent of the new plant and machinery. The Indian National Steamship Owners' Association had recommended this relief of granting an Investment Allowance on U.K. lines, to the Taxation Enquiry Commission. The companies should be encouraged to plough back as much amount of their profits as is possible on which it may be sug-

gested no tax should be levied or the rate charged should be nominal. These concessions will enable the Indian shipping companies to develop on sound lines and rapidly.

This article will not be complete without a reference to the "Tanker Fleet." Now that the oil refineries have come to be established in Bombay, Indian ships and others concerned have been agitating about their share in transport of crude oil imported for being converted into refined products and again their transport to various consuming centres in India. The national fleet would not be complete without an appropriate quota of tankers. It is estimated that for the transport of $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of refined oil and oil products, our country would require 20 tankers of about 9,000 tons D.W. in addition to 10 tankers of about 18 to 20 thousand tons to import the crude oil from outside. Further it must be noted that the terms of the agreement entered into by the Government of India with the oil companies have also given rise to criticism as it debars the Indians indefinitely from the transport trade. Thus on the coast about a $1\frac{1}{2}$ million tons of refined products will be carried by the foreign ships in spite of the fact that the coastal trade has been reserved for the Indian national ships.

However, there has been difference of opinion about the building up of a national tanker fleet. For example, Shri V. S. Vallabhdas has expressed in his article published in the Air Rail Road and Marine Transport Supplement of the *Times of India* (dated 25th February, 1955) that it would be unwise for India to invest money in tankers at this stage, when the tanker building is undergoing a sort of revolution. The size and speed of tankers is being considerably raised and tankers of 45,000 to 47,000 tons having a speed of 17.5 knots are under construction in the important ship-yards of Europe. These would make the present

tankers obsolete. Hence, according to the said authority we may allow the oil companies to handle the crude oil imports and oil products in their bottoms and carefully watch the position for some time to come. We shall benefit from experience of others.

There is also a great necessity for up-to-date port facilities which would lessen the delay in clearing the goods from ships and docks. The recent controversies in connection with the dock labour have made it clear that delays in turn-round of ships is due to factors such as inadequate trained personnel to meet customs routine, water inadequacy of modern equipment in ports and last, but not the least, the 'go-slow' policy of labour whatever the reason thereof. It will be realised that a day's delay costs a shipping company a dead loss to the tune of Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 and the companies have lost in this way 50 to 200 days in a year.

A word must also be said about the management of Indian shipping companies. It is necessary to promote economy in all directions. In this connection a causal study of the management of foreign companies would be instructive. Most of the companies are under the managing agents and it must be stated to their credit that no problems have arisen in this industry of a type comparable to that one in the textile industry. It is satisfactory to note that the new Companies Act which will be probably passed in the July/September session of the Indian Parliament will introduce much needed reform in this system as a whole.

Thus stands our shipping and ship-building today. We have, there is no doubt, a bright maritime future. Shipping companies should remove the shortcomings which are within their reach and for the removal of other drawbacks the national Government must come forward. The next five years, it must be said, will be the testing period for Indian shipping.





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Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

GLORY THAT WAS GURJARADESA (A.D. 550—1300): By K. M. Munshi. *Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1955. Parts I and II. Pp. xxi + 505. Price Re. 1-12 for each Part.*

This is a very painstaking work on the history of a region comprising modern Rajasthan, Malwa and Gujarat (forming according to the author from c. 700 A.D. onwards the homeland of a people called after their territory by the name of Gurjaras) during the period from the downfall of the Gupta Empire down to the Muslim conquest. Though this tract was not of much consequence before 700 A.D., it rose thereafter to imperial greatness under certain famous rulers of the Pratiharas, the Paramaras and the Chaulukya dynasties. This explains the titles the first, the second and the third empires applied successively by the author to the dominions of Nagabhata II and his successors, Munja and lastly Jayasimha Siddharaja and some later rulers, with Kanauj, Dhara and Anahilavada as their respective capitals. The author has utilized all available source-material with commendable diligence. What is more, he has frequently balanced the conflicting evidence and provided critical estimates of character as well as of the springs of historical movements. The history of the ruling dynasties is accompanied by periodical reviews of the social, the religious and the economic conditions of the land. Genealogical charts, maps, appendices on selected topics of history and archaeology and a good index, add to the usefulness of this work. A few general statements of the author, however, we think, require reconsideration. While the indigenous origin of the four Kshatriya clans, the Pratiharas, the Chahamanas, the Paramaras and the Chaulukyas may be taken to have been proved, is it correct to state (p. 8f.) that they were (evidently in contrast with all other neighbouring dynasties), "united by blood, tradition, and the country of their origin and then they remained closely knit together throughout the period from A.D. 500 until 1300?" Did the weakening of "the Aryavarta-consciousness" with the accompanying decline of "the Chakravarti idea" and the stiffening of the Chaturvarnya scheme into distinct castes date only, as the author variously thinks (pp. 61 f. 273 f. 330 f.), from the decline of the Imperial Guptas, or from the invasions of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, or from the death of Harshavardhana? Was the exclusive spirit of the Kshatriyas due entirely or mainly to their adoption of the practice of universal polygamy? Was the rise of "popular forms of Arya-dharma like Buddhism and Jainism" (*sic.*) due to "the failure of the lofty Aryan learning and

ritual to satisfy the aspirations of the newly-absorbed masses", and did "these new movements" connote "Aryavarta-consciousness" as a mere "literary and mythological concept?" (pp. 332-33). It is right to characterise (p. 122) Mihira Bhoja as "not merely a Caesar nor a Pontiff such as the emperors of Rome and Byzantium," but as being "thrice sacred" on the grounds stated by the author? Can the transition from Ancient to Mediaeval India be dated in the precise year 997 A.D.? (p. 235).

U. N. GHOSHAL.

PROBLEM OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA: Edited by Dr. B. B. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Bharati Bhawan, Bankipore, Poona. Pp. ix + 310. Price Rs. 10.

The volume under review purports to be a collection of papers on different problems of Public Administration, both of a general character and also with special reference to India, read and discussed at two consecutive sessions of the Indian Political Science Conference held under the aegis of the Indian Political Science Association and edited by the President of the 14th session of the Conference. The book falls into five different sections. Section I is devoted to a study of administrative problems in general, Section II to Public Corporations, Section III to Executive, Section IV to Judicial Administration and Section V to Local Administrations. Considering the great importance that public administration has assumed lately not only in this country engaged as it is in gigantic experiments in rehabilitation of its economy on the attainment of independence, but also in other parts of the world engaged in post-war reconstruction, the authorities of the Indian Political Science Association are to be congratulated on conceiving the idea of bringing out such a volume containing the well-considered views of the best scholars of the subject throughout the country on its different aspects and studying from different angles. Like all such compilations it shares both the good points and defects of such a work. We have had the advantage of having the mature thoughts of a number of acute minds working on the subject from different backgrounds and thus getting a proper perspective in regard to the problems. On the other hand, we find some amount of overlapping inevitable in such a publication. The volume does not make the extravagant claim "to deal exhaustively with the vast field of public administration in India," but the modest claim of the editor of the volume indicating "the need on which further studies in this subject are necessary" is more than justified. The volume will not only prove of interest to scholars of public administration

in every country but serve a useful purpose by way of offering a good reference book on the subject of which there was great dearth in this country, at any rate, to University students reading the subject in their course of studies in Political Science in many of the Indian Universities.

A. K. GHOSHAL

1. **WOMEN AND SOCIAL INJUSTICE:** By M. K. Gandhi. Demy octavo. Board-bound. Pp. iii + 202. Price Rs. 3.

2. **THE STORY OF MY LIFE:** By M. K. Gandhi. Abridged and simplified by Bharatan Kumarappa. Pp. vii + 207. Price Re. 1-8.

3. **REBUILDING OUR VILLAGES:** By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Pp. v + 123. Price Re. 1-8.

4. **THIS WAS BAPU:** By R. K. Prabhu. Pp. xiv + 177. Price Rs. 2.

All published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

1. As I read through the book the title of a brochure by Manu Gandhi came to my mind—Bapu, My Mother. And he himself writes: "I have mentally become a woman in order to deal with her heart. I could not steal into my wife's heart until I decided to treat her differently than I used to do and so I restored to her all her rights by dispossessing myself of all my so-called rights as her husband" (p. 91). Gandhi disdains to call women the weaker sex: "It is the nobler of the two, for it is even today the embodiment of sacrifice, silent suffering, humility, faith, and knowledge" (p. 129). He answers a poser with a counter-question thus: "Has not independence of man and his holding property led to the spread of immorality among men? If you answer 'yes' then let it be so also with women" (p. 184). Texts of the scriptures that discriminate between the sexes or assign an inferior position to women are repugnant to Gandhi and he would scrape them (p. 15).

Nevertheless, he would not, for the life of him, have her shoulder the rifle. That he regards as "reversion to barbarity and the beginning of the end" (p. 25). Nor would he, with all his tender care for her rights, give her anything that is not hers by merit. He says, "they should seek justice, not favours" (p. 185). Gandhi asks girls in schools and colleges to "refuse to disappear into the kingdom of dolls" (p. 174). No one in history has done so much for women as he has. They owe their emancipation to him. Such as it is, I wonder why the book does not sell by lakhs. The book carries a foreword by Sri Amrita Kaur. The paper used is good, so is printing. There is a printing mistake there in No. 78, first line.

2. The volume under review is presented in response to the request of the teaching profession for a still smaller volume than its predecessor—*Gandhi's Autobiography, Abridged*. So it needs no recommending to such as are in charge of shaping the future of our youngsters and so of the nation. A school that goes without it may well be rated as a poor institution. The book contains grammar exercises by Dr. C. N. Zutshi. M.A., D.Litt. (Col.).

3. Village development projects and Community Welfare Centres are being organized in various parts of the country. And there is the Bharat Sevak Samaj. The Samaj is organizing camps all over the country. Let our service to villages be not exotic. Every nation has its own genius. And to be fruitful it must be according to our genius. Rebuilding our villages shows

the true way. We may not go without peril, all out for material prosperity ignoring the spiritual values. This book should be in the hands of all engaged in such village work.

4. Sri R. K. Prabhu, it appears, is the fourth in the line of Gandhi anecdote-givers. The first was Sri Ramchandran with his *A Sheaf of Gandhi Anecdotes*. The second was Sri Kaka Kalelkar with his incomparable *Stray Glimpses*. The third was Sri Chandrasekhankar Shukla with his *Incidents of Mahatma's Life*. All these are love's offerings. And love sees as nothing else so truly sees. We should be grateful to them for letting us have a peep at what they in their love abundant saw of the Master. Anecdotes are not all light fare. They are a rich repast too, if we shall remember the pithy saying of Dr. Martin, the philosopher: "Trifles make perfection but perfection is not a trifle." The foreword to this Sri Prabhu's book by Kaka Kalelkar is illuminating. By presenting the public with these anecdotes Sri Prabhu has laid us under a debt of gratitude.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN SOUTH ASIA: Edited by Dr. A. Appadorai. Published by the Orient Longmans Limited, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Price Rs. 4.

The Asian Relations Organisation organised and the Unesco sponsored a Social Science seminar in New Delhi in December-January, 1952-53. "The contribution of social sciences to studies in the status of women in South Asia" was the subject for discussion in the Seminar. The volume under review is based on discussions in the above Seminar.

The discussions threw a flood of light on South Asian womanhood from various angles. Ten pages read in the Seminar are given in the Appendices (i-x). Each stimulating and thought-provoking in its own way, gives a lot of information not known to many. The papers by U. R. Ehrenfels (Appendix I), D. P. Mukerji (Appendix III), Lakshmi N. Menon (Appendix V), and Richard J. Coughlin (Appendix IX), among others, deserve special mention. The first points out that the matrilineal organization of society, in which succession to family and other social titles and the inheritance of property are traced through the mother, was not a primitive social form. It is further contended that "Men are not ruled by women, or submitted to severe restrictions in matrilineal societies, such as women are in patrilineal societies" and that "Matrilineal culture-tradition has played a major part in fashioning the cultural background of South and South-East Asia in the past and may provide fruitful elements for shaping the future." The author's contention that Buddhism was in a way "a renaissance movement of Indian womanhood and with this, of non-Aryan, non-Patriarchal features" is, however, a controversial one and may not be accepted by many.

Mr. D. P. Mukerji's paper, "Indian Women and the Modern Family," gives much food for serious thought. He points out that the middle class women in modern India is "hovering between two worlds, one nearly dying (religious) and the other still unborn (individual). Much of her psycho-physical trouble arises from this uncertain social situation. . . . Natural family life itself is often jeopardised by this cultural vacuum. There is more stress and strain in the married life of the upper classes than before." This state of affairs is due not a little to the fact that Western values, which are pushing out certain Indian

values, are not being installed in their places. There is a big "gap in knowledge of classics and the latest text books." The gap is not conducive to culture.

The learned author reminds the new Indian woman that "As carrier of the best of the modern and as store of the best of the old values" she has a duty towards the quality of the evolving Indian culture. "She can stand as a bulwark against brutalisation and vulgarisation, against the reduction of humanity into a mass of undifferentiated individuals, to which we all seem to be doomed." The pity is that the modern Indian woman is not doing it. She has further to give clear answers to the questions posed in the paper—"What type of family do educated Indian women want?" "What social learning does the type of family they want offer?" "What is, in their opinion, the relation between familial education and social service, which they must needs perform in the evolving Indian society?" The matter is urgent and the well-being of the nation at large demands prompt answers.

Mrs. Menon's paper "Political Rights of Women in India," on the other hand, is more factual than critical. So also is Mr. Coughlin's paper "The Position of Women in Vietnam." These together with the other papers incorporated in the Appendices give much valuable information, unknown or little known to, perhaps, most of us. A perusal of them is sure to prove an intellectual treat of no mean order.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

1. WHAT BECOMES OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH: Pp. 227. Price-Rs. 3.

2. FIRST LESSONS IN VEDANTA: Pp. 198. Price Rs. 2-8.

Both the books are by Swami Sivananda and published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivanandanagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The first book discusses an important subject—the meaning of death, state of transmigration, reincarnation and different worlds passed through by the disembodied soul. The frontispiece is picturesque and depicts the journey of soul after death. In the tenth chapter considered views of the German philosopher, Schopenhaur, and the beliefs of ancient Egyptians in hereafter are quoted and discussed. Biblical conceptions of resurrection and judgement are superficially compared with Hindu views of *karma* and re-birth in a separate chapter.

The second book contains elements of Vedanta and is meant for beginners. Categories of Vedanta and the two Upanishads—Sarasara and Niralamba are also summarised. Select passages from the Upanishads, attributes of Brahman and Sankaracharya's *Atma-satka* are added at the outset. The Vedantic maxims and Vedanta in alphabet given in another chapter are immensely instructive. A perusal of the book will acquaint the reader with the essentials of Vedanta. Vedanta which is the pinnacle of Indian Thought should thus be popularised in order to stabilise our philosophy in the modern society. Swami Sivananda is doing yeoman's service to the country by broadcasting Vedanta through such readable manuals.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

KRITYAKALPATARU OF BHATTA, LAKSHMI-DHARA (Vol. VI, Vratakanda): Edited by Ranga-swami Aiyangar. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. CXXIII. Baroda, Oriental Institute. Price Rs. 17

We have great pleasure in noticing Vol. VI of the *Krityakalpataru*, a voluminous digest on *dharma-eastra*, of which Vol. V (the first to be published) was noticed in these pages in December, 1946. In the meantime several other volumes have been issued and the work is nearing completion. The existence of the present section of the *Kalpataru* was not known to the world of scholars till the more or less recent discoveries of two manuscripts at Nagpur and Ujjain. It is on these two manuscripts that the edition is based. The volume deals with 175 *vratas* or vows among a legion known in different parts of the country. A number of them are quite interesting but few of them have any agreement with *vratas* current in Bengal or recorded in old literature of the place. A close agreement, however, exists between the descriptions found in this work and those in the *Vratakhanda* of the *Chaturvargachintamani* of Hemadri. This is clear from the footnotes which record variations noticed in Hemadri, the *Bhavisyapurana* and the manuscripts referred to above. The volume will supply valuable material for the historical and comparative study of feasts and festivities of the land and its various parts.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

RABINDRA SAHITYER PARICHAY: By Sachin Sen. M.A., B.L., Ph.D. Third edition. Readers' Corner, 6, Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 7.

The volume and variety of Tagore's works justify the expanding critical literature on them. The present author has tried to follow his trend of thoughts carefully and give a fair estimate of his poems, novels and dramas. The poet himself acknowledged in a letter: "You have viewed the poet with care and spirit of enquiry." Signs of scholarship and hard work are evident and the issue of the third edition of the book clearly proves that it has enjoyed popularity.

The book is divided into five chapters: (1) Rabindranath's Ideas, (2) Rabindranath and the Meaning of Literature, (3) Introduction to Rabindranath's Poetry, (4) The Novels of Rabindranath, (5) Rabindranath's Dramas. The writer seems to be inclined towards analytical study. On the whole the book is informative and useful.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

DIYA JALA, DIYA BUJHA: By Yadavendranath Sharma, "Chandra." Ramapuria Prakashan, Calcutta-20. Pp. 197. Price Rs. 3-8.

A novel with vigour and verve. It portrays the life of the now-dying feudal chiefs of Rajasthan, who ruled over their subjects with unqualified and unashamed autocracy. The only two pillars of their reign were their personal whim and want, specially in the matter of gratification of their passions without the least moral compunctions of any kind. The present publication paints all this in lurid and ghastly colours. The play of light and shade like the burning and snuffing out of the lamp, against which the whole drama is enacted, is masterly. And yet in the midst of the despicable degradation of humanity, simple and pure love asserts itself and ultimately triumphs as well.

G. M.

GUJARATI

PUNIT PAGALUN : By Pravir Vakta. Published by Purnima Shah, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 121. Price Rs. 2-8.

A "Righteous Step" is a tale written by Shri Vakta to assist the Prohibition policy of the State of Bombay. He is a young writer and free of enthusiasm to do something for his fellow brothers and sisters. He has secured a chorus of approval for work done and contemplated to be done in this direction from those of the highest status, like Governors and Ministers. He is fond of art and culture. Trikala is his Kala Kendra (Art Centre). He writes in Hindi also, and provided he gets help, encouragement and co-operation he is sure to do better.

SHATPATHA BRAHMAN : By Popatlal Dayaram Raval, L.S.M.F., Morvi. Printed at the Sandeshia Press, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated. Card-board cover. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 2.

The Shatpatha Brahman is a part of the Shukla Yajurveda and is more than 6500 years old, thus older than the Hebrew, Buddhist and Christian religions. The tenets comprised in this composition are found to have been prevalent in Mesopotamia, when the Aryans lived there. The writer who has made a very deep study of its contents, in the light of observations of Vedic scholars of the East and the West, comes to the conclusion that its language is symbolic, and the

rituals are also symbolic. He finds principles of modern science like Physics, Electricity and Radio-Activity, set out there in unmistakable terms, provided only one can understand the symbols. He proposes to bring out only one part, out of four, into English, namely that relating to Radio-Activity. Our recommendation is that he should do so for the whole of the book. Laymen all over the world should realise that Indians knew all about Electric energy and Radio-Activity, six thousand years ago, and that then, somehow or other forgot it all.

NIRMAL SHYAM RAS : By Kumari Nirmal Devi. Published by Mrs. Lakshmi Behan H. Vora, Bombay. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 224, + 5. Price Rs. 3-8.

Miss Nirmal Devi is Vedant Tirth, Kavya Tirth, Vyakaran Visharad, etc., and a scholarly young lady, who has already by her learned and religious addresses established her name as a speaker and a guide to the trends of the Vaishnavite Creed. A devotee of Shri Krishna, the Shyam Sundar, Shri Devi as she calls herself, has published 105 songs in Gujarati and 6 in Sanskrit, the contents of which remind one of the devotion of the Gopis to Krishna, immortalised all over India, old and new, by poets of all provinces. That such devotion still exists, is a proof of how deep-seated it has been. Nirmal Devi deserves to be congratulated in every way.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Gandhi and the Modern World

Ethel Mannin writes in *The Aryan Path* :

There is a sense in which "Gandhi-ism," is a misnomer, since the doctrine of non-violent resistance to evil and of personal purity of flesh and spirit was the teaching of Jesus two thousand years earlier; the Buddha, six hundred years before that, taught reverence for life in all its forms, human and animal alike, but not the specific doctrine of *satyagraha*; but the term is valid in that Gandhiji was of our time and brought to our world moral force such as the world had never known (Jesus in his time did not so kindle the imagination of millions), and as a moral force Christianity has ever been pitilessly punctured by expediency.

It is true that India, since independence, can no more be called a "Gandhi-ist" country than England, or any other Western country, can be called Christian—whatever the professions, as devout as they are hypocritical, of Christianity. Had India deeply absorbed and accepted the teachings of the Mahatma it would have been unthinkable that his assassins should have been executed.

Vachel Lindsay's poem would seem singularly appropriate applied to this twentieth-century saint:

Now you were ended. They praised you,
and laid you away.

The others that mourned you in silence
and terror and truth

That should have remembered forever,
. . . . remember no more.

There is a sense in which Gandhi has become a name—who once was a living spiritual flame.

There is also a sense in which that flame still lives in men's hearts, not only in India, but the world over, and will continue to live until the planet is entirely given over to the powers of darkness, which it cannot be until that living flame is finally quenched. Which means that it may never be.

We have seen in connection with the Goa demonstrations that the spirit of *satyagraha* still lives in India; we have seen that spirit kindled also in the recent demonstrations in South Africa, in which Gandhi's son, Manilal, played a leading part. Now, it seems, ironically, that a peaceful invasion of Kashmir is being planned by Pakistani *satyagrahis* (organized by the Christian Zamindara Labour League of Lahore), ten thousand of whom plan to march peacefully into Indian-held territory.

Gandhi's spirit still lives, even with those who denounced him in his lifetime.

And it will continue to live, because the alternative is the extinction of the human race. The scientists have warned the world that recourse to atomic weapons, to total war, that is to say, can only mean total annihilation. This means that in the modern world there must be total renunciation of war—for they deceive themselves who aver that atomic weapons would not be

used, that the atomic bomb, in its ever-increasing hideousness, is a power for peace. Whatever country henceforth resorts to the arbitrament of war lets loose total destruction upon the entire planet; in a radioactive world life cannot be sustained in any form, and those who survive death by burning or blast can only do so to die of starvation. Mankind is already gradually destroying the earth's fertility by chemicals and machines, creating dust bowls and soil erosion, adding man-made desert to desert. This destruction of fertility can be halted and remedied; there can be no halting of an atomic war or any remedying of its consequences. The idea that science will somehow throw up something effective in the way of defence in an atomic war is the sheerest wishful thinking—there can be no defence in total war, as the scientists have warned us, from Einstein downwards.

But war in any shape or form is an abomination, a crime against life to which those who venerate life as Christ and the Buddha and Gandhi venerated it, cannot in any circumstances lend themselves. It is a sad comment on human nature that many who denounce the latest atomic bomb are nevertheless quite prepared to accept a non-atomic war—in spite of the rapalm horrors of the Korean war. *The hope for humanity lies in the growing number of people the world over, who are gradually coming to accept the principles of non-violent resistance to evil, as taught and demonstrated by Gandhi in our own time.*

It has tremendous, and heartening, significance that many leaders of the African nationalist struggle against imperialism have been influenced by Gandhi and have urged *satyagraha* methods upon their followers. This was observable in 1953, in East Africa and down to Cape Town, and many Africans in Northern Rhodesia were to be seen wearing "Gandhi buttons"—badges with the profiles of the Mahatma engraved on them. This is all the more interesting when it is remembered that Gandhi's career began in South Africa. If the teachings of the Mahatma are largely rejected in his own country, by a generation which has grown up in the violence of the newly launched atomic era, among the less sophisticated and less Westernized peoples of Africa, the country in which he began, his spirit is still active.

In India itself the success of the land-distribution campaign conducted by that remarkable old man, Vinoba Bhave, points to a revival of the Gandhian spirit. Vinoba has followed directly in Gandhiji's footsteps, going into the villages, without any fanfare of preliminary publicity, with nothing "organized," relying entirely, as Gandhi did, on the moral force of his appeal to what the Quakers call "that of God in every man." Such an appeal, however, would be made in vain without the driving power of love behind it. Gandhi declared, "The hardest fibre must melt in the fire of love"; he demonstrated the fact over and over again in his own life, and now Vinoba Bhave is similarly demonstrating it. When the fire is not strong enough

there is no response. In Gandhi's case it was strong enough to make him so proud a moral force that this "half-naked fakir," as Churchill scornfully called him, could pit himself effectively against the great weight of the political power of the British Raj. The possessionless, thin little man in the torn cloth had to be cajoled and constrained, because by love alone he had a nation of some four hundred millions behind him. When the people, lacking his moral strength, resorted to violence on occasion he grieved and prayed and fasted. *He would have no more to do with the unorganized violence of the masses than with the organised violence of governments. He declared that he would prefer to be crushed between the two.*

Reginald Reynolds, in his book, *To Live in Man-kind: A Quest for Gandhi*, writing of Basic Education, which teaches people how to live co-operatively as opposed to Westernized education which merely provides a smattering of Western culture and is bound up with the acquisition of degrees, declares that "India's ultimate problem will not be the unteachables but the unteachables." It could be said with equal truth that *the whole world's ultimate problem is the unteachability of the mass-produced mentality, for which the press, cinema and radio are largely and jointly responsible.*

The real hope for the salvaging of civilization would appear to be in the East. Not merely is the bulk of the world's population in its "teeming millions," but that bulk is ninety percent agrarian and as such not corrupted by the lies and false values of what passes for civilization in the West. The young people—especially—of Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon are perhaps as much bound and delivered over to shoddy notions and false values (usually in the name of "Progress") as their counterparts in the West; an insidious Americanization, the Coca-Cola civilization, has invaded urban life in both East and West, from Morocco to Mandalay, from Rome to Rangoon, but it does not penetrate to the hidden villages of the Rif, the off-the-road villages across the Burmese paddy fields, the jungle villages in the middle of the vast subcontinent of India. There still remain vast areas of human existence outside the Coca-Cola belt. Throughout India, Burma and China, there are far-reaching basic educational schemes which, whilst they include literacy, place it lower on the agenda than the teaching, by example, of co-operation in communal living.

Such schemes are in the direct Gandhian spirit, which, along with non-violent resistance of evil, reverence for all life, devotion to truth and righteousness, demands an all-embracing love and co-operativeness in our relations with our fellow humans.

In the West experiments in co-operative living are conducted through the medium of "work-camps," where men and women of good will, young and middle-aged alike, meet to work for the common good: in building a youth hostel or a community centre, for example. Here again the Gandhian spirit of service operates. It might be that because the West has reached a crisis in its civilization it may yet prove fertile soil for Gandhian ideas, even if it does not recognize them as such. It may well be, as Reginald Reynolds suggests in his book, that Gandhi "will share the fate of so many other prophets, whose ultimate effect has been most deeply felt outside their own countries."

The extent to which Gandhi's ideas will endure and develop in the modern world is debatable. What there is no disputing is the world's urgent need of them, as the only guarantee of its continued existence.



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Indian Culture Through the Ages

Dr. Bijan Kumar Mukherjee, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India, writes in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture* :

It is in the simple joyous faith of our Indo-Aryan ancestors that we have the seed of Indian culture which grew and blossomed so luxuriantly in later ages. The Vedic *rishis* attempted to harmonize life in all its aspects, and thus is the dominant note pervading all subsequent thoughts and ideas. Life was conceived as an integral whole. The word '*dharma*' was used to mean a rule of life, or a way of self-moulding; and this rule of life was only a phase of the supreme law which upheld the universe. In the long history of Indian culture, the aim of all inquiries has been to find the underlying truth amidst the conflicting diversities of the world. It was in the Vedic age that there began "that quest to discover the significance of the world and of man's life within it." This spirit of inquiry deepened and became more pronounced in the period of the Upanishads. It was certainly not a pursuit after an imaginary or poetic heaven or vain speculation on the mysterious and the unknown. It was an inquiry after 'truth' in the real sense of the word—and in the Upanishadic age it was an intellectual inquiry, the method of which was 'questioning' and *tapasya*, or deep concentration of mind. In the well-known parable in the *Taittiriya Upanishad*, Bhrigu, the son of Varuna, is described as approaching his father and expressing his desire to be instructed in the knowledge of Brahman. The father gives an answer which merely puts the son on the way to discovery. He uttered a formula describing what Brahman is and asked his son to find it out for himself. This formula, which has become an integral part of our spiritual thought, was as follows : 'That from which all things are born, that by which when born they live, and into which they enter at death, try to know That; That is Brahman.' Obviously, there can be no deeper problems than those of birth, life, and death which the human reason is called upon to penetrate.

TRUE DETACHMENT

The complaint is often made that Indian culture encourages asceticism and other-worldliness leading to indolence, apathy, and other vices detrimental to the interests of the community. The Vedic seers never countenanced the doctrine of the negation of life. But, as Sri Jawaharlal Nehru pointed out in *The Discovery of India*, the extremely analytical mind of the Indian Aryans adjusted in a splendid way the two opposing tendencies which often exist side by side in man—the acceptance of life in its fullness and the rejection of it. There is a transcendental element in Indian culture, but, properly viewed, it is just this which gives it its sublimity and greatness. The Indian mind was not averse to the enjoyment of material comforts. Arts and crafts, science, architecture, diplomacy, and statecraft all attained to a very high degree of technical perfection in ancient India. To engage in right action with strength and energy, but to remain above it without worrying over results, this was the spirit of Indian culture, and it meant true detachment in life and action and not abstention from them.

THE BUDDHIST AGE

The close of the Vedic age was marked by a period of decadence when a whole host of heretical sects came into existence pronouncing the most fantastic theories about salvation and ways of life. But upon these ruins arose Buddhism which, though presenting a distinctive

form of culture, was yet an expression of the same spirit of India. Although the Buddha did not accept the authority of the Vedas, there is very little in his teachings which cannot be found in the Upanishads or in the writings of the old Hindu sages and philosophers. Like all the great sages of India, the Buddha addressed himself to the eternal problem of pain and misery in the world. This emphasis on suffering has laid Buddhism open to the charge of pessimism, yet surely a philosophy which overlooks pain as a factor in creation affords no real solution to the problem of life. The Buddha's message was one of universal benevolence and love for all; he taught men to overcome 'hatred by love, anger by kindness, and evil by good.' He gave a new direction to the yearnings of the people; old values were changed and the outlook of men in the domain of spirituality and morals was materially altered.

The inherent weakness of Buddhism lay in the fact that it did not make the harmonious adjustment of human life that was made by the Vedic seers. Its negation of life, its monasticism, and its reticence over the existence of an intelligent God led ultimately to its decay. However, there can be no doubt but that Buddhism made profound and powerful changes not merely in the ethical, but in the social and outward life and ideals of the race. Its freedom from conventional restrictions and prejudices opened up new and wider horizons. It spread over Central and Western Asia to the borders of Greece and Egypt and invaded China and even the distant shores of Japan.

TWO DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF INDIAN CULTURE

Among the basic features of Indian culture are its spirit of toleration and its power of absorbing and

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assimilating other cultures and making them a part of its own. There can be no better proof of the vitality and strength of a culture than its ability to do this. This absorbing capacity of Indian culture was at no time more manifest than in the Buddhist and post-Buddhist ages. The Greeks, the Sakas or Scythians, and the Kusanas, all of whom came to India as invaders, were absorbed and adopted as integral parts of the Indian community with far-reaching effects upon its arts and sciences.

The vitality and expansiveness of Indian culture at this time is further demonstrated by the many colonizations that took place in different parts of South-East Asia.

THE PAURANIC AGE

With the decay of Buddhism and with the inauguration of the Gupta period began the classical age of India, which gave rise to the Puranas. The Pauranic culture is a poetic and luxuriant thing. Sanskrit poetry flourished and there were literary and artistic activities of a really high order.

It was during this period of decadent Buddhism that Sankara was born; he was one of the world's greatest philosophers and spiritual leaders, a matchless dialectician and born reformer. He led the movement for the revival of Vedic culture and its sublime philosophy as embodied in the Upanishads. He tried to synthesize the different currents of thought that were agitating the popular mind at the time. He adopted the monastic rules of the Buddhists and, though himself a non-dualistic philosopher, he did not discourage the Pauranic form of worship. The establishment of four monasteries at the four corners of India testifies to his high practical insight and his clear vision of a culturally united India. His numerous works stand as the classics of Hindu philosophical and religious literature.

MOGUL RULE

In the eleventh century A.D., India rapidly became weak and disunited. It was then that the Mohammedan invasion gave a shocking blow to the whole fabric. The Pathan and then the Mogul rule lasted for several centuries, until the British came, and, having lost political freedom, any attempt on the part of the Hindus to assimilate the new culture could now only end in the extinction of their own. Hence the Hindu mind became rigid and exclusive, its elasticity and powers of expansion and assimilation ceased; the caste system became stiffer and barriers of various kinds were devised to protect the Hindu religious and social systems from foreign ways and influences.

However, the fact of the Hindus and Mohammedans living side by side resulted in a synthetic approach to each other's thoughts and ways of living, which was particularly noticeable in music and architecture. In the field of religion, it produced a galaxy of saintly persons which included Ramananda, Kabir,

Dadu, Ravidasa, Guru Nanak, and many others whose religious doctrines overleapt all barriers of caste and creed.

MODERN TIMES

The stream of cultural life was at a low ebb when the British came to India, and the lowest stage of degradation was rapidly reached with, on the one hand, the prompt applauding of everything European, and, on the other, the despising of everything Indian; even those who were supposed to be orthodox were no better, for they were ruled by time-worn usages and rites. Thus, Hindu culture seemed to be nearing total extinction, but a reaction set in led by Rammohun Roy who prepared the way for a spiritual and cultural renaissance which took place through the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and finally through Sri Ramakrishna who fulfilled the great need for a spiritual synthesis, which could reconcile the apparent contradictions in the Hindu religion and demonstrate its real unity amidst a multiplicity of forms. Sri Ramakrishna did this by showing that realization of God was possible in all religions; paths may differ, but the goal is the same.

This has been the spirit of Indian culture through centuries. With the dawn of independence, her ancient powers of adaptability and assimilation must now return. Without losing her own individuality and distinctiveness, India must adopt and assimilate all that is best in the cultural currents of the whole of the modern world.

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Unemployment in India

S. D. Vishinani writes in *The Indian Review* :

One of the most important causes of increasing unemployment in India, both urban and rural, is the change in the economic structure of the country. The temptation to migrate from the rural areas to the cities and big industrial towns in search of employment on daily, weekly or monthly wages has struck a heavy blow to rural economy. Artisans and skilled workers who could engage themselves in small-scale cottage industries, arts and crafts and thus add to our national wealth, prefer assured regular income or fixed wages against the uncertainty of profits which their cottage industry might bring. The rural areas are thus deprived of their industrial potential and only such population absorbed in Agriculture forms the backbone of the village community.

With this growing influx of labour from the villages, and there being no sufficient work to intake all that come, unemployment among the new arrivals is the result. As more and more people keep on coming from the rural areas they only tend to worsen the unemployment position and add to the ranks of the unemployed.

In the cities and smaller towns where people receive education, either upto the High School stage or the University stage, the problem of finding clerical jobs for all these educated people assumes abnormal proportions. These so-called educated people consider themselves suited only for the desk jobs and refuse to undertake any other work. As private concerns and government departments can absorb only a fraction of these educated people, the remainder have no other alternative but to join the ranks of the unemployed.

If only some of these educated people took to other vocations and professions and started training in that direction, the problem of unemployment could be considerably eased. Take for instance the case of a Matriculate. If he learns typewriting, a profession which does not take more than six months to learn, he can easily get himself employed as a typist in a government or private office. The mechanical line also offers good opportunities for employment. Even people with little education can take to the mechanical line.

Another profession which can give good employment and better pay to the Matriculates and Graduates, is the profession of Stenography. All they have to do is to learn type-writing and shorthand at some commercial institute, which are found scattered in large numbers almost in every town. While type-writing can be learnt easily, greater perseverance and knowledge is required to learn shorthand. Instances are numerous where persons started learning shorthand but later gave it up at one stage or another because they either found it boring or could not write with speed. Perseverance, as I have said above, is the key-note to attaining proficiency in the art of Stenography.

The profession of Accountancy also offers good scope for employment to a large number of educated people. Only those who are good at figures and possess

a neat handwriting are specially suited to this profession.

There are still a good many professions like those of the electrician, fitter, welder, mechanic, wireman, driver, etc, which offer ample scope for employment opportunities.

If, therefore, those who are educated cease to think only in terms of clerical or the so-called 'white-collar' jobs, and train themselves for other vocations and professions, the problem of unemployment could be solved to some extent.

PRIVATE SECTOR

In the private sector there is a tendency to employ as few people as possible and to extract the highest profits possible. Almost all the employees are over-worked. If the greedy profiteer or private employer could realize that it is his moral duty to share his profits with his employees and he should employ as many persons as were necessary for running his business, the result would be increased efficiency and improvement in the quality of work turned out. The employees being contented, would naturally work honestly and put in their best.

It is also a well-known fact that persons employed in private concerns get less pay than those employed in the Government service. This is perhaps due to the fact that private enterprise has to create money and their entire resources depend on the net profit which their business brings to them. Extravagance is, therefore, out of the question unless, of course, they are doing a roaring business.

The development of private enterprise depends upon the natural resources of the country and availability of necessary finance. Our country is rich in natural resources but deficient in motive power. We have to depend on foreign imports of machinery, tools, etc, for our industries. It is heartening to note that we are making up for this deficiency and have achieved some progress in the small-scale manufacture of industrial tools and machinery.

GOVERNMENT SECTOR

The Government with its vast financial resources and authority to impose fresh taxes or to enhance the existing ones to increase its revenues, is better equipped to employ a vast number of people in its various undertakings.

A large number of persons is required to run the administrative machinery of Government. The Centre and the State Governments employ thousands of people for their various branches. The State has also undertaken numerous welfare activities like transport, railways, airways, posts and telegraphs which give employment to a vast number of people.

POPULATION

The ever-increasing population is also responsible for the growing unemployment among the people. The population of India grows at the rate of 5 million per year while the number of jobs does not increase even by a fraction. It is time our people realized this and checked the unhealthy growth of our population. If population is held in check and less people are born,



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they would not only be brought up well but also become useful members of society. On the other hand, if millions of people are added to our population every year they would only tend to aggravate the already acute unemployment problem in our country.

FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT

Good work is at present being done to combat unemployment. The Ministry of Labour, Government of India, have opened regional employment exchanges throughout the length and breadth of the country. These Employment Exchanges primarily cater to the needs of educated people and assist them in finding suitable employment. All government departments have been instructed to notify to the Exchange all vacancies arising in their offices and the Exchange in turn sends a number of suitable persons for the posts. All one has to do is to register one's name with the Exchange. The Exchange, in turn, divides the candidates in different categories and issues Introduction Cards for the employers.

The Employment Exchange also registers the names of uneducated people for employment as Labour and also for other low-paid posts under the Government. The private sector has not yet utilized the services of the Exchange fully as have done the government departments.

People who are not well educated or trained have little chance of getting good jobs through the Employment Exchange. This is mainly due to the fact that Exchanges have to depend mostly on vacancies arising in government departments where educational qualifications count more than mere suitability. A man may be very clever or experienced; but he must have the minimum

educational qualifications before he could be recommended for any Government job. This pre-requisite to a well-paid Government post is a great hindrance in the way of persons capable otherwise who could not receive higher education for one reason or the other.

Keen competition among the candidates is another cause for the disappointment of many. Some persons are well-connected and influential and they succeed in getting jobs while better candidates with little influence are deprived of suitable employment opportunities. This is a thing which is not possible for any agency to check. Favouritism is to be found in almost every sphere of life. Rather than condemning it or trying to cast aspersions on it, the remedy lies in increasing one's attainments and once a man comes to the top it is difficult to ignore him. Hard work and continued effort are bound to bring good results.

FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Planning Commission has come forward with a 11-point programme to combat increasing unemployment in the country. The Five-Year Plan is being revised in the light of this programme to increase employment potential in the Industrial and Government Sections. Some of the States have come forward with plans for opening schools in every village and thus provide employment as teachers to a large number of educated unemployed people. The problem is vast and cannot be solved in a day. It is, however, gratifying to find our National Government trying to do its bit. Let everyone of us fight this the greatest enemy of mankind and see that every man gets work to do and earns a living in return.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Kashmir Issue Today

Dr. Taraknath Das writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, November, 1955:

There is a striking parallel between the involvements of the UN in two perennial issues, both of which arose in 1947: the issue of Kashmir between India and Pakistan, and the issue of Palestine between Israel and the Arab states. In both cases the UN failed in the beginning to take a bold position based on the legal realities involved, but tried to solve the problem by well-meant equivocation, without offending either side. In both cases also, the issue having become practically permanent, the UN again failed to take account of realities brought about by the passage of time.

The Kashmir issue had its origin in the Indian Independence Act of 1947, passed by the British Parliament, by which India was partitioned and Pakistan brought into existence. In this act it was enacted that the Indian Princely States—Kashmir, Mysore, Hyderabad, Travancore, Bhopal and others—would have the right, by individual voluntary accession, to become parts of India or Pakistan, or to maintain their independent existence.

At first Kashmir chose not to become a part of either India or Pakistan. But, in violation of the Indian Independence Act, all kinds of pressure were used to influence the government of Kashmir to accede to Pakistan. When this failed, Kashmir was invaded by the so-called frontier tribesmen, aided by Pakistani arms, ammunitions and regular Pakistani forces. At this point, Kashmir, in due constitutional form, acceded to India and became part of Indian national territory.

Thus it was the Government of India (not Pakistan) which presented the issue before the United Nations. Obviously, the purpose of India was not to ask the United Nations to determine the validity of Kashmir's accession to India, which was brought about legally and in accordance with the Indian Independence Act. India's purpose was to seek United Nations aid against the Pakistani invasion of Indian territory, and thus to expel an aggressor threatening the peace of the world.

Pakistani officials at first denied their responsibility for the invasion, but it was proven beyond doubt by the findings of the United Nations' Dixon Commission and Graham Commission that the Pakistani government planned the invasion and was the aggressor. Thereafter, Sir Zafarullah Khan (at that time minister of foreign affairs of Pakistan) admitted in a statement before the United Nations, that the then commander-in-chief of Pakistani forces, British General Gracey, had recommended the invasion. Thus, the United Nations had sufficient evidence that in the struggle for Kashmir Pakistan was the aggressor.

But the UN, under the lead of the Western powers, preferred to follow a course similar to that which they adopted in another case of aggression by Moslem powers, the Palestine case. The real issue—the aggression complained of—was never faced by the United Nations; but for some peculiar reason an *extraneous issue* concerning the accession of Kashmir (which

was a settled fact and was legally beyond the jurisdiction of the United Nations, as it was an issue already settled between Kashmir and India and thus an internal affair of India) was pressed by Pakistan, supported by Britain, America and other nations in the Security Council of the United Nations. It was urged that there should be a plebiscite on the question of the accession of Kashmir to India. (In the same way, the Arab states continue, without clear contradiction by Western powers in the UN, to interpret UN resolutions on Palestine refugees and boundaries in a way incompatible with Israel's sovereignty). However, the Government of India *unwisely* agreed to the demand with a reservation that the plebiscite should take place in Kashmir after peace was made.

One should not forget that, in actuality, there is no peace between India and Pakistan, but there is an armed truce such as exists between Egypt and Israel. For instance, only a few weeks ago Pakistani forces attacked Indian border guards in Indian territory, killing several of them. Thus, in Kashmir as in Palestine, a political solution of outstanding issues has been prevented by the lack of peace.

Pakistan and the United Nations have been urging India to agree to a plebiscite unconditionally under the supervision of a United Nations Commission. But if there is to be a plebiscite in Kashmir, which is legally Indian territory, it can be carried out only with Indian consent and under Indian control. India has refused to have any plebiscite unless Kashmir first be freed from the presence of the invading army of Pakistan, or at least the strength of the invading army be reduced considerably. One may venture to say that unless Pakistan agrees to Indian demands, there will be no plebiscite in Kashmir; and it is quite unlikely that the United Nations, which has no effective force, would use sanctions against India—unless this were the wish of Britain, America, France and other powers which would have to support the Pakistani invading army with forces, arms and ammunition. But it is unthinkable that the United States would even indirectly favor a conflict between India and Pakistan, because such a conflict could benefit only Soviet Russia and Communist China.

During the last five years, the situation in Kashmir has vastly changed politically and materially. The duly elected democratic legislature of Kashmir, by its virtually unanimous vote, once more settled the question of accession to India by its vote in favor of that action. It seems that as far as India is concerned, the whole issue of a plebiscite in Kashmir is a dead one. Recently, Mr. Pant, the home minister of the Republic of India in his reply during a debate on Kashmir in the House of the People (the lower house of the Indian Parliament) made the position of the Government of India absolutely clear. The substance of this speech in this: so far as the Government of India is concerned Kashmir is a part of India and it will remain Indian. Pakistan is an aggressor in Kashmir and Pakistani forces must withdraw from Indian soil. India will defend her territories from any form of attack by all legitimate means.

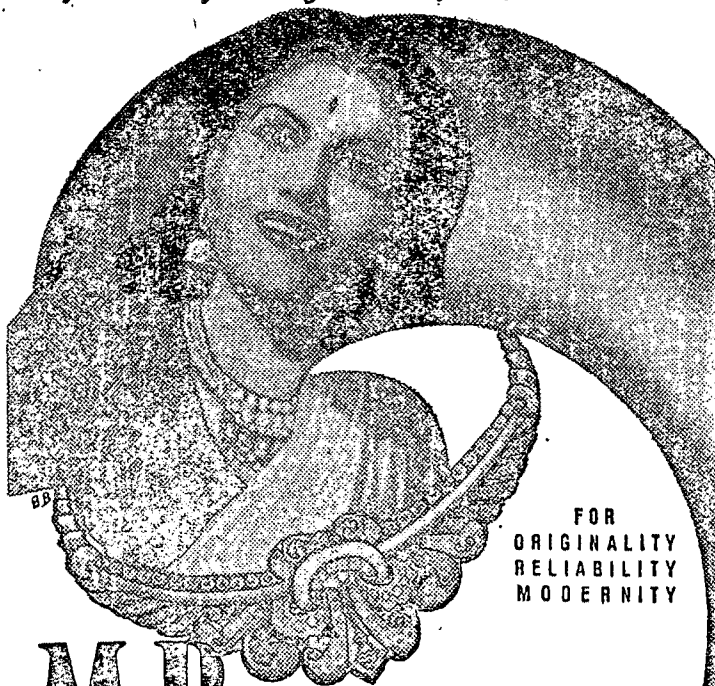
I should be fully understood by Americans and other that a nation's position on any particular issue is not eternally binding. With a decided change in world politics (especially since Pakistan's repeated refusal to come to an understanding with India by signing a non-aggression pact and the settlement of all disputes by peaceful means while, at the same time, signing an alliance with Turkey and Iran and entering into an arms accord with the United States) India is forced to re-examine and if necessary re-orient her policies with all powers. It is pertinent to recall that the United States of America, Britain or France, as members of the United Nations, did not give up their rights to follow independent and changing policies to suit their own interests. In the same way, India is entitled to pursue policies on all issues, especially on issues involving her territorial integrity, to suit particular circumstances.

Perhaps, it may be worthwhile to remind the advocates of a plebiscite in Kashmir that the United

Nations and all the powers in the Security Council of the United Nations have quite discarded their former position regarding Japan. It was agreed solemnly that there would be complete disarmament of Japan. But owing to changed world conditions, Japan with American aid has developed a sizeable army and air force (known as a police force); and she is engaged in developing a navy, on the ground of her right to self-defense. Only the other day, Japan gave notice to the whole world in a speech by her defense minister that for her defense she may use atomic weapons. It is interesting that on the matter of the re-armament of Japan there is no demand from the United Nations and the Anglo-American powers and others that Japan should stick to her constitution and the old terms imposed by the victorious powers. In fact, Japan is urging the victorious nations—the United States and Soviet Russia—to relinquish certain islands now occupied by them.

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of World War II, Germany was deprived of her territories and partitioned by the joint action of the Soviet Union, France, Britain and the United States, but now these powers have discarded the famous Potsdam Agreement and are trying to make a settlement on the basis of a united Germany. Dr. Adenauer has given notice that Germany does not relinquish her claims to her former territories, annexed by the neighboring powers. It is reasonable to suppose that within a year or two there may well be a united Germany. The present change of status of Germany is due to changes in world politics. Due to the new world situation in which Pakistan, aided by American arms, has been pursuing anti-Indian policies on a world scale, India, in consideration of her territorial integrity and self-defense, will no longer agree to any measure which would undermine her position that Kashmir is part of Indian territory.

The democratic republic of India is built upon the fundamental principle of a secular state, upholding human rights irrespective of race and religion; Pakistan, on the other hand, is a theocratic dictatorship upholding Pan-Islamism and denying equal rights to the minority communities. To agree to a plebiscite in Kashmir (which is a part of India) so that the Pan-Islamic state of Pakistan would be enabled legally to detach even a small fraction of India would undermine the very existence of the democratic republic. Thus, members of United Nations, especially Britain and the United States which are interested in maintaining friendly relations with India, should not expect that India will give up her hold on Kashmir, a frontier province vital to her national defense.

India wants peace. But if Pakistan, supplied with superior arms, commits any further aggressive act, India will defend her frontiers and rights with all possible means, as she did when Pakistan invaded Kashmir more than five years ago. Future peace or war on the Kashmir issue will be up to Pakistan, because India will not surrender her rights in that province to any form of external pressure.

Garden City of Modern Rome

A new residential quarter is growing up between the old centre of Rome and the sea at Ostia, around the monumental buildings of the E.U.R. (Universal Exhibition of Rome). The new quarter extends over about 1,000 acres and has an abundance of trees and gardens.

Throughout the centuries, in almost every epoch, the City of Rome has continued to expand as a result of increasing population. The expansion has taken place both within the limits of the Roman Walls and beyond them into the surrounding countryside. It has been particularly marked during the past 50 years.

It was, in fact, about 50 years ago that the so-called "Humbertine" quarters, with their agglomerate aspect of monotonous and heavy uniformity, grew up around the centre of Rome. These "popular" quarters included the Prati di Cas'ello, bounded on the north, almost ringed, by the enormous barracks of Viale delle Milizie; the Macao section with the large barracks of Castro Pretorio, and the adjacent "Humbertine" sections of San Giovanni, Esquilino, Nomentano and Salario. Only 50 years ago these quarters were suburban, while today they are part of the centre of Rome. A more dignified aspect was given to the residential area known as "Ludovisi" in the

Barberni zone, north-east of the Quirinale Palace. This, in comparison with the previously mentioned "popular" quarters, was planned more in accord with modern conceptions, incorporating to full advantage the wooded grounds of the noble villas which crowned the old centre of Rome with green.

Then, during the first decade of this century there was a change in the concept of expansion which had characterized the construction of the "Humbertine" sections. The new buildings were designed as part of many "garden cities" to provide a setting for the old centre of Rome. Two typical examples are to be found at opposite extremes of the city. These are the Monte Sacro quarter near the Aniene River, and the Monte Verde quarter on the southern slopes of the Gianicolo.

Urban planning now embodies the principle of "green lungs" for city, incorporating small villas with parks and gardens and wide roads between, with dual or triple carriage-ways. The planning has preserved the general view including the monumental features remaining characteristic of the old centre of Rome. So constructed were the quarters Aventino, Italia, Universitario, Trieste, Delle Vittorie, and above all the Paroli with the ample "green lungs" of Villa Borghese, Villa Savoia and Villa Glori.

Before the Second World War there were other building phases in Rome, different and even opposed in characteristics to the preceding ones. They were determined by urgent need to provide accommodation for great numbers of people, and took the form of estates. At first, these estates constituted an outward leap of the city's expansion; and examples include Primavera, Monteverde Nuovo, Garbatella, Casal Bertone, Tufello, and Tiburtino III. Then began intensive construction of huge blocks of flats containing a large number of small dwellings. These flats soon took up the space between the urban centre and the suburban "popular" quarters.

The expansion of Rome continues to be a pressing problem because of the continually increasing population (the annual figure is 20,000 persons), and because Rome is becoming more and more a cultural and political centre attracting increasing numbers of visitors and tourists.

ORIGIN OF THE GARDEN CITY OF E.U.R.

To meet new and urgent needs it has been found necessary to bring into use the monumental buildings of the E.U.R. site. It will be recalled that construction of these splendid buildings was started before the war, and that it was planned to hold there, in 1942, an "Olympic of Civilization" together with a universal exhibition. The Second World War intervened. The monumental buildings were left incomplete; and damaged as a result of the war they assumed the aspect of the ruins of a dead city.

The zone called Three Fountains, half way between Rome and Ostia, was excellent for this development, directing the city's expansion towards the sea. And thus, before the war, the great military centre of Cecchignola was constructed in the zone; while in the region of the shores of Ostia Anntca there arose a fine new town, the popular and much frequented Lido di Roma. Meanwhile, in the same direction, to the south of the Tiber, all the area between Rome and the sea was being developed. Among these new centres are Vitinia, Risaro, and Acilia.

As a result of the success of this building development the project for a garden city in the E.U.R. zone, after the raventness of the war, has received fresh impulse and its realisation may now be considered certain. Characteristics of this new residential quarter

of Rome are the magnificence of its monumental centre, the abundance of trees, parks and gardens, the modern public services, the plentiful supply of water and the numerous fountains and ponds. Maximum practical harmony is being achieved in the development of the area, and there are ample roads and excellent public transport.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MONUMENTAL AREA

The E.U.R. monumental centre, which continues to attract visitors and tourists, consists of many magnificent buildings, some of which at present are being used as ministries and offices and for exhibition purposes. Others are not yet in use. The centre includes the following:

(a) *Conference Building*: with an area of 10,150 square metres and a total volume of 216,500 cubic metres. It has a hall 40 metres in both length and height; and its total volume is greater than that of the Pantheon in Rome. The part intended for congresses has a seating capacity of more than 1,000, with adjoining rooms for the Press and for secretarial and postal services and so on.

(b) *Italian Civilization Palace*: six storeys constructed as a series of arches of which there are a total of 216 on the four sides. Each side is 51 metres high; and the height of the structure from ground level is 68 metres. Its volume is 205,000 cubic metres, and it has an area of 8,400 square metres.

(c) *Office Building*: of four storeys, L shape, covering an area of about 6,000 square metres, with a total volume of 117,000 cubic metres. It has rooms and offices for 800 people, and a hall with an area of 1,240 square metres.

(d) *The Church of S. Peter and S. Paul*: designed on the plan of a Greek Cross, and 72 metres high. It has a dominating position, overlooking the lower Tiber area. The cupola, of 28 metres internal diameter and 31.75 metres external, is the second largest in Rome. The monumental church covers an area of 3,000 square metres and has a volume of 105,000 cubic metres.

Other notable monuments already being built, some in advanced stage of construction, include the *Pavilion of Ancient Art*, the *Palace of Modern Art*, the *Pavilion of Science* joined to the symmetrical *Palace of Folk Traditions*, the *Museum of Roman Civilization*, the *Armed Forces Building*, the *Sports Palace* and the *Forestry Palace*.

The principal public buildings of the new district include the following:

(a) *Open air theatres* to seat about 6,000, built on circular plan with seating in tiers, covering a surface of 115×70 metres, and with a very large area of stage.

(b) *Cinema*: to seat 1,000, in the I.N.P.S. Building (National Institute for Social Welfare) which is admired by visitors for its architecture and which borders the piazza at the entrance to the E.U.R. grounds from Via Cristoforo Colombo.

(c) *Sports buildings and grounds*: under construction or planned in view of the Olympic Games to be held in Rome during 1960, and will be in the area of the largest hill and those nearby. Work already has been started on a Sports Building which will accommodate 15,000 spectators. It will have a gymnasium and also facilities for boxing, wrestling, fencing, skating and so on. In addition, there will be a stadium for athletics and cycle and motor cycle racing, and a course for horse racing. The stadium will accommodate 20,000 spectators, and will have 200 Press seats, 15

radio receiver rooms, and lockers for 170 competitors.

(d) *Fairs and Exhibitions*: facilities extend over an area of 64,000 square metres. They will be on the west shore of a large lake which is in project. Fairs and exhibitions of national and international interest have already been held on these grounds during the past few years.

(e) *Communications Building*: post, telephone and telegraph, situated near the church, and has a covered area of 2,200 square metres and a volume of 29,300 cubic metres.

(f) *The Restaurant*: is near the Office Building already is open to the public. It has a covered area of 3,000 square metres and a volume of 26,000 cubic metres. In addition to three large and beautifully furnished rooms the extensive terraces also are in use.

(g) *Underground passages for services*: 17 of the planned 19 kilometres have been completed. They are for carrying services including water, electricity telephone lines and express mail. Of a planned 21 kilometres of sewers, 23 kilometres have been completed. Their total network is greater than that of any other district of the city.

Drinking water has been assured for the area by linking it to the Rome water system. In addition there will be an adequate supply of water for the fountains which adorn the area. Plans have been completed for construction of a lake one kilometre long and 100 metres wide at the narrowest point. It will extend at right angles to Via Cristoforo Colombo which branches at this point and so will divide the lake into three.

The whole area of the E.U.R. has been conceived as a true garden city, where in the open spaces amid the abundance of trees will be added gardens and flower beds. The area already has about 28,000 trees of various size, and it is expected that this number will be increased in the future.

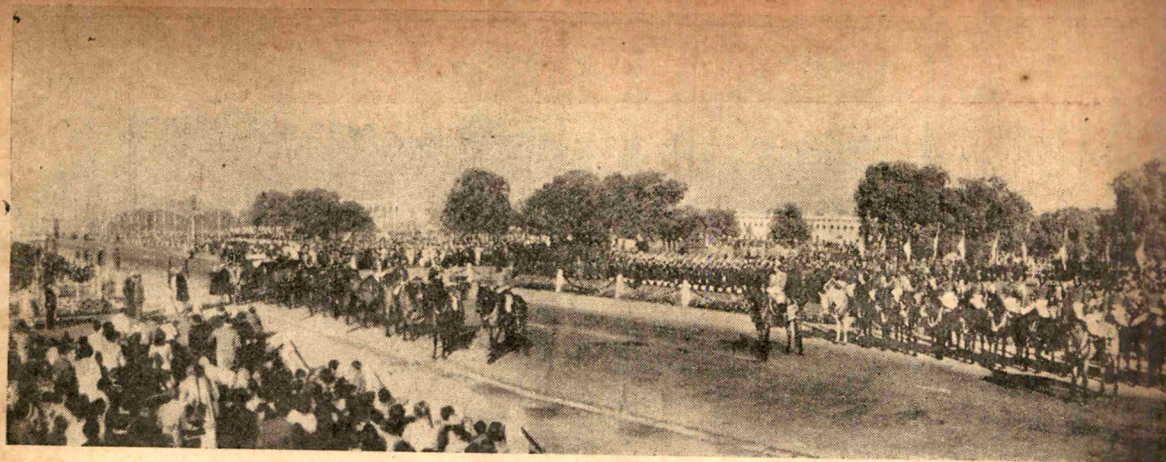
Wide roads and bridges facilitate communication between Rome and the new E.U.R. district. Via Cristoforo Colombo, which crosses the E.U.R., links Rome with Castel Porziano on the sea.

Within the new district there is a *net-work of fine roads* with numerous squares. The principal square *Piazza Italia*, is larger than S. Peter's square. In the centre of the piazza the obelisk commemorating Marconi rises to a height of 40 metres.

Public transport for the area includes a special bus service, the electric railway from Rome to Ostia and the new underground railway which begins at the E.U.R. grounds. This underground, which was inaugurated in February of this year, offers the most economical and rapid transport on a route including the Basilica of S. Paul, Porta Ostiense, Circo Massimo and the Colosseum, ending at Rome's main railway station, Termini. It is 11 kilometres long, with five surface stations and five underground. There is a daily service with trains every three minutes, and the complete journey from the E.U.R. grounds to Termini takes 11 minutes.

There are already numerous private houses around the E.U.R. area, and these are an example of the latest urban planning, with their modern lines and surroundings of trees and gardens.

Rome is expanding towards the sea, and it is now enriched by a new quarter, the garden city of the E.U.R. whose main characteristic is a harmony between its splendid but severe monuments and the modernity of its villas and gardens.—*Italian Affairs*, September, 1955.



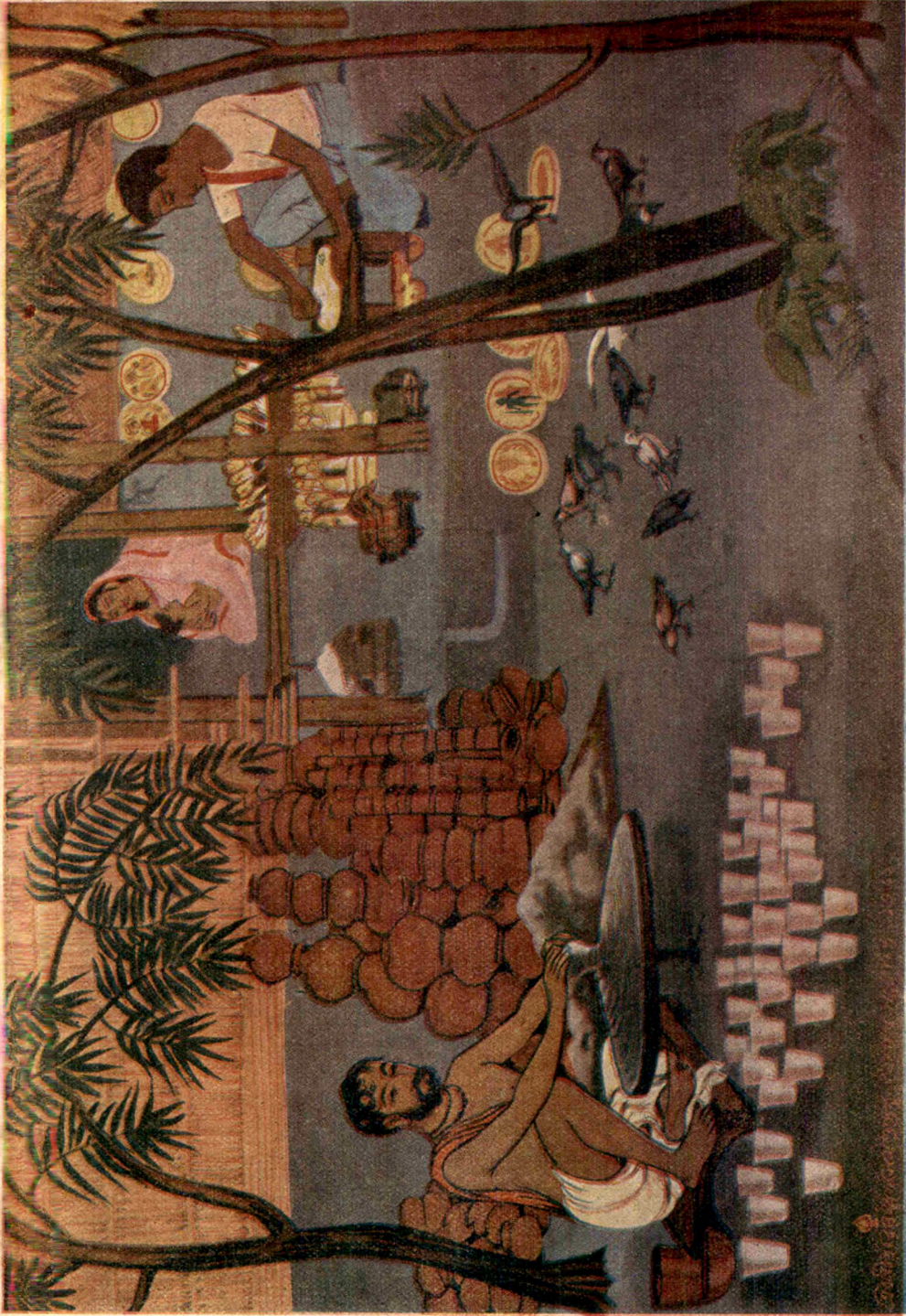
Republic Day Parade in New Delhi



Republic Day Celebration. The Manipur folk-dancers perform Laipou Chongba



On the occasion of the Indian Republic Day folk-dancers march past the Presidential dais



THE POTTER
By Niharranjan Sen Gupta

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NOTES

The Whirlwind

The agitations and disturbances that followed the Central Government and Congress decisions on the S.R.C. Report, has left a bitter taste in the mouth of those who were dreaming of national solidarity and the democratic way of life. Pandit Nehru has been uttering jeremiads, punctuated by fulminations, ever since and the 61st session of the Congress at Amritsar was held under the shadow of that ominous apprehension of internal strife generated by the happenings at Bombay and Orissa.

Disruptionists have had a short, but intensely exciting, season of Saturnalia in Bombay and Puri and almost a field-day in Calcutta, on the 24th of February, when the West Bengal Government hastily abdicated for the day, under the threat of the riots that follow an uncontrolled *hartal*, if an attempt is made by the authorities to protect the peaceful and law-abiding citizens of that unhappy city who wish to carry on with their work.

We have given the extracts from the speeches of Pandit Nehru and the Congress President, with comments, elsewhere in these columns. We have studied them very carefully and as a result we have to come to the painful conclusion that the higher executive of the so-

called Indian National Congress is becoming as estranged from its peoples as the Central and State Governments of India, and is—or pretends to be—as oblivious of realities as our bureaucratic Ministries. Indeed, it is becoming more and more apparent that the Congress is now playing only a second fiddle in the governmental orchestra.

The bonds that held the Congress close to the public in India were forged over a period of over six decades. Gandhiji not only strengthened them but he also extended it wide amongst the masses. In less than a decade the Congress has snapped most of the strands and there is now but a few thin strings left. Today the Congress as well as the Ministries at the Centre and the States is composed in the majority by self-seekers and careerists, who have neither the time nor the inclination to get into close contact with the public—excepting of course at election times when money and empty promises are broadcast over the electorate. As a result those that are at the head of affairs, have no means of ascertaining the real causes of unrest and strife, surrounded as they are by sycophants and clacquers.

The Congress President seems to be as ignorant of the malady and malaise with which

the public mind has been afflicted. He and Pandit Nehru both have exhorted the people and pointed out the dangers ahead, but neither of them have displayed any inclination to grapple with the real problems.

Why is it so easy for the trouble-maker and the disruptionists to raise the whirlwind? Why do the law-abiding—who are in the vast majority—refrain from helping the maintenance of Law and Order, even though they are the principal sufferers in the havoc caused by disturbances? How is it possible for so few to terrorise into submission so many? Has Pandit Nehru even tried to ask himself this question seriously? He cannot get the answer from those who surround him, because they neither know, nor do they care.

We do not pretend to be prophets or seers, but it is patent to all who try to mix with the various strata that go to make the complex of a nation that the main cause is loss of faith in the government. The public, by and large, does not believe that the government is able to maintain a fair standard of justice in its dealings with the common man, irrespective of his creed, status and racial sub-division.

Parochialism and party-favouritism is rife in all the circles of governmental administration. The favoured few get the plums, the rest do not even get a hearing. This is the consequence of men of little integrity and strength of character, and of poor ethical outlook, who make sycophants *par excellence*, being awarded high office and positions of consequence in the government and in the political caucus. As a result intrigue and jockeying for power and the "fruits" of office, is the order of the day.

Take the case of the Bengal-Bihar merger. The entire approach to the question has been hasty and ill-advised, both by the Chief Ministers and by their opposition. The one has offered it as a panacea for all evils, without taking into account the real problems that have to be provided against, the other has condemned it as a virulent poison, without reckoning the multiple benefits that might come out of it.

The whole affair is now in such a state that no reasonable man can even approach the subject in a decent fashion. And therefore he is inclined to declare "Plague on both thy camps" and retire.

There is no protection for the law-abiding in these cases. Indeed, on the contrary.

Pandit Nehru in referring to the disturbances termed them as "this whirlwind," as the following extracts from his speeches at Amritsar indicate:

"Prime Minister Nehru made a moving appeal to the Maharashtrians and Gujaratis and others living in Bombay City to 'shake hands again and make friends.'

"The real problem today," said Mr. Nehru, "was to heal the wounds that Bombay had suffered."

"He called upon all to 'get to grips with this whirlwind and put an end to it and to come together again.' He appealed to them to remember that 'every question is easy to solve if it is approached in a temperate and friendly way and every question becomes terribly difficult if it is sought to be solved by violence and coercive methods and threats.'

"If any Government is going to be threatened and coerced by these riots, it had better resign and go home and do something else. Certainly, our Government is not going to do that. It has no intention of resigning and no intention of being hustled into any action which it disapproves. But it has every intention of trying to win the goodwill of the people whom it has the honour to represent."

"The events that had happened recently, and the reaction to these events, said Mr. Nehru, 'made one feel that some people attached greater importance to State boundaries than to the unity of India. Quite rightly, Kaka Saheb Gadgil had said something about their not being able to control the strong feeling that had been aroused on the issue. 'I can understand that,' said Mr. Nehru, 'if you sow the wind, you have to reap the whirlwind. You cannot run away from it. You are either sucked away by the whirlwind or you fight it and control it. There is no other way.'

"Perhaps many of us, all of us, have made mistakes in dealing with this question. May be, those mistakes were made in a *bona fide* way, but certain situations have arisen from them and there is the whirlwind. This resolution, and the call to the nation issued by the Working Committee some two weeks ago or so, is respectfully offered to you and to the Congress as a challenge

to this whirlwind. And we shall fight it and control it and not give in to it (cheers). Giving in to the whirlwind and being swept away by it means you surrender to chaos. That is the basic position that you have to face.

"The basic position that faces the country today is not that of deciding a particular matter rightly or wrongly. We can right a wrong.

"After all the country does not run away and we do not run away, but it does matter a great deal if we allow a situation in this country to deteriorate when neither good sense nor wisdom can play any part and violence takes the field. I say that is the question before the country, not the question of Bombay or Maharashtra or Bengal and Orissa or any other place. And so long as we do not settle that question clearly, the other questions do not arise. I do not care very much if this question is postponed except for the very valid reason that might make people think we are afraid and, therefore, we are postponing the issue. There is no sense of fear, I can tell you, only a sense of sorrow in our hearts that we should have been driven into these unhappy circumstances."

But the point that Pandit Nehru missed is that whether the decision is right or wrong, there must not be any suspicion in the minds of the people that the wrong decision was *deliberate* and that justice has been denied through unfair machinations. A genuine mistake, made in good faith, can be excused but not a series of wrongs unjustly contrived for *justice* must be apparent, which it is not in the S.R.C. decisions.

President Dhebar also spoke in the same strain, first laying stress on Hindi as a State language and finally, at the end of his speech, coming to essentials.

"Referring to the need for a common language, Mr. Dhebar said: How can we think of a united India unless we understand one another? The spread of Hindi and the development of other languages in which the people speak and express themselves become inevitable for that purpose. We are apt to place too much reliance upon 'one-language one-State' formula. Switzerland, one of the most peaceful and prosperous countries in the world, has three languages. It is interesting to note that while the French, the Germans and the Italians having their

own linguistic States have been quarrelling and even fighting with one another off and on, the Swiss having all the three languages in one State have always remained unaffected. It is the love and respect which we show to a language or languages that is the kernel of the unity of a nation."

"Concluding, Mr. Dhebar said: Our leaders in the Government are trying to exert themselves to the utmost to see that the maximum effort is made. I have only pointed out the three fundamental needs for the success of planning, a correct social approach, the urgent need for reorientation of our political and social institutions, and the need on the part of the Congress organisation to rise to the occasion by dragging itself out from the ruts of easy political propaganda to an organised constructive effort. Last time we considered the question of purity and strengthening of the Congress organisation. You know that a Standing Committee was appointed and it has worked out a programme. It was no part of my intention nor that of the Working Committee to approach the problem of purity and strengthening of the Congress organisation from a negative angle. We are earnestly trying to shift the emphasis from power to service, from expediency to fundamentals, and from mere routinal politics to constructive work. It is going to be a difficult going. But go he must. For it is only our organisation that stands to-day between ordered development and chaos and disruption of this country. Unless the direction is changed, we shall not be able to eliminate pettiness, individual and group loyalties and other ills that beset our organisation.

"We are entering into a crucial period of our history. Whether it is the Second Five-Year Plan, whether it is the States Reorganisation, whether it is the forthcoming elections or whether it is the goal of socialism, the deciding factors ultimately will be a trustworthy leadership, and efficient and an incorruptible administration, and a live, active and zealous organisation, firm in its faith, clear in its objective and loyal to its fundamentals. No revolution in the world has succeeded that has not given to the people these three things. We have the good fortune to possess in Panditji a leader who has carried with him and is still carrying with him the trust of our people, perhaps unequaled anywhere."

The Harijan

It is with a heavy heart that we reproduce extracts from the editorial of the last issue of the *Harijan*. We feel that this swan-song should be put on record, to show how far the people have deviated from the Gandhian path, as indicated by his disciples:

"In the previous issue of 18-2-56 I had described the circumstances under which it was decided to close the publication of the three historic *Harijan* papers. It is natural to feel regret for this. However, I think, the feeling will not be as intense or keen as it was three years ago, when it was similarly decided. I say so because I feel that, looking from all sides of the matter, the time for taking such a step is ripe enough now. Therefore I hold that the decision of the Navajivan Trust is timely.

These papers have given a very valuable contribution in bringing about the Gandhian Age of India's modern history. They were started for that purpose. Gandhiji started *Young India* and *Navajivan* in 1919-20; a few years later was started the *Hindi Navajivan*. Thus began the first stage of these papers.

In 1930-32 they came to be closed consequent upon the action of the British Government against our fight for Swaraj. Similar causes necessitated Gandhiji's famous fast unto death in jail in 1933. As we know the fast was occasioned by the movement for removal of untouchability. The three papers started again under their new name of the *Harijan*, and they continued to be issued till the advent of freedom as its witness and bold mouth-piece.

Gandhiji passed away in 1948. Some felt then that as his voice was hushed with him, it would not be right to continue the three papers which were Gandhiji's voice as it were. The papers were accordingly stopped.

Against this there was another equally strong view which held that the papers should still continue to expound and guide the people on Gandhian lines in the new stage of reconstruction as well. The trustees agreed with the latter view and the papers were restarted in April, 1948 under the editorship of late Shri K. G. Mashruwala.

The history of the papers since then is fresh to the readers. The most noteworthy change in this new phase of the papers was that they began to function in a period when they could not have

the benefit of soaring on the wings of the actual fight for Swaraj, but must plod on the dreary path of constructive activities, say with bullock-cart speed. We might therefore well say that the papers entered quite a new stage of their career. That they could not really be the physical voice of Gandhiji was obvious, as he was no more with us. However they were undoubtedly Gandhiji's papers, and as such they were rightly expected to note and observe the march of events in New India keeping in view the Gandhian principles.

To do such a job when Gandhiji was no more with us was bound to be rather hard and difficult. The reason is obvious. There had begun to arise in our midst differences of ideas, ideals and opinions at every stage of implementing the national programme of reconstruction. This could be observed happening even when Gandhiji was with us for the few months after the advent of independence. Thereafter the process has gone on showing itself more explicitly. Today it is quite manifest. If I am permitted, I may say that India's history of the Gandhian Age begins its new chapter under Jawaharlalji. The closure of these papers at this time, I therefore feel, is only a result of the natural turn of history in India. Decreasing number of subscribers and increasing loss to the management may well be said to be its obvious symptoms."

"What do we desire to do about rebuilding India now? What should be done about it? Gandhiji has answered this question from the deepest of his heart in his eternal prayer for us—"Lord of Humility" (*Harijan*, 11-2-56, p. 393), as follows:

"Lord of Humility, dwelling in the little pariah hut,.....give us the ability and willingness to identify ourselves with the masses of India....."

"How can we do it? How can we serve Daridranarayan? India's poor man dwelling in his village hut is generally without gainful employment worth the name. He needs honourable work. That only can give him honest and self-respectful bread. Such work should be provided for him at his house in the villages of India. That can be possible only through his plough and a piece of land and its inseparable ally—his home and village industries. The latter must be so recognized—must find an honourable place in our development plans and economy. Their unique place in the nation's rise to real freedom and its rebuilding must be duly accepted."

The Union Budget

The main feature of the Union budget for the year 1956-57 is the shift of emphasis on indirect taxation. The total revenue is estimated at Rs. 493.60 crores as against the revised estimates of Rs. 501.67 crores in the previous year. The estimates after taxation are placed at Rs. 527.75 crores. The expenditure is estimated at Rs. 545.43 crores. The total deficit on revenue account in the coming year is estimated at Rs. 51.83 crores, and after taxation the gap is expected to be reduced to Rs. 17.68 crores. The overall deficit both on revenue and capital accounts will be Rs. 390 crores. In the matter of direct taxation, the middle class has been spared, and only the higher income groups will be affected. While hitherto, the Government had been following the principle of "soaking the rich," this year they have decided to "soak the very rich." The presumption is that the rich has been partly upgraded to the level of the "very rich," and partly has been brought down to the level of the middle class by the cumulative effects of taxation in the past years.

The following is the summary of final estimates : (In lakhs of rupees)

REVENUE		
	Revised 1955-56	Budget 1956-57
Customs	165,00	150,00
Union Excise Duties	140,00	145,45
		+25,00*
Corporation Tax	39,84	41,84
		+6,50*
Taxes on Income other than Corporation Tax	78,70	84,81
		+1,70*
Estate Duty	13	18
Opium	2,27	2,10
Interest	4,22	5,49
Civil Administration	14,21	11,06
Currency and Mint	23,13	23,67
Civil Works	2,38	2,39
Other Sources of Revenue	23,55	19,39
Post and Telegraphs-Net Contribution to General Revenues	2,27	65
		+95*
Railways—Net contribution to general revenues	6,17	6,57
Total Revenue	501,67	493,60
		+34,15*

EXPENDITURE

Direct Demands on Revenue	33,08	31,15
Irrigation	12	5
Debt Services	37,85	35,50
Civil Administration	105,41	135,91
Currency and Mint	3,51	3,76
Civil Works	14,95	15,90
Pensions	8,98	8,84
Miscellaneous—		
Expenditure on displaced persons	24,62	21,42
Other Expenditure	26,62	30,23
Grants to States, etc.	35,79	38,00
Extraordinary items	13,36	14,70
Defence Service (Net)	185,07	203,97
Total Expenditure	489,36	545,43
Surplus (+) or Deficit (-)	+12,31	-17,68

(The figures with asterisks are the effects of budget proposals).

Among the new proposals for taxation are included the following important items : Excise duties on all categories of cotton fabrics will be raised by 6 pies per square yard except dhoties and saris of the coarse category the duty on which will remain unchanged; there will be an increase in excise duties on straw-board, soap and art silk fabrics; new excise duties will be imposed on diesel and furnace oils and on vegetable non-essential oils; import duty on flashlights and flashlight cases will be raised from 39.28 per cent to 50.1 per cent; tea export duty in the present price range of Rs. 3-4 to Rs. 4 per lb. will be reduced by 2 annas per lb, i.e., from 8 annas to 6 annas; the minimum charge for inland telegram has been raised from 12 annas to 13 annas for ordinary and from Rs. 1-8 to Rs. 1-10 for express; postal registration fee is increased from 6 to 8 annas; there will be a slight upward readjustment in supertax payable on income above Rs. 70,000-; rebate of 1 anna given to non-section 23-A companies in respect of undistributed profits is withdrawn; while the rate of supertax payable by Indian companies will remain unchanged, there will be levied in addition a supertax on dividends above 6 per cent, the rate being 2 annas when the dividend distributed is in excess of 6 per cent but up to 10 per cent, and 3 annas on distributions above 10 per cent; there will be a tax of 2 annas on bonus issues; penal supertax on Section 23-A companies (pure investment companies) is raised from 4 annas to 8 annas in the rupee on

undistributed profits, tax on registered partnership firms with income above Rs. 40,000 will be levied at 9 pies per rupee on incomes up to Rs. 75,000, at 1 anna per rupee on incomes up to Rs. 1,50,000, and 1½ annas on incomes above this figure.

Non-essential vegetable oils, on which the Finance Minister proposes to impose an excise duty of half-an-anna per pound include castor oil, groundnut oil, linseed oil, kardi oil, mustard oil, coconut oil, and sesamum oil. This duty which is expected to yield an estimated Rs. 5½ crores, would be levied only on factories operated by power, and the first 125 tons per year cleared for home consumption from any factory will be exempted from the duty. We are, however, at a loss to understand how mustard oil or coconut oil could be regarded as non-essential oils. Mustard oil is used by the Bengali people as the only cooking fat and so also is the coconut oil in South India. The levy of 1 anna per seer does not apparently seem much, but in reality it will make a great difference. This will give an opportunity to the dealers to raise the price of such oils by a much larger margin so as to reap higher profits. In this respect the consumers will be helplessly at the mercy of the dealers, the Government remaining a mute spectator.

The effect of the taxation proposals will be to raise Rs. 25 crores by new and increased excise duties, Rs. 10 crores by changes in income tax and Rs. 95 lakhs by enhancement of postal rates. The tea industry has suffered a setback in recent months in exports, the industry is practically facing a crisis with large accumulated stocks. It is regretted that the relief now being proposed to be given to the industry has not come a day earlier. The moral of the fable that you should not kill the hen that lays golden eggs is often forgotten in practical life and it brings hazards when it is overlooked by the Government. The higher rates of export duty on jute manufactures once brought a spell of disaster to the export trade of jute manufactures. Again, the Government ignored the impact of world competitive forces in tea export trade and the result is almost a slump in our tea trade. The depression in tea exports is partly attributable to the higher export duties, and partly to the closing of the London auction. Tea occupies the second place in our export trade and it is unfortunate that the authorities misjudged (or did not judge at all) the world market in tea. Ceylon and Indonesia

are the close rivals of India in tea exports and the raising of export duties by India on tea favoured the tea exports of these countries. The relief will have little effect in stepping up exports, as its effect on prices will be insignificant.

Referring to the balance of payments, the Finance Minister observed that on the trends of the first nine months' figures (1955), the year as a whole might show a surplus of about Rs. 35 crores as compared with the deficit of Rs. 4 crores in the previous year. The sterling balances stood at Rs. 735 crores at the end of 1955 as compared to Rs. 731 crores at the beginning of the year. The dollar position has also improved and India made a net contribution of \$53 million to the Central Reserve in 1955 as compared with the net withdrawal of \$15 million in 1954. The projected increase in the pace of development contemplated in the second Plan would impose a heavy strain on our payments position in future. In urging a note of caution, the Finance Minister observed that if the second Plan were to proceed according to schedule, "not only shall we not be able to achieve any surplus in our external account but we are also likely to be faced with fairly substantial deficits." It is, therefore, necessary to promote exports by taking urgent and effective steps to modernize and rationalize major industries like jute and cotton textiles so as to make them capable of withstanding foreign competition. All-out efforts, the Finance Minister urged, were required to encourage export industries and otherwise to save or earn foreign exchange.

We may, however, point out that since 1947 India has been suffering trade deficits, with the exception of 1950 when there was a small surplus. Even in 1955, India had trade deficits on current account. Exports during 1955 were valued at Rs. 604 crores as against Rs. 563 crores during 1954. Imports rose to Rs. 644 crores from Rs. 616 crores in the previous year. The overall trade deficit declined from Rs. 53 crores in 1954 to Rs. 40 crores in 1955. The Government always cite the balance of payments position, and in one sense that is correct because it reflects the total outgoings and incomings of a country. But it must not be forgotten that in our balance of payments position there are various items which are not at all earned by India by her trade, but constitute a great liability being mostly loans from international bodies like the IMF and other institutions and countries.

The deficit in the balance of payments is balanced by what is known as the compensatory official financing and to that extent the picture of the external payments is misleading, at least it does not reveal correctly the balance on account of current trade.

In the next budget, Capital expenditure is estimated at Rs. 316.7 crores, of which Rs. 113 crores were for Railways, Rs. 26.3 crores for Defence, Rs. 44 crores for the three new Steel Plants, Rs. 20 crores for cash compensation to displaced persons, Rs. 9.5 crores for Government trading schemes mostly for purchase of foodgrains and Rs. 5 crores for the Life Insurance Corporation. In addition, the estimates include, against the original estimate of Rs. 355 crores, Rs. 327 crores in 1955-56 and Rs. 386 crores in 1956-57 for loans to State Government and others mostly for the execution of projects in the Plan.

During the next year the overall deficit is estimated at Rs. 390 crores, the whole of which is expected to be met by expansion of Treasury Bills. Regarding the Ways and Means position, the Government needs Rs. 52 crores for meeting the revenue deficit and Rs. 703 crores for financing the Capital Outlay and loan requirements. Against this, they hoped to raise Rs. 100 crores from the Market Loan, Rs. 70 crores from small savings, Rs. 85 crores from foreign aid and Rs. 110 crores from other miscellaneous debt and remittance transaction. This would leave a gap of about Rs. 390 crores to balance the budget. In other words, deficit financing shall have to be resorted to during the next financial year. Considering the result of deficit financing during the period of the first Five-Year Plan, it can be taken that deficit financing in such small doses can safely be absorbed by the system. In an underdeveloped economy like that of ours, deficit financing undertaken on productive purposes backed with the expansion of employment does not create inflationary conditions, provided of course there is higher taxation and continued flow of consumer goods. The high taxation is already there and the authorities should see that the country has an adequate supply of consumer goods and imports need be directed towards checking inflationary tendencies.

Dearer credit structure is another deterrent to inflationary tendencies, and the Reserve Bank has already taken timely action in raising the advance rate against usance bills under the bill

market scheme. If need be, the Bank rate may also be raised to make short-term borrowing, that is, speculation, a costly affair. As regards foreign assistance India has received economic assistance from friendly countries, mainly from the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The total aid authorized from April 1951 to date is of the order of Rs. 300 crores, of which Rs. 200 crores are expected to be utilised by the end of March 1956.))

All-India Rural Credit Survey

The General Report of the all-India Rural Credit Survey Committee has now been for about a year before the public. Some of the more important of the many recommendations made in this report have gained added significance by reason of their substantial acceptance, as the basis of future policy in the sphere of rural credit, by the Central and State Governments, by the Reserve Bank itself and by various all-India bodies representative of official and non-official co-operative opinion. Plans for co-operative development in the various States, are being formulated on the basis of the integrated scheme recommended in the Report, and will be incorporated into the Second Five-Year Plan.

There has been a demand for a shorter version of the Report, not so short, however, as to obscure the argument or be a bare summary of facts and recommendations. An abridged edition has, therefore, been prepared by the Reserve Bank to meet that demand, and also to make available the main contents of the full Report to as large a body of the public and co-operative and other institutions as possible. It is also hoped by the Reserve Bank that the abridged edition will serve as a convenient text for purposes of translation into the regional languages of the country.

The Committee made detailed studies regarding our agricultural economy and suggested various means for future development. The Report of the Committee made recommendations for the integrated development of the co-operative movement under the aegis of State partnership. The prescription for the reorganization of co-operative credit hitherto made or tried may be described as attempts to rectify the internal weaknesses of the credit structure without taking into account the weaknesses of the rural structure as a whole, much less its maladjustment to the external mechanism of urban trade and finance.

Most reforms of the co-operative movement, attempted or effected, have therefore been in the nature of inevitably futile attempts to combine the weak against the strong in conditions in which the weak have had no chance. Thus, efforts have been concentrated on thrift, better living, multi-purpose activity, etc., without the prior preparation needed for correcting the maladjustment between the two economies. The Committee maintains that conditions must first be created in which co-operation can properly function. No criticism of the functioning is likely to be useful or fundamental unless those conditions are first created. The choice before co-operation is, therefore, indefinitely to continue in various degrees to be unable to help itself or to be helped in order that eventually it may not only help itself but need no other outside help.

That initial help, the Committee thinks, can only come from the State if it is to be of the requisite magnitude and of a type which will enable the co-operative organization to withstand the pressure of opposition of vested interests. The manner of the help, therefore cannot be administrative. The State's way of help hitherto has been to over-administer and under-finance. But that is no remedy for a total problem which may now be seen to be one, not of rural-minded credit alone, but of rural-minded credit in conjunction with rural-minded development of agriculture and rural-minded organization of marketing, processing, etc.

The total programme needed may be described as one of rural reorientation of the operative forces of the country's administrative and financial organization. It implies a combination of rural conscience, rural will and rural direction. Such a combination strong enough to be an over-riding factor in the situation has to come from Government and the more powerful institutions of Government. In Co-operation we have what may be described as a combination of the weak at the bottom. The State is or ought to be a combination for the weak at the top. An effective programme is possible only if the State at one end joins hands with Co-operatives at the other in an effort to bring about the rural-mindedness that is needed. The process of collaboration hitherto may be described not so much as the joining of hands as the occasional and ceremonial shaking of hands, the Committee observes.

Thus, through one important part of the Committee's recommendations runs the theme,

not only of State guidance and State aid, but also of State partnership with co-operatives in credit, processing, marketing, etc. Since the operations of the banking mechanism as a whole have an important bearing on the first of these aspects, *viz.*, processing, marketing, etc., two other basic considerations which underline different but connected parts of the recommendations are the need for positive State association with a defined sector of commercial banking and the need for State initiative and State participation in the creation of suitable institutional means for the promotion of storage and warehousing on an all-India scale.

The Committee has recommended that the Reserve Bank of India should establish two funds, namely, the National Agricultural Credit (Long-term Operations) Fund and the National Agricultural Credit Stabilisation Fund. The Reserve Bank should contribute not less than Rs. 5 crores per annum to the former and not less than Rs. 1 crore per annum to the latter Fund. The position in regard to these contributions will be reviewed at the end of five years. In addition, there should be an initial non-recurring allotment of Rs. 5 crores to the Long-term Operations Fund. The operations of these Funds and the planning and execution (within the Reserve Bank's own sphere) of the programmes and policies for which they are intended to be utilized should remain the responsibility of the Reserve Bank and its Board, in their normal functioning, and should not be vested in a separate body, statutory or other.

The Committee has suggested that out of the Long-term Operations Fund, the Reserve Bank should be enabled to make long-term loans to State Government for the purpose of their subscribing, directly or indirectly, to the share capital of co-operative credit institutions, whether these are institutions which give short-term and medium-term credit (State co-operative banks, central co-operative banks, larger sized primary credit societies, etc.) or long-term credit (central land mortgage banks, primary land mortgage banks, etc.), provided the institution is one mainly designed for giving rural credit, either in the sphere of agricultural and ancillary activities or of cottage and small-scale industries.

The Government of India have accepted these recommendations of the all-India Rural Credit Survey and the Reserve Bank Act has been amended accordingly in 1955. Under new provisions, the Reserve Bank is required to establish

two Funds—the National Agricultural Credit (Long-term Operations) Fund and National Agricultural Credit Stabilisation Fund. The Long-term Operations Fund has already been credited with a sum of Rs. 10 crores, while the latter has not yet been provided with any credit. Under the terms of amendment, the Reserve Bank is required to contribute annually, commencing from the year ended June 30, 1956, a sum of Rs. 1 crore for a period of five years. The Government of India, however, can authorise the Reserve Bank to reduce or increase the amount of its annual contributions to these Funds.

The purpose of the Long-term Operations Fund is fourfold : (1) to give loans and advances to State Governments for subscribing, directly or indirectly, to the share-capital of co-operative credit societies. The State Governments should repay these loans on the expiry of fixed periods not exceeding twenty years from the date of making such loans ; (2) to give loans to State co-operative banks for agricultural purposes. These are to be medium-term loans and are required to be repaid not before 15 months and not exceeding 5 years ; (3) to give loans to central land mortgage banks for a period not exceeding 20 years ; and (4) to purchase debentures of central land mortgage banks. Loans and advances made to the co-operative banks and central land mortgage banks are subject to guarantee of repayment of both principal and interest by the State Governments concerned.

The increase in the share-capital of State co-operative banks will enable such banks to increase the volume of short-term agricultural credit now supplied by the Reserve Bank. The National Agricultural Credit Stabilisation Fund will be utilised by the Reserve Bank for the purpose of granting medium-term loans to State co-operative banks, etc., in circumstances in which it is satisfied that short-term loans of which repayment to it has become due by the State co-operative banks, etc., cannot without serious dislocation to the credit structure of the State's co-operative system, be repaid in due time on account of famine, drought, etc., and consequently that repayment of such loans, or part thereof, may justifiably be allowed to be deferred. The short-term loan will be technically treated as repaid to the Banking Department, but in effect converted into a medium-term loan from the Reserve Bank's Stabilisation Fund.

The recommendations of the all-India Rural

Credit Survey Committee attached high priority to warehouse construction as an integral part of its scheme for establishing institutional system of establishing rural credit in India. To promote the planned development, on a country-wide basis, of facilities for the storage and warehousing of agricultural commodities (including commodities ancillary to agriculture or otherwise of importance to the rural economy of the country), with the object, among other things, of expeditiously bringing about conditions in which increased institutional credit will be available for agriculture and, ultimately of bringing about the ownership on a co-operative basis of as wide a network of godowns and licensed warehouses as possible, the Committee has suggested for the establishment of the National Development and Warehousing Board. The Government of India have accepted these recommendations and have decided to set up an all-India Warehousing Corporation and a series of State Warehousing Corporations. The Agricultural Ministry will set up no less than 1,700 warehouses and godowns in the principal mandis and markets of the country. These godowns will be owned by large-sized credit co-operatives which would cater to the needs of five villages in irrigated areas. Warehouses will facilitate proper grading of commodities. The Union Minister of Food and Agriculture, in his inaugural address at the meeting of the Agricultural and Food Products Division Council of the Indian Standards Institution held at New Delhi on February 18, emphasised the need for compulsory regulation, according to specified grades and standards of commodities, especially those meant for export.

State Trading in Food

The Union Ministry of Food and Agriculture recently came out with a statement contradicting some of the charges of wastage against the Food Ministry made in a pamphlet entitled *State Trading in Food*, published by the Employers' Association, Calcutta. The main charges made in the abovementioned pamphlet were that the Government had incurred a loss of Rs. 277.4 crores during the 10 years 1944-53 which could have been avoided if there was private trading instead of State trading ; there had been unduly large waste in Government storage of foodgrains ; and the handling charges incurred by the Government had been much higher than what would have been incurred by the trade.

The Government statement pointed out that strictly speaking food transactions of the Government between 1943 and 1953 could not be called State trading as they did not fulfil the basic characteristics of such trading, viz., purchase of products by the State-owned or State-controlled agency at the cheapest market with a view to their commercial resale at the dearest. "Procurement prices were fair prices and not the cheapest prices. Similarly, ration prices were also fair prices and not the highest prices that could be extorted from the consumer."

The statement continued to point out that much of the so-called loss of Rs. 277.4 crores over food transactions was accounted for by subsidies, bonuses and loss incurred as a result of decontrol. Subsidies had to be given to enable the ordinary consumer buy the imported foodgrains, procured at much higher cost, at a reasonable price. The subsidies had been granted in pursuance of a definite policy "Firstly, to keep the prices within easy reach of the consumer and, secondly, to encourage procurement with a view to ensuring a fair distribution of available supplies. To describe the expenditures thus incurred a loss is, therefore, travesty of truth."

It pointed out further that the Government had agreed on the decontrol of foodgrains in the public interest as a matter of deliberate policy though they could easily have continued controls and thus avoided the loss incurred on decontrol.

"Thus," the statement added, "if subsidies, bonuses and the loss incurred on decontrol are taken as deliberate expenditure undertaken in the interest of the consumer, then not only was there no trading loss but, as will appear from the published accounts, a net profit of about Rs. 39 crores over a transaction of about Rs. 1,000 crores was made by the Government in the course of these ten years. This works out to a profit of about 4 per cent and shows how wide of the mark the conclusions reached in the pamphlet are." If Government had been guided by the profit motive they could easily have made a much larger profit.

Referring to the charge of unduly large waste in Government storage the statement pointed out that compared with 1 per cent loss for storage in such progressive countries as

Australia and Belgium, and the average 3 per cent allowed by private traders in India for storage of foodgrains, the loss sustained by the Government of India during the period 1946 to 1954 had never exceeded 10 per cent. "In fact in 8 out of the 9 years the loss varied from 00.28 per cent to .73 per cent. By any standard this must be regarded as a very good record."

"The administration of food was undertaken by the Government at a time when the country was threatened with acute shortage of food supply and when there was no dearth of anti-social elements in the country. The main consideration for the Government at that time was not the price of foodstuffs but how to avoid a repetition of the tragedies of the Bengal Famine. The grant of subsidies, the fixation of issue prices, procurement prices, etc., were all based on a deliberate policy designed to protect the interests of the poorer section of the population. Private trade could never have obtained the urgently needed foodstuffs on the same terms as they were arranged by the Government," the statement added.

Hindi and non-Hindi Areas' Demand.

In the September, 1955 session of the Madras Legislature the State Government had introduced a resolution for consideration of the Questionnaire issued by the Official Language Commission appointed by the Government of India. In the Upper House of the Legislature an amendment had been moved to the resolution adding, "and, on such consideration, this Council resolves to request the Government of Madras, in framing their replies to the Questionnaire, to incorporate the following principles and suggestions in their reply :

(1) That, for purposes of administration, the State should use the regional language or languages ultimately and that Hindi cannot be adopted for this purpose.

(2) That for the limited correspondence between the Central Government or any other State and the local State, the State should utilize the services of translators and interpreters to the extent necessary.

(3) That, so far as the Union Public Service Examinations are concerned, the only just method of ensuring equality of opportunity for people both in the Hindi and non-Hindi

speaking areas, as laid down in the Constitution, would be to permit candidates to choose a language or languages mentioned in the Constitution and to fix quotas according to the number of persons speaking such language or languages in the country.

(4) That so far as Court languages are concerned the regional language or languages should be used in the courts of the State and in the High Court of the State.

(5) That the language or languages used in the State Legislature should be the regional language or languages and that in Parliament, representatives of the different States should be afforded all facilities to speak in the regional languages mentioned in the Constitution.

(6) That all public servants recruited to the Central Services should be required, after their selection to such services to pass a test or tests in Hindi if they are from non-Hindi-speaking areas and in one of the other languages of the Constitution if they are from a Hindi-speaking area.

(7) That there is no necessity for using Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form.

(8) That so far as the medium of instruction in primary schools, secondary schools, Universities, etc., is concerned, the sound principle that has been enunciated by all educationists that the mother-tongue is the natural medium to be employed by progressive stages, should be borne in mind and if and when English is to be replaced, it should be replaced by the mother-tongue of the particular region.

(9) That finally, in the opinion of the Council, the question of replacement of English by a suitable regional language should be dealt with, taking into consideration the possibilities of the regional language being utilized at different stages of instruction and particularly in regard to higher education, technical, technological and professional, and also the extent to which well-qualified personnel in these higher branches of learning will be available to meet the needs of the changed situations.

(10) That due importance should be given to the study of an international language (English) during the stage of University and higher education, even after the adoption of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction."

The Minister-in-charge Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam said: "In this connection, Sir, I would like to pay a tribute to the manner in which Madras University had prepared their considered replies to the various points raised in the questionnaire. I could say at once that I generally agree with the opinions expressed by the Madras University and I see that the amendment moved by the Hon. Member, Shri Raza Khan more or less embodies the reply given by the University. I can also say that I generally agree with the broad views expressed in the amendment . . ."

The amendment had, however, been withdrawn at the request of Government.

Referring to the aforementioned proceedings in the Madras Legislature Shri Maganbhai P. Desai points out in an article in the *Harijan*, February 18, that the amendment, though not approved by the Assembly, represented, in general, the considered opinion of the University, the Legislature and the Government of Madras. "Shortly understood, we might say that it describes how a non-Hindi State would wish its regional language to be used in its affairs—educational, administrative, judicial, legislative, etc."

Shri Desai writes, the points made in the aforesaid amendment were quite reasonable and must be implemented as part of an all-India policy together with the introduction of compulsory study of Hindi in all schools and colleges with a view to equipping the citizens with a knowledge of Hindi, the medium for all-India and inter-State relations.

Bengal-Bihar Merger

The proposal for merging West Bengal and Bihar into a new State was endorsed by the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress. It appeared that though generally the Congress leaders were unanimous in commending the idea of merger in the case of West Bengal and Bihar many of them were not prepared to extend the principle of bilingual States to their own regions.

The Communist Party of India opposed the proposal for merger on principle and reiterated its demand for the formation of States on linguistic basis. The attitude of other parties were varied and often self-contradictory.

The Bihar Assembly approved the pro-

posals for merger of Bihar and West Bengal by 153 votes to 35 on February 25.

In West Bengal, the Government was to introduce the motion for the approval of the merger plan on Friday, the 24th February but did not do so by interpreting the vote on an opposition amendment, on the motion of thanks to the Governor for his opening address to the Legislature, as an expression of support for the proposed union of West Bengal and Bihar.

The Opposition objected to such an interpretation by the Government and the Speaker ruled that the Government interpretation was not correct and that the rejection of an opposition amendment to the motion of thanks to the Governor could not be taken as a verdict in favour of the union of West Bengal and Bihar; so that the West Bengal Assembly was yet to decide its attitude on the merger proposal.

Meanwhile on February 24, when the motion for merger was originally scheduled to be introduced in the Assembly, Calcutta had a complete and 24-hour *hartal*.

States Reorganization and Unity

In an article entitled "Whither Swaraj" in the *Harijan* for February 11, 1956, the editor Shri Maganbhai Prabhudas Desai makes some comments on the developments following the publication of the report of the States' Reorganization Commission.

The reorganization of States on linguistic basis, writes Shri Desai, was "as important and consequential as the merger of Indian States of the British regime" and this "was and is surely one of the first few things that should be achieved under Swaraj."

The measure was already too long delayed and now to postpone or put it in cold storage out of despair "would be another mistake." If the idea of partitioning the country into five or six zones had been put forward as an alternative of reorganization of States out of a weakness and fear to face the issues squarely as an escapist move, Shri Desai avers, "then we might take it that it will hardly profit us by delivering the goods."

People were asking for reorganisation of States with a view to securing better conditions for the establishment of true Swaraj in the country and the problem should consequently be viewed from the fundamental point of the

interest of the masses. "It is necessary that all administration under Swaraj should be conducted in their language. If we let go this chief points of approach, then what else is the principle on the basis of which we might guide ourselves when thinking out the reorganization?" Shri Desai asks.

The question of linguistic redistribution of States had got mixed up with the politics of industrial and economic development and therefore it was hanging too heavily on the minds of the politicians or the diplomats, he adds.

Comintern under fire

The Communists always claim to be right. And woe betide a man who dares to oppose the accepted views of the Communists on any question. The position of such a man becomes unenviable if he happens to be one of their members or is living in a country under Communist domination. The current Communist idea of right or wrong, especially in matters concerning the Party's political analysis and assessment of party personalities, is interesting indeed. When Tito is denounced as a deviationist and an agent-provocateur in the ranks of the party the Party is right and when Tito is afterwards restored to grace and is acclaimed a Champion of the proletariat the Party is right. Not only that notwithstanding such *volte face* the Party's stand must be considered to have always been right. In our country the Communists, frequent admissions of mistakes by adopting equally mistaken policies are quite well known. The Tito affair has apparently shaken the Communist world to the foundations and admissions of mistakes even on the part of the all-righteous Soviet Communist Party are also being made.

During the twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a statement was issued under the joint authority of five European Communist Parties (of Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, Finland and USSR) to the effect that the dissolution of the Polish Communist Party by the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the charge that the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland had been extensively infiltrated by enemy agents had been quite unjustified.

The Polish Communist organ *Trybuna Ludu*

in a leading article on February 19, 1956 on the matter writes that the charge of enemy infiltration of the Communist party leadership in Poland was wholly trumped-up. "The evidence for it had been faked by a gang of saboteurs and provocateurs whose real role was only brought to light after Beria was unmasked. The spuriousness of the accusations then made against many of the most loyal comrades from the C. P. P. leadership, comrades who were highly appreciated by the party, has now been irrefutably established. The party honour of these comrades has been re-established, and they have been fully rehabilitated."

But the tragic irony is that many of those leaders are no longer alive to be physically "rehabilitated." The "rehabilitation" is on paper only.

The statement issued by the five Communist parties have deeper implications and may portend a change of inter-party relationship.

Secondly, the revelations in the statement coming so soon after the admission of mistakes in the treatment of Yugoslav Communist party bring to light the sordid depth to which even some internationally hallowed Communist luminaries may descend to prop up their personal leadership.

Mountaineer Spies

Some time back two Welsh climbers, Sidney Wignald and John Harrop, had been arrested by the Chinese authorities for illegally entering into Tibet. However, subsequently they were let off by the Chinese authorities through the intervention of the Government of Nepal. However, the two climbers did not apparently consider it necessary to explain their position and reasons for entry into Tibet to the Government of Nepal through whose efforts their release had been secured.

In a note to the British Embassy at Kathmandu, the Nepalese Foreign Office lodged a protest at the conduct of the two men and demanded an "unstinted apology" from the Welsh Expedition. The Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain which had backed the six-member Welsh Expedition was also sent a copy of the Note.

The conduct of the two Welshmen was queer to say the least and would tend to confirm

the suspicion held in many quarters that the spate of recent expeditions to the Himalayan region was not wholly prompted by considerations of genuine geographical and scientific interest and there was great political motive behind those expeditions. The Government of Nepal had already indicated their approval of these expeditions. But the Government of India also had some responsibility to see that her relations with her neighbours did not get strained through the activities of unscrupulous foreigners at her border areas.

Ceylonese Chauvinism

So long both the Sinhalese and Tamil languages were accorded equal status. But now under pressure from Sinhalese fanatics the ruling United National Party of Sir John Kotelawala unanimously adopted a resolution to make Sinhalese the only official language of Ceylon. The claims of the minority Tamils to give their language an equal status was totally ignored. The Parliament of Ceylon was dissolved to give the people an opportunity to indicate their attitude to the issue of an official language.

In a leading article on February 25, the *Hitavada* writes: "The economic condition of Ceylon requires the full co-operation of every section of the population to make any progress and it will be the height of folly to antagonise a substantial part of the population for satisfying the linguistic variety of the majority. Sir John Kotelawala was long known as a moderating influence on Sinhalese extremism and it is a tragic development for the unity of the island that he has been swept along by the current of linguistic fanaticism."

The decision of the Ceylon Government to hold fresh elections on the issue of the official language was commendable and it spoke for Sir John Kotelawala's regard for constitutional proprieties, the newspaper notes. "But it must also be pointed out here that the present time is particularly convenient to the ruling party to make a good show at the polls, as several lakhs of Ceylon Indians are without franchise rights, still struggling to meet the stringent requirements of the citizenship Act and the vexatious demands of officialdom. It is also stated that the election may not be held for registered citizens of Indian origin, who are

placed on a separate electoral register to return four representatives under the Indo-Ceylon Pact on citizenship." In a straight fight, in such circumstances, between the Sinhalese-speaking and the Tamil-speaking peoples the result was bound to go in favour of the Sinhalese majority, it adds.

The *Sunday Observer*, weekly newspaper from Madras, writes with reference to the affairs of Ceylon that there were matters in which a majority decision, while being proper in other fields, was not at all just. In a multi-national country like Ceylon where sizable parts of the population spoke different languages the decision regarding the adoption of an official language was such an issue where the views of the minority could be disregarded only at the peril to national unity.

The newspaper commended to the Government of Ceylon the example of Switzerland where there were four official languages with a view to accommodating the legitimate aspirations of the various nationalities; and writes that "Government and people of Ceylon will save their country by their wise decision in this matter of official language."

Pakistan Boycotts SEATO Exercises

Pakistan boycotted the three-day SEATO military manoeuvres held from February 15 on Thailand's eastern border adjoining Laos because she felt insulted over the fact that she had been notified about it just one week before the actual date. Australia and New Zealand, two other members of SEATO, were also reluctant at first to join the exercise but eventually decided to participate so that the first SEATO military exercise—called operation 'Firm Link'—was undertaken by the forces of six of the eight SEATO countries: U.K., U.S.A., Thailand, Philippines, Australia and New Zealand.

Giving the background to Pakistan's public non-co-operation with the SEATO powers Shri K. Bahaman, New York correspondent of the *Hindu*, notes that "Pakistan's anger over being treated as a poor relation is understandable, especially considering that it was she, along with Thailand and the Philippines, who originally suggested that such manoeuvres be held in order to dramatise SEATO before Asian eyes and to show to doubters that SEATO meant business. The organisers of the man-

oeuvres are saying that the short notice was deliberately given, as part of the exercises to demonstrate how quickly SEATO members can mobilise their forces in an emergency. This explanation does not, however, appear, so far to have washed with Pakistan, whose officials are reported, by the *New York Times*, to feel that the country was invited as an afterthought after all arrangements had been made."

Antarctica

India asked the U. N. Secretary-General to place the question of Antarctica on the provisional agenda of the Eleventh General Assembly scheduled to meet late this year.

Press Trust of India adds: "Conflicting claims to overlapping wedges of the South Polar Continent have been made so far by United Kingdom, Chile and Argentina. The United States has made no claims on this region but at the same time, she does not recognise any claims made by other nations either. The situation is complicated by the fact that France, Australia, New Zealand and Norway are also now reported to have staked out claims on the Polar map. The Polar Continent incidentally has been the scene of increased study and exploration in recent months in connection with the International Geophysical Year.

Among the nations now establishing bases for exploration is also the Soviet Union."

Britain Abolishes Capital Punishment

The British House of Commons decided by 293 votes to 262 to abolish the death penalty for murder. The decision was arrived at by the House on February 17 on a "free vote" on a Labour amendment to a Government proposal for the retention of death penalty with modifications of murder law. Opposing the Labour amendment for the abolition of death penalty the British Home Secretary, Major Lloyd-George said: "This is not the time when capital punishment may safely be abolished" but agreed to act on the vote of the House. This was the second occasion since the last war when the House of Commons on a free vote decided to abolish death penalty. To become law the measure would have to come through the House of Lords with a favourable majority.

Describing the decision of the House of

Commons as a "wise vote" the *Bombay Chronicle* editorially writes that if death penalty was eventually "done away with by an act of Parliament, there will be, if not a gain for all who have reverence for life at least an indication of progress in what is, in the final analysis, a social problem."

The idea of capital punishment, if continues, was an extension of the shameful and primitive concept of a tooth for a tooth and life for a life. As a deterrent to crime the value of death penalty was dubious since statistics showed that there was no increase in murderous crimes consequent on or subsequent to the abolition of death penalty. "As a reformatory measure (that is, preventing a criminal from returning to crime) its value is made meaningless by its finality. Besides, modern methods of penological reform and the approach to the criminal from the psychological rather than the vengeful point of view obviate this total punishment."

In an article in the weekly magazine section of the *Hindu*, February 26, Mr. D. Compton-James mentions several instances of judicial error in deciding guilt of persons. Besides the risks of error in justice "there is also the risk that human or mechanical faults may inflict severe suffering on the prisoner. The classic case is that of John Lee, the man they could not hang . . ."

Then there was the question of women murderers. Pregnant women were not hanged because that would take an innocent life as well.

The effects of inflicting capital punishment on the personnel concerned were also not pleasant. "There is a high suicide rate among executioners," Mr. Compton-James writes.

Goa and Cold War Diplomacy

T. B. Cunha, Chairman, Goa Action Committee, writes in an article in the weekly *People*, February 19, that the obstinacy evinced by a third class power like Portugal over the question of Goa could be understood only in the context of Portugal's involvement in cold war diplomacy. True, the present dictators of Portugal could not come round to a suggestion for the liberation of a colonial population when it refused even the smallest freedom to its own people at home. A surrender

on the colonial question would lead to a loss of prestige and be fatal for the dictatorship. But the chief inspiration and courage for its obstinacy over the Goa issue, even at the risk of incurring the displeasure of such a great country like India, came from "underhand Anglo-American interference" in the matter. This aspect of the problem would be made clear when it was recalled that as late as in 1946 the Portuguese Minister for Colonies, Professor Marcelo Caetano, had almost given up Goa when he had declared that the future of Goa was for the Goans to decide.

Shri Cunha notes that for three centuries down to the eve of the Second World War, Portugal had lived under the protection of the British. "The Second World War which had brought the downfall of the British supremacy led Portugal to seek more powerful protectors. In the first part of that war, Salazar had ostensibly sided (with) the victorious Nazi Germany, openly denied the bases of Azores to the Allies and ceded an aerial base to Japan (?), in spite of the centuries-old alliance with the British. But at the end of the war, when the fall of Hitler was already in sight, he sought the protection of the United States."

Britain and America were now rivals of each other in the Portuguese colonial market and the USA was gradually driving out Britain from her erstwhile dominating position. According to Shri Cunha, "Britain is no more able to exercise any pressure on Portugal but can, on the contrary, be blackmailed by her former protege. America too with her insatiable ambition for war bases on the continent as well as in the wealthy colonies of Mozambique and Angola is keen on maintaining friendly relations with the obliging dictatorship. Both the United States and Britain are courting Portuguese favour. That explains their dubious attitude in the case of Goa, their 'manoeuvres behind the scenes' denounced by our Prime Minister."

Shri Cunha concludes: "The undue interference of the big powers in our affairs is an affront to the independence and sovereignty of this country. India has every right to ask them to keep off from a matter which concern only us and not to allow them to meddle in a subject of our exclusive interest."

World Population.

According to the estimate made by the Statistical Officer of the United Nations Organization, world population as of mid-year 1954 stood at 265.5 crores. Some of the breakdowns were: Africa 214,000,000; Asia 1,451,000,000; North America 233,000,000 and the USSR 214,500,000.

Free Honours and Titles

While in India, Marshal Bulganin, the Soviet Premier and Mr. Khrushchev, the Soviet Communist Party Secretary, had been offered honorary doctorate degrees by the University of Delhi but they had gently refused to accept the honours saying that in their country such honours had to be earned and, therefore, they could not take them gratis.

Referring to that incident Shri Maganbhai Desai writes in *Harijan*, February 4: "Does not the incident . . . give us a wholesome lesson when we are falling an easy prey to the monarchical tradition?"

Shri Desai points out that the system of showing respect to persons by conferring honours and titles on them "we have learnt and adopted from the British. Our Universities have started conferring doctorates with unseemly haste! And Government, too, is creating Padma . . . and Bharat . . . every six months or year . . ."

He adds that while honours and titles might have a place in monarchical Britain such apish imitation of the imperialist British by Republican India did her little credit.

Assembly Proceedings Annulled

On February 24, when West Bengal observed a 24-hour hartal, some of the Congress members attended the Assembly and the Government got the Premises Tenancy Bill passed in the absence of the Opposition members. On the following day Opposition members challenged the validity of the proceedings of the Assembly on February 24. According to the report published in the *Statesman*: "The Opposition directed their attack mainly on two points. They alleged that the Speaker had lowered the dignity of the Chair and of the House by allowing, at the suggestion of Dr. Roy, the Government, to 'rush through' the contentious Premises Tenancy Bill on Friday in the

absence of the Opposition. It was contended that Friday's proceedings were *ultra vires*. Mr. Jyoti Basu (Communist) moved a resolution suggesting that the Tenancy Bill and the acceptance of the motion for consideration of the Panchayat Bill be rescinded.

"They also alleged that the Speaker had violated his own ruling given only three days ago by allowing a Government member to call a division on an amendment which had been moved by a member from the other side of the House.

"The second attack was led by Mr. Bankim Mukherjee and Mr. Bibhuti Ghosh who alleged that the Speaker had, 'under the influence of the Chief Minister' changed the ruling he had originally decided to give on the question of privilege over display in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *Jugantar* of the news of the Assembly voting on Monday on an amendment to the motion of thanks to the Governor criticizing the Government's failure to take measures to counter the move to amalgamate West Bengal and Bihar.

"The Speaker categorically stated that the charge made by Mr. Mukherjee and Mr. Ghosh was 'untrue and mischievous.' He explained the circumstances in which he had accepted the Government's suggestion to proceed with the Tenancy Bill on Friday and said he had adjourned the House after a 35-minute sitting in the interest of the Opposition. On Mr. Basu's resolution, he said it deserved careful consideration and added he would give his ruling on a subsequent day.

"During the discussion, Dr. Roy also came in for a good deal of criticism. His presence in the House was demanded repeatedly and he was described as 'a despot, a dictator who has reduced democracy in West Bengal to a mockery.'

"He was charged with contempt of the House for a statement which, according to the unrevised verbatim proceedings of Friday, he had made saying: 'The Opposition members do not come. They do not take things seriously. The other day they came and asked us to have the House adjourned on account of the death of Dr. Meghnad Saha.'

"Mr. Jyoti Basu said this was a reflection on the Opposition and on the House itself. Moreover, Dr. Roy's reference to the adjourn-

ment on account of Dr. Saha's death amounted to a reflection on the Chair. There was, Mr. Basu said, no difference of opinion about that adjournment and the Speaker had acted according to the desires of the members.

"Mr. P. C. Sen, Deputy Leader of the Congress party, said the report from which the Opposition were quoting was an unrevised version.

"Mr. Basu then moved his resolution demanding cancellation of the decision and quoted from May's Parliamentary Practice to support his contention that this was admissible under parliamentary procedure. He believed that such a step had been taken in the Lok Sabha on the Constitution Bill. The matter raised by him was very serious and he thought that 'democracy is in jeopardy in West Bengal'."

Giving his ruling on February 28, on the points raised by the Opposition, the Speaker admitted that the proceedings of the Assembly on Friday, the 24th February, had not been in order. The *Statesman* report says :

"Giving his ruling on Tuesday the Speaker said that it was a rule of general application in all Parliaments that no question should be offered in the same session that was substantially the same as one on which a verdict had already been given by the House.

"This rule, however, applied only when a question substantially the same as one on which a previous decision was given was proposed. This rule did not apply, and had not been applied to the case of an open rescission of a previous decision of the House because a motion that a decision be rescinded could not be said to be the same as that a Bill be passed.

"May, he continued, had, in his *Parliamentary Practice* expressed the same proposition. Lord Asquith also, when Prime Minister, had moved a motion for the rescission of a previous decision taken in the same session and cited two previous precedents in which the House of Commons had rescinded its previous decisions.

"Speaking on that occasion, Lord Asquith had said : 'To say that this House is not able, if it is so minded, under any circumstances whatever, to rescind a resolution which upon reconsideration it thinks ought not to have been passed, is to deny to the House the first quality of a really deliberative assembly.'

"Declaring that under the circumstances Mr. Basu's motions were in order, the Speaker placed them before the House and requested the members to come to a unanimous decision on them.

"Rising immediately after the ruling had been given, Dr. Roy said that the members from his side of the House were willing to accept the rescission motions. He hoped that this acceptance would not be regarded as a precedent.

"The Government was prepared to reopen discussion on the Bill from Clause 17 and also take up the third reading of the Bill when the clause-by-clause discussion was concluded. He pointed out, however, that it was necessary to have this measure placed on the Statute Book before March 31 when the present Tenancy Act would lapse..

"The Government had no desire to stifle legitimate discussion but a serious situation would have arisen if after March 31 there was no legislation to govern relations between landlords and tenants."

Henry Heras

The great historian, Father Dr. Henry Heras, S.J., breathed his last on 15th December, 1955, at the age of sixty-eight. Born in Spain, Father Heras received his higher education in the U.S.A. On his return to the homeland he was appointed Principal of a college there.

After a year, at the age of thirty-four, Father Heras came to India and got an appointment in the teaching staff at Bombay St. Xavier's College. He was a lover of Indian culture, and was much influenced and inspired by the teachings of Swami Dayananda and Swami Vivekananda. As a Jesuit he took up the vow of celibacy and resolved to pass his days in love and service to humanity. As a professor of history Father Heras gradually came to know and realise what was best in Indian thought and culture. He engaged himself seriously to historical researches, and the result was his many important papers and treatises on various aspects of Indian history. His *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture* stands as a monument to his long-continued researches. This book has transformed the current beliefs and ideas of rela-

tion between the Aryan and Dravidian cultures.

To carry on systematic researches Father Heras founded the Bombay Historical Research Institute, where bands of scholars conducted research-work under the guidance of Father Heras. The Institute celebrated its Silver Jubilee only recently. Heras was the Director of the Institute at the time of his death.

Haridas Bhattacharya

In the death of Prof. Haridas Bhattacharya at sixty-five we have lost a sincere friend and a valued contributor to our *Review*. He died on 26th January last at his Calcutta residence, and, we may say, almost in harness. Because since his retirement from the Philosophy Chair of the Dacca University, he worshipped in the temple of learning in various capacities, sometimes as a professor of Philosophy in the Banars Hindu University, and later as the accredited Editor of the *Cultural Heritage of India Series*, published under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Mission Cultural Institute, Calcutta.

Prof. Bhattacharya began his academic career as a lecturer of the Calcutta University. But he joined the Dacca University soon after its start and served it for about a quarter of this century. While holding the University Chair of Philosophy, Prof. Bhattacharya was in later years the Provost of the Jagannath Hall and the Dean of the Faculty of Arts. He once presided over the All-India Philosophical Congress. He was also the Stephens Nirmalendu Professor of the Calcutta University. As an advisor to the West Bengal Secondary Education Board and as a Secretary to the studies of the I.A.S. examinees conducted by the Calcutta University, Professor Bhattacharya made his mark. His lucid exposition of obscure philosophical and theological subjects revealed his wonderful mastery over them.

Prabodh Chandra Bagchi

Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Vice-Chancellor of the Visva-Bharati University, passed away on 19th January last. He was a savant of a high order. His researches in ancient history have revealed to the world the intimate cultural relations between India, Central Asia, South-East Asia and the Far East, including China and Japan. He followed the path chalked out by scholars of international

repute like Sylvain Levi and added to the treasures of knowledge hitherto unknown to the educated world.

Born in Jessore, Dr. Bagchi completed his academic studies by passing the M.A. examination in Ancient History and Culture with unusual credit in 1920. His successful career and his inclination to research-work attracted the notice of Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, who appointed him lecturer in the Department of Ancient History and Culture. Dr. Bagchi took leave of the University for a year, and with the permission of Sir Ashutosh went to Santiniketan for collaboration with Prof. Levi in his researches in oriental studies. Here he took up Buddhism and Buddhist literature as his subject of research. He travelled in the Far East and the South-East Asia to make himself acquainted first-hand with the language, literature, religion, culture as also the people of each of those countries. The new archaeological findings in Central Asia opened a new avenue for research, and Prof. Bagchi ardently engaged himself in their studies.

Prabodh Chandra was deputed to Paris to carry on further research in the subject. Here again he was fortunate enough to work in close co-operation with Prof. Levi. Prabodh Chandra's compilation of the Chinese-Indian Dictionary and editing a rare Chinese MS. with a learned preface at once gained him recognition of his scholarship by the Orientalists in Europe and Asia. He won the Doctorate degree of the Paris University and returned to India to join his post in the Calcutta University.

Dr. Bagchi continued his researches with wonderful success for decades. He served his Alma Mater up till 1945, after which he joined the Cheena-Bhavan of Visva-Bharati, as a professor. While Visva-Bharati turned into a regular University under the charge of the Central Government in 1951, Prof. Bagchi became the Principal of the Vidya-Bhavan, or the Research Academy. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor in 1954. Dr. Bagchi joined the Indian Cultural Mission to China under the leadership of Sja. Vijayalakshmi Pandit some time in 1952.

Jnananjan Neogi

On 13th February last the veteran social worker Jnananjan Neogi died in a very tragic circumstance. The melancholy event took

place while he was speaking on the vexed question of 'Merger' in the evening of that day. His loss will be felt by his countrymen for a long time to come.

Born at Gaya Jnananjan spent his boyhood at Patna where he came in contact with Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of the State of West Bengal. Jnananjan was inspired with a love of service even in his young days. He joined the Swadeshi Movement while he was still within his teens. The Social Service League of Dr. D. N. Maitra had a special attraction for him, and it was in its work that he found his life's mission of service.

He toured the U.S.A. in 1923, and he was allowed for the first time amongst the Indians to address the American Senators on the condition of India and her people. On his return he started the Working Men's Institute, which is still doing useful service amongst the workers in various ways. As organiser of the Commercial Museum, run by the Corporation of Calcutta, he gave sufficient proof of constructive genius. His *Desher Katha* compiled after the model of the book of the same name by Sakham Ganesh Deuskar, was proscribed, and he served several terms of imprisonment for his active connection with the struggle for Indian Independence. He organised the famous All-India Exhibition in Calcutta in 1948. He was a friend of the poor and the down-trodden. May his soul rest in peace in heaven.

Meghanad Saha

A scientist of international reputation and a patriot of a very high order, Dr. Meghnad Saha, F.R.S., breathed his last in Delhi on the 17th February last under tragic circumstances. He felt very uneasy while going to attend the sessions of the Planning Commission, and was found in an unconscious state near the gate of its office. He was immediately taken to the nearest hospital, but, alas, succumbed before any medical aid could be administered to him. He was sixty-three.

Being the son of very poor parents Dr. Saha had to struggle hard since his boyhood in order to build up his academic career. He secured many scholarships and stipends due to his merits. After passing his Entrance and I.Sc. from Dacca, he came to Calcutta and joined the Presidency College as a B.Sc.

student. His brilliant academic career and humble behaviour at once endeared him to Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray and Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose.

Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee was then organising the Post-Graduate Department in Science and he picked up Dr. Saha as a junior professor of Physics though he got his M.Sc. degree in Applied Mathematics. Dr. Saha did not fail to make his mark as a researcher, and obtained the D.Sc. and the Premchand Raychand Scholarship in 1918 and 1919 respectively. He went on an educational tour in Europe and remained there for two years, conducting researches in Physics in the laboratories of eminent scientists as Prof. Fowler.

On his return from Europe, Dr. Saha was appointed the Khaira Professor of Physics. But after some time, in 1923, he accepted the post of the Head of the Department of Physics of the Allahabad University. He remained there for fifteen years, after which he returned to his *Alma Mater* as the Palit Professor of Physics. It was here for the last fifteen years that Dr. Saha devoted all his attention to the opening of new avenues of research in Physics. He was instrumental in establishing the Institute of Nuclear Physics in the University Science College and the remodelling of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

Dr. Saha's original research in the different branches of Astro-Physics established his reputation as a scientist of world-wide eminence and won him recognition from the scientific world, from far and near. He was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society of London in 1927. The French Astronomical Academy and the Boston Academy of Sciences honoured themselves by appointing him an Honorary Fellow. He attended as a representative of his mother country the centenary celebrations of the great scientists of Europe on more occasions than one.

Dr. Saha's researches in Astro-physics brought about a revolution, and his Theory of Thermal Ionisation is regarded as one of the ten epoch-making discoveries since the discovery of Telescope by Galileo. Dr. Saha's reputation was not confined to the scientific world alone. A great patriot, as President of the Science Congress in 1934, he urged his brother-scientists to utilise their discoveries for the development of

the country's resources. As a result of his advocacy the National Institute of Science was founded. Dr. Saha also pleaded for the establishment of the River-physics Department by the Government to control the rivers in Bengal so that the havoc created by their inundation might be averted. For regular treatment of scientific and cultural subjects Dr. Saha founded the *Science and Culture* monthly conjointly with his brother-scientists. As President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Saha adopted various measures for energising this oldest institution of Science and Arts. He also revitalised the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, and as its Director he turned it into a first class research institute. Dr. Saha was the Chairman of the Calendar Reform Committee instituted by the Central Government.

His services to the cause of the country in capacities other than the scientist's should also be recalled with gratitude. As a Member of Parliament of India, he did yeoman's service to give succour and relief to the uprooted humanity from East Bengal, to guide the Planning Commission by his sound advice and by organising scientific institutions under the auspices of the Government. He utilised to the full his experiences of the Tennessee Valley Corporation after his return from the Scientific Mission sent by the Government of India in 1944-45. The Damodar Valley and other Corporations of this sort owe not a little to him.

Bijan Bihari Mukherjee

Bijan Bihari Mukherjee, born of a famous Brahmin family of Navadwip in 1891, shone brilliantly in the sphere of law, and from a briefless advocate in early years, rose to be a prominent lawyer with roaring practice at the Calcutta High Court. He joined the Bench in 1936 and remained in that post till 1948, when he was transferred to Delhi as a Judge of the Federal Court, later called the Supreme Court of India. He rose to be the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He was forced to retire in January this year owing to failing health. Mr. Mukherjee was a legal luminary, and his exposition of the Hindu Law in the Calcutta High Court as also in the Supreme Court gained for him great reputation as a profound master of

Law. He was the Tagore Lecturer of the Calcutta University. He is the learned author of some very authoritative treatises on legal subjects including *Hindu Law of Religious and Charitable Trust*. Mr. Mukherjee was a votary of Sanskrit culture. He brought out considerable reforms in the study of Sanskrit as President of the Bengal Sanskrit Association. The Sanskrita Parishad of Calcutta owed much to him for its present important status in the cultural life of Calcutta and Bengal.

Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar

Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar, the Speaker of the Parliament of Indian Union, passed off on 27th February last after suffering from protracted illness. He was sixty-eight. Mavlankar made a name in all the fields to which he devoted himself—as a practising lawyer, a patriotic social worker, a parliamentarian and as a constructive thinker. He started his career as a lawyer in 1913 in Ahmedabad. He joined most of the nation-building activities there. He was drawn into politics in 1917. As a member of the Gujarat Sabha he made his mark as a political worker. In the various freedom movements Mavlankar threw himself heart and soul and suffered incarcerations. He was President of the Bombay Legislative Council in 1937-40 and carried on his duties very creditably. In 1946, Mavlankar was elected to the Central Legislature. His past creditable work as President of the Bombay Legislative Council gained him the Speakership of the Central Legislative Assembly. Mavlankar's services were fully recognized in Free India, and he served as Speaker of the Parliament of India.

As an ardent educationist he pioneered many educational activities in Ahmedabad. He was one of the moving spirits of the Ahmedabad Education Society which today runs about eight colleges in Ahmedabad. The Gujarat University was established mainly through his efforts. The offices he held as Chairman of several educational institutions including 108-year old Gujarati Vidya Sabha, was itself a recognition by the people of his contribution to education. As a parliamentarian and Speaker of the Parliament, Mavlankar did much to instil a new sense of duties and responsibilities in his colleagues.

GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY AND WORLD PEACE

By DR. J. EDWARDS, M.A. (Cal.), A.M. (Columbia), Ph.D. (N.Y.U.)

GANDHIJI'S EXPERIMENT WITH TRUTH

GANDHIJI dedicated his life to making an experiment with Truth. This self-dedication is the first and foremost condition of truly moral and spiritual growth. His sincerity of purpose made him give up all sectarianism and impressed upon him the fact that genuine truth-finding is possible only for him who is able and willing to welcome it from whatever quarter it comes. He, thus, opened for himself the flood-gates of all religions for he really loved them all with the result that his life became a living sermon, an abiding source of inspiration for all those who care to make God-consciousness focal and dynamic. Like the honey-bee he frequented all parts of the garden of truth. If his pursuit was relentless, his product was genuine spiritual honey.

GANDHIJI'S PHILOSOPHY OF NON-VIOLENCE

Gandhiji realised that those who use the sword perish with the sword, as Christ warned Peter in the garden of Gethsemane in the hour of his mortal peril.¹ He drew the happy conclusion that "non-violence is the law of our species (and how one wishes that this were true) as violence is the law of the brute."² In his book, *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, he is nearer truth when he says:

"The white art of non-violence is the law of the regenerate man."³

When, therefore, he designed the Tri-Colour, he expected it to stand, in the first instance, for non-violence, the other two standing for "unity . . . and identification through the 'charkha' of the highest with the lowliest in the land."⁴ How great is the challenge for everyone who is privileged to stand under it! He must be regenerate, be born again, to use Christ's expression, be a new person spiritually, so that the white art of non-violence might become the law of life. Non-violence challenges us to tarry no longer in ancient ruins for it is capable of calling in a new world that will redress the balance of the old.

It is said of Gandhiji that he could not

intentionally hurt anything that lived, much less fellow human beings even though they might do the greatest wrong to him and his. The reason is not far to seek. He himself gives the answer when he says:

"Though I cannot claim to be a Christian in the sectarian sense, the example of Jesus' suffering is a factor in the composition of my undying faith in non-violence which rules all my actions worldly and temporal . . . Jesus lived and died in vain, if he did not teach us to regulate the whole of life by the eternal law of love."⁵

It was this eternal law of love whose practice, to the extent that Gandhiji was able to represent love in his life in thought, word and deed brought him a realisation of 'peace that passeth all understanding.' The non-violence of "Jesus who set the seal of his own blood upon his precepts, 'love thine enemy,' 'resist not evil'"⁶ as Gandhiji points out, is "non-violence par excellence."⁷ For the practice of this non-violence he felt the inner call. He says:

"I have imagined that He has chosen me as His instrument for presenting non-violence to India for dealing with her many ills."⁸

The concept of non-violence is by no means new to India. But it will be readily conceded that Gandhiji greatly enriched it, particularly by its use in the political and social fields on a scale unprecedented in history. India's political freedom, Zemindari abolition, liquidation of Indian States, abolition of untouchability, providing a sound basis for Panch-Shila, all owe a debt in varying proportions to Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence. Non-violence in the international field today is termed as non-aggression and non-interference. It is up to each one of us to keep flying India's Tri-Colour symbolising Non-Violence which represents a process of self-purification⁹ on the spiritual level, and a practical contribution to world peace on the international level from India's cultural heritage.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

6. M. K. Gandhi : *Op. Cit.*, p. 181.

7. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa : *The Nation's Voice*, p. 237.

8. M. K. Gandhi : *Self-Restraint vs. Self-Control*, p. 136.

9. Tendulkar and Jhaveri : *Mahatma*, Vol. VII, p. 169.

10. M. K. Gandhi : *Op. Cit.*, p. 101.

11. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa : *Op. Cit.*, p. 113.

1. Matt. 26 : 52.

2. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Teachings of Mahatma Gandhi*, p. 409.

3. M. K. Gandhi : *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p. 288.

4. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Op. Cit.*, p. 384.

Is Non-Violence a Virtue of Necessity?

Gandhiji calls non-violence the Moral Equivalent of War. His opponents dubbed non-violence as cowardly. Let us see how he who knew no diplomacy save that of Truth¹² defends himself against the charge. He points out :

"Europe mistook the bold and brave resistance full of wisdom by Jesus of Nazareth, as if it was of the weak. I detected no passivity, no weakness about Jesus as depicted in the four Gospels."¹³

He considers Jesus as "the most active resister known perhaps to history," and rates his non-violence as "non-violence par excellence."¹⁴ He calls him a Prince among passive resisters who uncompromisingly challenged the might of the Sadducees and the Pharisees.¹⁵ With such understanding of Christ's non-violence, fear and cowardice hypothesis is hardly tenable. Gandhiji who considered the example of Christ's suffering as a factor in the composition of his undying faith in non-violence, offered non-violence as the weapon of the morally strong. If non-violence was a virtue of necessity, Gandhiji the very foundation of whose life was Truth,¹⁶ would have to be put down as a hypocrite which is absurd.

NON-VIOLENCE AS MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR

A careful analysis shows that non-violence is a real moral equivalent of war. It proceeds from returning good for evil which Gandhiji considers as the true way.¹⁷ He, therefore, advises the follower of Truth and *Ahimsa* to conquer the tyrant by love . . . not to carry out the tyrant's will but suffer punishment even unto death for disobeying his will until the tyrant himself is conquered.¹⁸ This policy of doing no wrong, committing no violence, but simply enduring all the punishments the other side could inflict¹⁹ is obviously moral through and through. Gandhiji himself offers a psychological analysis of the moral equivalent in these words :

"Passive Resistance is an all-sided sword : it can be used anyhow : it blesses him who uses it, and also him against whom it is used without drawing a drop of blood. It produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen. The sword of Passive Resistance does not require a scabbard and one cannot be forcibly dispossessed of it."²⁰

In the domain of morals non-violence is an ultimate, a method at once civilised and civilising, the main secret of Christ's conquest of the world through love, or non-violence. The great Napoleon did homage to this moral ultimate when he said :

"I built my empire on the sword. It shall perish. But Christ built his Empire on love and it shall survive."

The way to genuine peace is the way of Gandhi, the Prophet of Peace and of Christ, the Prince of Peace.

BROTHERHOOD OF MAN REQUIRES THE USE OF NON-VIOLENCE

Gandhiji says, "A living faith in God means the acceptance of the brotherhood of mankind."²¹ Christ stated brotherhood proposition thus: "You have one Father and all of you are brethren." Gandhiji's understanding and practising of the brotherhood principle, the acme of spiritual life, is worthy of our attention. He says :

"There is no Christianity or Christ in the West, or there should have been no war. That is how I understand the message of Christ."²²

Do we realise that Christianity and War are contradictory terms? Gandhiji who says, "Jesus would own me as a true Christian,"²³ offers a criticism which the Christian world unfortunately fully deserves. He says, "I hear the living Christ saying: These so-called children of mine know not what they are doing. They take my Father's name in vain for they disobey the central command of my Father."²⁴ What is that central command? That central command is to love God with heart, soul, mind and strength, as Christ stated and then added a second like unto the first, to love one's fellowman as himself. Gandhiji rightly concludes that Jesus lived and died in vain if he

12. M. K. Gandhi : *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p. 27.

13. M. K. Gandhi : *Communal Unity*, p. 357.

14. Tendulkar and Jhaveri : *Op. Cit.*, p. 168.

15. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Op. Cit.*, p. 387.

16. M. K. Gandhi : *Self-Restraint vs. Self-Control*, p. 124.

17. M. K. Gandhi : *Communal Unity*, p. 762.

18. *Mahatma Gandhi : The Man and His Mission*, p. 191.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 18, Gilbert Murray's Appreciation.

20. C. F. Andrews : *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, including Selections from His Writings, p. 192.

21. Jag Parvesh Chander : *Op. Cit.*, p. 432.

22. Tendulkar and Jhaveri : *Op. Cit.*, p. 282.

23. *Ibid.*

24. M. K. Gandhi : *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p. 357.

did not teach us to regulate the whole of life by the eternal law of love,²⁵ as quoted earlier. If Einstein's testimony: "The ideal of achieving military security through national armaments is a disastrous illusion"²⁶ is a true reading of the world situation, we have got to listen to Gandhiji who "more than any other man since Jesus . . . manifests the spirit of universal peace and brotherhood which alone can save" us." In fact, if we are to create "conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations"²⁷ as envisaged in Article 55 of the United Nations Charter, Gandhian brotherhood of mankind is the only moral solution. Love imparts reality to the concept of the brotherhood of mankind.

THE VALUE OF GANDHIJI'S INSISTENCE ON TRUTH, FOR WORLD PEACE

In Gandhiji's philosophy Truth is God. Gandhiji decides to realise this God who is truth. He says:

"I am impatient to realise the presence of my Maker, Who to me embodies Truth . . . if I am to realise Truth, I must obey, even at the cost of my life, the law of love."²⁸

Notice the need for obeying the law of love for achieving God-realisation. Love is the central core of the religion of Jesus, which makes Christianity the Marg of Bhakti. Elsewhere Gandhiji calls this 'relentless search for truth and a determination to reach it'²⁹ as Soul Force. Dedication to this Soul Force had begun to manifest itself in Gandhiji's life while he was yet at school and would not deceive the inspector by writing the spelling of a word as secretly prompted by his teacher, much to the teacher's disappointment. The Hound of Heaven had already started pursuing him. At a mature age he arrived, among other truths fundamental to religion, at 'Truth is God' through the following logical process:

"In the midst of death life persists, in the midst of untruth truth persists, in the midst of darkness light persists. Hence, I gather that God is Life, Truth, Light. He is Love. He is the Supreme God."³⁰

If you turn to the Gospels you hear the Living Christ say, "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life."³¹ Whoever dedicates his life to be lived in the light of truth puts himself on the way to an increasing release from superstition, unfounded beliefs, propaganda, lies which play so important a part in initiating wars and rumours of wars. If interested parties did not arrange for truth to be the first casualty, how many wars could have been started at all?

TRUTH AND INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY

Gandhi's diplomacy of truth has a lesson for diplomats of the world in general and of India in particular. It has potency for changing world history by killing war outright and for harnessing the world's greatest industry, the war industry, in the service of peace, prosperity, and plenty for all. That diplomacy abroad is symbolised in a conversation between Lord Irwin and Gandhiji when the former says: "Throughout my conversations with Mr. Gandhi I felt complete assurance that I could implicitly trust his word."³² Can foreign diplomats say that they can repose complete trust in the diplomats of India? Is it not India's mission to create conditions in the international field through the diplomacy of truth so that mutual trust and confidence will make all secret treaties unnecessary? That diplomacy at home is reflected in Nehru's considering Gandhiji the symbol of uncompromising truth, all the time pulling the Congress people up and shaming them into truth.³³ India's Flag must stand for truth at home and abroad. Truth must be insisted upon in all our dealings with nations and peoples if we are to realise our dreams of the moral leadership of the world. In truth lies the secret of gentleman's peace, abolition of war and dispensing with military expenditures, outright. Without diplomacy of truth, genuine collaboration, mutual trust and confidence are impossible. Colossal military expenditures and peace amount to immoral means for securing moral ends, making the act immoral, leading us to untruth, darkness and death. "If India takes up the doctrine of the sword (goes the way of the world), she may gain momentary victory." Then, says Gandhiji, "India shall cease to be the pride of

25. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

26. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, dated 4.1.56.

27. *Mahatma Gandhi: The Man and His Mission*, p. 25. Nagendra Nath Gupta's Appreciation.

28. *The World Almanack and Book of Facts*, 1952, p. 724.

29. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa: *Op. Cit.*, p. 237.

30. C. F. Andrews: *Op. Cit.*, p. 326.

31. M. K. Gandhi: *The Story of My Experiment with Truth*, Vol. I, p. 7.

32. *Mahatma Gandhi: The Man and His Mission*, p. 167.

33. J. L. Nehru: *The Discovery of India*, p. 313.

my heart"³⁴ and shall forfeit all claims to moral leadership of the world by being guilty of hypocrisy of talking the language of peace but secretly preparing for war. Will India too prove untrue to her divine mission of leading herself and others from untruth to truth, from darkness to light like the European nations the sum-total of whose activities, Gandhiji points out, "is a denial of the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount?"³⁵ It is Gandhiji's conviction that those who today call themselves Christians, do not know the true message of Jesus,³⁶ and is confident that Christ would claim him to be a true Christian. Gandhiji has unquestioned right to the assurance of being a true Christian for he had sincerely come to the conclusion that "the lessons that Jesus Christ gave belonged to the whole world"³⁷ and not to any community.

THE PRICE OF FOLLOWING THE PHILOSOPHY OF TRUTH

It does not take long to discover that following truth demands a price which may be as big as one's own life. But the more you are drawn to truth the more willing you are to pay its price without counting the cost. Such is the divine nature of man and the inmost longing of his spirit. This longing may differ in degree but not in kind. To some it may come early, to others late but come it must to all sometimes or the other. To Gandhiji the call of truth came early as already noted. By the time he wrote his book *Self-Restraint vs. Self-Control*, he could say in retrospect, "Truth has been the very foundation of my life."³⁸ With what dogged tenacity he stuck to truth is already a matter of history, and there is none to question his sincerity even though critics have pointed out to his lack of self-consistency. His explanation of apparent inconsistency is his 'responsiveness to varying circumstances.'³⁹ He, however, ventured to bear testimony to truth even at the risk of being forsaken by all confident that though his might be the voice in the wilderness for the time being yet it would be heard when all other voices were silenced provided his was the voice of truth.⁴⁰ Christ who came to bear

witness unto truth died a felon's death at the hands of an unthinking mob in the third year of his public ministry. At the time of Gandhiji's incarceration by the British people's thoughts naturally turned to Christ. They said, "A Christ is being crucified," 'a Gethsemene is being enacted.' Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's was one of the most touching expressions. She said:

"My thoughts sped across the centuries to a different land and different age when a similar drama was enacted and another divine and gentle teacher was crucified for spreading a kindred gospel with a kindred courage. I realised now that the lowly Jesus of Nazareth cradled in a manger furnished the only true parallel in history to this invincible apostle of Indian liberty."⁴¹

After several unsuccessful attempts an assassin's bullets finally ended the life of Gandhiji, showing how little orthodoxy can understand or love truth. Gandhiji paid the price of truth with his own blood.

THE VALUE OF TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE TO WORLD PEACE

Truth and Non-Violence are the two legs on which Gandhian Philosophy is destined to go round the world to eternity, drawing nations and peoples by its irresistible force and transporting them into a realm of civilisation and culture of the highest spiritual significance. The term 'Non-Violence' has a negative appearance and is in so far rather unfortunate. The sense in which Gandhiji uses it constantly, it really means active love of the sublime variety similar to 'agape' in Christian theology. That love provides a firm foundation for the Kingdom of Heaven and is, in the realm of the spirit, an ultimate beyond the peradventure of a doubt. It is that love on which the Prince of Peace based his kingdom. The Prophet of Peace equates it with God for verily God is Love. It is a necessary condition of God-consciousness expressing itself in genuine brotherhood of man making war unthinkable. On it alone can be reared the edifice of Peace. In the final analysis it is the Truth of Truths and is co-extensive with truth. Non-Violence and Truth are very aptly called the 'faces of the same coin'⁴² The two between them nullify every possibility of war once truth and non-violence are accepted as the law of life, and

34. M. K. Gandhi: *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, p. 3.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

37. Tendulkar and Jhaveri: *Op. Cit.*, p. 342.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

39. Quoted by K. L. Shrimali, *The Wardha Scheme*, p. 69.

40. Tendulkar and Jhaveri: *Op. Cit.*, p. 212.

41. Mahatma Gandhi: *The Man and His Mission* (Appreciation), pp. 18-19.

42. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa: *Op. Cit.*, p. 110.

unless they are so accepted there is no hope for peace. History shows how foolish man has been and is to think that peace can be secured by preparing for war. The inevitable result of preparing for war has been war. From the bitterest experience we are happily learning that peace can be obtained only through methods of peace, through arbitration, discussion, compromise, co-operation, judicial decision and other similar peaceful procedures. World Peace, thus, inevitably depends upon truth and non-violence which to Gandhiji stand for the highest and the only revelation of God.⁴³ "Gandhiji likened his faith in non-violence to that of the witnesses in the Second Coming of Christ. It was to take place in the lifetime of the witnesses, though it had taken two thousand years and yet remained a distant dream."⁴⁴ Peaceful co-existence can be legitimately expected only from Truth and Non-Violence, a moral end from moral means.

ETHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE USE OF MORAL MEANS ONLY

The greatest discipline that Gandhiji imposed upon himself and his followers was his insistence on the use of moral means only for the achievement of moral ends. Means provide the axis on which revolves the highest moral act, as we shall see presently. He says:

"Means are after all everything. As the means so the end."⁴⁵

It is the latter part: as the means, so the end, that is most likely to be overlooked by those who think: 'All is well that ends well.' Some things that seem to end well, are only apparently well and may be actually immoral. But Gandhiji got hold of the act at the proper end, the secret of his growth in spiritual life. In the world of action moral means give one the best start and contribute to the deepening of spiritual life as nothing else can. As an inevitable by-product of maintaining the purity of means, one builds up profound self-confidence, an essential ingredient in the building up of personality, and this is magnificently combined with complete resignation to the will of God, fittingly in keeping with the exalted teaching of the Bhagavad Gita. Notice the confidence of Gandhiji. He says:

"So long as my cause is truthful and the means clean and non-violent, all is well."⁴⁶

But the consequent: 'all is well' is well only when its antecedents are truthful cause, clean and non-violent means.

If you examine a truly moral act, you will find that it consists of four essential factors: (1) A Moral Aim, (2) A Moral End, (3) Moral Motive, and (4) Moral Means. In pre-independence days our aim was Self-Government. That aim was perfectly legitimate and moral. We pursued that aim consistently through many painful decades and finally achieved freedom which is so clearly a moral end. The motive underlying our struggle for freedom was not only to free ourselves but to work for the freedom of all downtrodden and exploited nations of the world. Let us not forget this noble motive in our hour of success. The call of the spirit is to offer ourselves as a living sacrifice for the freedom of the world still unfree. Our manner of achieving freedom was learnt in the moral school of Gandhian Philosophy whose schoolmaster was Gandhiji himself, the symbol of uncompromising truth who was always there to pull the Congress people up and to shame them into truth⁴⁷ and to pin them down to the use of moral means only for achieving India's political freedom. India's use of the moral means will go down in the political history of the world as the greatest achievement of the human spirit in its attempt to realise the Divine, the use of Non-Violence, the Moral Equivalent of War. The greater the use of the moral means, the greater the chances of a more durable and lasting World Peace.

GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY EMPHASISES FREEDOM OF SPIRIT

The Gandhian Way emphasises the need of expanding the area of human freedom so that man everywhere might use effectively the process of mutual give and take, of free communication and conference, of consultation and exchange, of unhampered intellectual initiative, of unrestricted and independent observation and of all other disinfectants of human thought. This is precisely Christ's Way of knowing the truth and enlarging the area of human freedom and of deepening of spiritual life for all without

43. Tendulkar and Jhaveri: *Op. Cit.*, p. 87.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

45. Jag Parvesh Chander: *Op. Cit.*, p. 369.

46. Rajagopalachari and Kumarappa: *Op. Cit.*, p. 140.

47. J. L. Nehru: *The Discovery of India*, p. 312.

exception. Christ did not hesitate to reconstruct and his reconstructions which followed "but I say unto you" have proved to be the very breath of moral and spiritual life. Gandhiji who said, "I have no hesitation in rejecting scriptural authority if it supports a sinful institution" and there are many such, the Caste System, Untouchability, Suttee, Female Infanticide, declined to be bound by any interpretation however learned if it was repugnant to reason or to moral sense.⁴⁸ He valued freedom and was willing to pay any price for its purchase because it is the breath of man's life.⁴⁹ He laid down the golden rule of testing everything in the light of reason and experience no matter from whom it came.⁵⁰ He declined to be a slave of precedents or practice he could not understand or defend on a moral basis,⁵¹ and opined that the court of conscience superseded all other courts and that the only tyrant he accepted in the world was the still small voice within.⁵² By fearing no man no matter how high-placed he might be, but only fearing God,⁵³ he once again signed the declaration of independence of the human soul as was done by the Upanishads of yore.

This large freedom, as large as the world itself, must be the portion of man the world over if truth in the highest sense is to be loved and cherished and its cause advanced to the maximum. This outlook must put a curb on laws restricting the freedom of the press in India and elsewhere and keep freedom inviolable and inviolate as the most sacred tool for finding truth. Governments exist for making good life possible for all besides their own people and this is possible only when we recognise the right of every man to live up to truth as he sees it. Otherwise there will be no peaceful co-existence.

TOLERANCE, INDIA'S GREATEST CULTURAL HERITAGE, OFFERS A WAY TO WORLD PEACE

Tolerance, India's greatest cultural heritage, which gave to India a culture which "is neither Hindu, Islamic or any other, wholly

but a fusion of all,"⁵⁴ is the only basis for world peace. It gave to India six less recognised and six well-recognised systems of philosophy which could co-exist peacefully. It helped us to keep the doors and windows of our minds open letting in the fresh breeze of cultures, philosophies, beliefs of all other lands freely into them, making the philosophy of 'Live and Let Live' the breath of our nostrils. Our slips, even as terrible as untouchability, were not because of but in spite of our philosophy of tolerance.

This tolerance expresses itself in Gandhiji's advice that 'a liberal education should include . . . a reverent study of all other faiths.'⁵⁵ He states this still more emphatically when he says, "I hold that it is the duty of every cultured man and woman to read sympathetically the scriptures of the world,"⁵⁶ and "points out that intolerance is a taboo in all good society and is contrary to the spirit of democracy."⁵⁷ He told the educator point blank that he regards it as fatal to the growth of friendly spirit among children belonging to different faiths if they were taught either that their religion was superior to every other or that it was the only true religion.⁵⁸ Sectarianism of any type breeds intolerance so inimical to peace. As a remedy India has resorted to a secular state. It is a big job to practise secularism for the majority Hindu community. Yet peaceful conditions cannot be created except through dogged and persistent reorientation to a life of genuine toleration.

Tolerance of a lower variety is practised sometimes by a superior with reference to a subordinate or inferior so that the superior is not called upon to approve of what he tolerates. It involves gratuitous assumption of inferiority of the person or belief tolerated. Even this lower level variety of tolerance makes possible 'live and let live' or just co-exist peacefully. Gandhiji moved from this lower level to a higher one, the appreciative level so that he could say, "I have advanced from toleration to equal respect for all religions."⁵⁹ Tolerance at the appreciative level marks a higher stage in social relations and cordiality. It calls for co-

48. *Mahatma Gandhi: The Man and His Mission* (Appreciation), p. 30 (by Upton Close).

49. Jag Parvesh Chander: *Op. Cit.*, p. 226.

50. M. K. Gandhi: *Self-Restraint vs. Self-Control*, p. 58.

51. Quoted by J. L. Nehru, *Op. Cit.*, p. 315.

52. Jag Parvesh Chander: *Op. Cit.*, p. 144.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 217.

54. J. L. Nehru: *Op. Cit.*, p. 316.

55. C. F. Andrews: *Op. Cit.*, p. 93.

56. M. K. Gandhi: *Christian Missions*, p. 48.

57. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 133-4.

58. T. N. Sequeira: *The Education of India*, p. 177.

59. *Op. Cit.*, p. 333.

operation and sharing, urges one to look dispassionately upon other points of view, and to appreciate what may be good in view-points different from one's own. Such toleration which proceeds from real appreciation indicates culture, or civilisation of a higher order and "enables us to rise above the level of mere brutish existence and makes us truly human, cultured and enlightened."⁶⁰ This toleration is the law of civilised life. It teaches mutual forbearance. Gandhiji claims to have learnt this lesson "from the Qoran, the Bible, the Zend Avesta and the Gita."⁶¹ The practice of this appreciative level toleration made Gandhiji the Prophet of Peace,

whose message of toleration seems to express itself in Non-Interference and Mutual Co-operation as embodied in Panch Shila. Christ, the Prince of Peace, whose Sermon on the Mount Gandhiji loved so dearly, must be blessing India saying, "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God,"⁶² and Gandhiji must be rejoicing somewhere in the unseen realms to know that India continues to be the pride of his heart by virtue of eschewing the doctrine of the sword and following with unflinching devotion the path of peace.*

60. *One Step Forward*, p. 235.

61. *Op. Cit.*, p. 236.

62. Matt. 5:4.

* An address before the Gandhi Prarthana Samaj, E.C.C., Allahabad, January 6, 1956.

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RURAL AND URBAN COMPOSITION OF INDIAN POPULATION

BY PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.COM.

II

FACTORS LEADING TO DECAY OF TOWNS

Side by side with the increasing urbanisation must be noticed the tendency of the older towns to be depopulated.

Firstly, changes in regional values and diversion of trade routes in many cases brought about the decline of towns which previously owed their prosperity to the command of river and road traffic, and now superseded owing to railway extensions, e.g., Mirzapur on the Ganga, Patna, Saugor, etc. The engineer cannot always contrive to construct in such a way that railway line should pass by the old urban centres, so that on being left alone away from the main line, some of them have naturally dwindled in importance. Many old towns in Lower Bengal were thus ruined on account of the changes in the course of the Ganga.

Secondly, the decay of urban handicrafts, following the disappearance of the old Royal courts, the rise of European competition, the influx of foreign education and the creation of Indian bourgeoisie, has brought about a decrease in the population in old towns like Tanjore, Amritsar, Murshidabad, etc. Even the sacred towns like Gaya and Banaras are

losing their importance as a result of the fall in demand for the products of the old industries of these towns.

Taking into account the two opposite tendencies of the growth and decline of towns, we reach the conclusion that they have so far just balanced each other, though in recent years the tendency to urbanization is slightly gaining the upper hand.

In this connection two things may be noticed. First, that in India the growth of industries has been taking place very slowly. Whatever little growth in towns there has been is due much more to the growth of commerce than industry. Secondly, there is a complete absence from India of any big town-aggregates or what Prof. Geddes calls, "conurbations." The only town aggregate at all resembling the big town groups in Western countries is the group of jute towns on the river Hooghly, along with the city of Calcutta. It consists of six cities (Calcutta, Howrah, Tollygunge, Bhatpara, Garden Reach and the South Suburbs), twenty one major towns and eight minor towns. Delhi consists of two cities, three major towns and one minor town.

GROWTH OF CITIES IN INDIA

Raymond Pearl has remarked :

"The process of urbanisation down through the ages has led to the formation of great metropolitan centres . . . in which so large a proportion of present-day men live out their allotted spans. They represent one of the many quaint ways in which mankind is coming to resemble more and more clearly the termites in modes of life and social philosophy."¹³

The great significance of large cities (i.e., cities with a population of one lakh and over) was stressed by A. F. Weber at the end of the last century.¹⁴ Since then such units, known as great cities, have attracted special attention as typical of urbanization.

(Of such cities, India has 75 according to the Census Report of 1951. Of these four are really the suburbs of the metropolis of Calcutta and of Delhi.) Till 1941, the Delhi extension of Sahadara and even the growing town of New Delhi were included under Delhi. Similarly, not only Tollyganj and the South Suburban towns but also the great city of Howrah were discussed as a single unit alone with Calcutta by the Commissioners of Census of 1921 and 1931. Garden Reach, Tollyganj, and the South Suburbs are all extensions of Calcutta on the south and south-east. Contrary to the current foreign practice in this respect, I have treated Delhi and New Delhi as one great city and Calcutta along with Howrah, Tollyganj, Garden Reach and the South Suburbs as another. India has, therefore, seventy great cities each with a population of one lakh or more. This number compared with the number of similar units in other countries is by no means sufficient for the integrative, economic and cultural needs of a vast country and of a great population like that of India.)

Even if the number of great cities may be relatively small they can, if their territorial distribution is well adjusted, discharge their socio-economic functions and thus serve their country more or less properly, as for example, the French cities do for France.¹⁵ In the following table is presented an analysis of the territorial distribution of the great cities during the previous six Census years:

Number and Territorial Distribution of the Great Cities

Territory	1881	1891	1921	1931	1941	1951
India	18	22*	23*	29*	47*	70**
Bihar	1	1	1	1	3	5
Bombay	4	5	5	5	6	8
Hyderabad	1	1	1	1	1	2
Madhya Bharat	Nil	1	Nil	2	2	3
Madhya Pradesh	Nil	1	1	2	2	2
Madras	1	1	3	4	6	13†
Mysore	1	1	1	2	3	3
Orissa	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1
Punjab	1	1	1	1	3	3
Raasthan-Ajmer	1	1	2	2	4	4
Saurashtra	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	3
Travancore-Cochin	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	1	2
Uttar Pradesh	6	7	6	7	12	16
West Bengal	1	1	1	1	2	3
Delhi	1	1	1	1	1	1

* Srinagar had to be omitted for want of data in 1951.

** Srinagar omitted. Howrah, Tollygunge, Garden Reach, and the South Suburbs are grouped with Calcutta as one city. New Delhi, too, is grouped with Delhi as one unit. Bhopal included in the total.

† Of which 4 are in Andhra.

With 1881 begins the era of reliable census returns. Many of the railways, particularly in Northern India, had already been laid down. And India began with 18 great cities. From the above table it will be seen that five of the large territorial units were without a single great city. U.P. led with six great cities to its credit, Bombay followed with four and the other territories had one each. The preponderance of great cities in C.P. was partly due to the larger railway system already introduced and partly also to the military contingency. The next decade proved to be a fairly progressive one. In consequence, in 1891, there were 21 great cities. The disparity in their territorial distribution was both reduced and enhanced. Two of the territories which had been without any great city threw up one great city each. On the other hand, U.P. and Bombay each added one great city to their previous total.

With 1891 begins the era of bubonic plague which, in various parts of the country, affected the cities till 1911 and even later. The epidemics of influenza and cholera did their worst in 1918-19. The Census Year of 1921 dawned

13. R. Pearl : *Natural History of Population*, p. 267.

14. A. F. Weber : *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 16.

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fairly clean and propitious. From that date till 1951 India may be said to have been free from major epidemics. This happy situation is very well reflected in the steady but continuous increase in the number and size of the great cities during the period between 1921 and 1951. The territorial distribution for 1931 reveals that the process of levelling the imbalance had hardly begun. Madras had thrown up 4 great cities to vie with Bombay with its 5 great cities. Four other territories participated in the process by adding one great city each to their previous singletons. This is the period in which the national struggle for freedom began to be militant. Better distribution of great cities reflects the pulsation of this creative impulse. The nascent impulse, however, materialises in the next period.

1941 opens with a big addition to the number of great cities. 47 great cities, much better distributed than the 29 of the previous decade, is a record advance, not even equalled by the progress of the next decade. Looking to the 70 cities of 1951, one finds that none of the 15 major territories is now without a great city. In spite of territorial accretions, Bombay has yielded its second place in respect of great cities to Madras which now vies with U.P. in this respect. It is very significant that U.P. should have managed to keep its lead by two wide jumps in two successive decades. It added to its total 5 great cities in 1941 and 4 in 1951. Leaving aside the case of Delhi territory which is special, we find that Orissa is the only major territory which has a single great city, whereas it had no great city before 1951. Assam has none even today. It may be concluded that as against 1881 the situation of 1951 in respect of the territorial distribution of great cities is a distinctive advance. India today has her comparatively small number of great cities fairly well placed for the discharge of the administrative, economic and social functions, i.e., the integrative functions of great cities.

The following table gives the distribution of the great cities on the basis of area and population :

*Distribution of Great Cities on the Basis
of Area and Population (1951)*

Territory	One great city	One great city
	per so many sq. miles	per so many persons (in 000)
India	17,738	5,098

Bihar	14,066	8,045
Bombay	13,929	4,495
Hyderabad	41,084	9,328
Madhya Pradesh	65,136	10,624
Madras	9,830	4,388
Mysore	9,829	3,025
Punjab	12,454	4,214
Rajasthan-Ajmer	33,156	3,996
Uttar Pradesh	7,088	3,951
West Bengal	10,258	8,270

It will be seen from this table that India as a whole there is one great city for about 18,000 sq. miles and for about 51 lakhs of people. Lewis Mumford opines that American conditions of life a city of one million persons is necessary to support a university.¹⁵ Though Indian life has not yet attained the stage of development to be met with in America it may be safely said that one great city per 50 lakhs of persons is not an adequate provision for socio-economic integration. The area, too, to be served by such a centre is rather large. Mysore with one great city for 30 lakh people and for less than 10,000 sq. miles is about the best in the prevalent conditions. But even in this case one cannot consider the situation as ideal or sound. M.P. with one great city for 65,000 sq. miles and for 106 lakhs of persons has to make much lee-way to provide an adequate number of great cities for proper services of integrative and cultural kind.

(The inadequacy of the number of great cities for the needs of the area and the people can further be judged by reference to the percentage which the population of its great cities forms to the total population of the territory. These data are provided in the table below for the last two census years for which alone strictly comparable figures are available. Of the total Indian population of 1951, only 6.5 per cent was resident in such cities, as against 5.3 per cent in 1941. The 1951 percentage being about 28 per cent higher than that of 1941 is an advance. West Bengal has one city for nearly 83 lakhs of people and thus ranks very low in the matter of provision of great cities for its population. Because of the size of Calcutta, it ranks first in respect of the percentage which the population of its great cities bears to its total population, i.e., 14.6 per cent of the total population living in great cities. Bombay

15. L. Mumford : *Culture of Cities*, p. 487.

comes next with 14.1 per cent followed by Mysore with 13 per cent. Rajasthan has one great city for about 49 lakhs of people and Bihar for a little over 80 lakhs of people have only 3.6 and 2.1 per cent respectively of their population living in great cities.

Percentage of Total Territorial Population formed by the Population of Great Cities

Territory	1941	1951
India	5.3	6.8
Bihar	1.3	2.1
Bombay	10.6	14.1
Hyderabad	4.5	6.5
Madhya Pradesh	2.4	3.3
Madras	3.1	5.9
Mysore	9.4	13.0
Punjab	5.0	5.1
Rajasthan-Ajmer	4.1	3.6
Uttar Pradesh	4.7	6.2
West Bengal	12.9	14.6

The total population living in these great cities amounted to a little over 2.4 millions in 1951. Naturally it is differentially distributed in the various major territories. In addition to the variation in the number of great cities the differences in size are taken into account when we study the percentage distribution of the total population of great cities in the different major territories. Its significance may be realised by a look at the table given below :

Percentage distribution of Total Population of Great Cities

Territory	1881	1891	1921	1931	1941	1951
Bihar	3.8	3.3	1.9	1.9	3.1	3.6
Bombay	24.6	28.5	28.3	23.3	20.8	21.0
Hyderabad	8.1	8.2	6.3	5.7	4.9	5.1
Madhya Pradesh	...	2.3	2.2	3.9	3.2	2.9
Madras	9.0	9.0	12.3	13.0	10.5	14.0
Mysore	3.4	3.6	3.7	5.0	4.7	4.9
Punjab	3.3	2.7	1.1	3.2	4.3	2.7
Rajasthan-Ajmer	3.2	3.2	3.6	3.2	3.8	2.4
Uttar Pradesh	23.4	23.6	16.0	15.7	17.6	16.2
West Bengal	17.4	17.5	20.0	17.2	18.9	14.9

Bombay, which in respect of the number of great cities, is third among the territories, and in respect of the proportion formed by the population of its great cities to its total population only second, leads in this percentage distribution by a large margin. 21 per cent of the population of the seventy great cities of India lives in the great cities of Bombay. U.P. comes next but it accommodates in its great

cities only 16.2 per cent of the total population of the seventy great cities. West Bengal with 14.9 per cent follows U.P. much more closely than the latter does Bombay. The great cities of Madras account for 14 per cent of the total population of the great cities of India. These four territories are the great giants.

It is interesting to note that the picture in the previous census years revealed by the above table is hardly different from that of 1951. For example, both in 1881 and 1891 the ranking of major territories in respect of the percentage distribution of the total population of great cities, was, with only two exceptions in the latter year, the same. Only the size of differences has changed. But even here the relative difference between Hyderabad, which has always figured next to Madras, and the latter is now very much greater, while Mysore which was next to Hyderabad by a very large margin now shows only the slight difference of 2 per cent. The widened difference between Madras and Hyderabad established by the figure of 1951 lifts the four major regions of Bombay, U.P., West Bengal and Madras into a category by themselves as the resorts of great city-dwellers. The order in respect of percentage distribution in 1891 as Rajasthan-Ajmer, Punjab and M.P., has changed to one of M.P., Punjab and Rajasthan-Ajmer.

The following table gives the differential increase in the population living in great cities as between different major territories:

(See Table on next page)

It is seen that the largest percentage increase in the population living in great cities of India as a whole occurred in the decade 1931-41. The percentage increase is larger by 193 per cent than the percentage increase of 1921-31. The percentage increase of 1941-51, is only about 75 per cent of that of 1931-41. In harmony with the behaviour of the great cities of India as a whole, have moved Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan-Ajmer, U.P. and Bengal, all of them showing the greatest percentage increase in population living in their great cities in the decade 1931-41. Madras, Hyderabad and Bombay preferred to lag behind and achieve their highest percentages of increase in the next decade. The difference between percentage increases of the last two are fairly small and may be credited to political events. Madras had a percentage increase of 154 per cent; this shows that the State of Madras is well set on the path of urbanization since 1941.

		Percentage Variation in Population Living in Great Cities				
		1881-91	1891-1921	1921-31	1931-41	1941-51
Territory	India	+21.7	+19.0	+28.1	+82.2	+61.9
	Bihar	- 3.2	-27.4	+33.1	+192.4	+83.4
Bombay		+37.5	+20.5	+ 4.2	+60.8	+64.1
	Hyderabad	+17.0	+ 2.6	+15.5	+58.3	+64.9
Madhya Pradesh		...	+24.1	+120.0	+50.3	+47.0
	Madras	+11.5	+73.7	+36.4	+45.7	+116.2
Mysore		+15.7	+32.2	+73.4	+67.1	+71.1
	Punjab	- 7.8	+15.9	+67.6	+142.4	+ 1.6
Rajasthan-Ajmer		+11.4	+42.2	+12.8	+111.3	+ 1.5
	Uttar Pradesh	+19.7	-18.3	+25.0	+102.3	+49.1
West Bengal		+12.2	+43.8	+11.7	+98.3	+28.4

The behaviour of the two States, M.P. and Mysore, distinguishes them as early starters, both of them having registered their percentage increase in the decade 1921-31. The percentage increase in M.P. is simply phenomenal, the percentage increase of 1921-31 being nearly five times that of the previous decade and 2.4 times that of the succeeding one but now it appears to be on the wane. Mysore has registered only a small decrease in the percentage increase of the next two decades:

The rate in the growth of great cities can be judged from the percentage variation in the population of individual cities given below:

(See Table on next page)

To give a more generalised idea it may be pointed out that the 21 great cities of 1891 (leaving Meerut which ceased to be a great city from 1911 to 1941) increased by 16.6 per cent, 17.6 per cent, 54.1 per cent and 45.6 per cent during the periods of 1891-1921, 1921-31, 1931-41 and 1941-51 respectively. It is seen that the percentage increase of one single de-

cade, 1921-31, is greater than the percentage increase of what occurred during the previous 30 years. The percentage increase of the last decade though only 84 per cent of the greater percentage increase, which occurred during 1931-41, is about 158 per cent greater than that of the decade 1921-31. We may conclude that the bigger and the older of the great cities are becoming larger and larger at a more rapid pace, than the newer and the smaller ones, for in 1941 there were 17 units which became great cities; they increased by 48.4 per cent during the decade 1931-41, whereas they had increased in the previous decade of 1921-31 by only 24.5 per cent, though all of them had already been smaller cities (or Class II towns as the Census Reports designate them). The 23 units which became great cities in 1951 had increased only by 29.1 per cent during 1931-41. We may therefore, conclude that Class II towns very much quicken their pace of growth when they arrive at their last reach for quality as great cities.

The growth of population in cities can hardly be regarded as due to natural increase. The city population has a lower birth rate than the rural population. The death rate in cities is likewise higher than in rural areas. This is to be expected when we remember that cities are insanitary and the diet is poorer than that in the country. We can only conclude that the growth of population in the cities is largely due to migration. We have no satisfactory statistics of such migration. The Census every ten years is our only guide, unsatisfactory as these returns are. The Census of 1931 lists the percentage of city residents in different provinces who were born outside the cities. Davis gives us an average of 37.3 per cent born outside the cities on an analysis of figures of the total population of 26 cities. "More than a third of the inhabitants of India's major cities are born outside the city in which they live." The refugee movement during the last 7 years must naturally increase the percentage to a phenomenal extent. Generally speaking it is only economic pressure that induces the rural population to migrate. The peasant's traditions and associations make him prefer to remain in the village rather than in the city, with its slums, its absence of sanitary conveniences and its scarcity of good food. He is tempted to stay

Percentage Variation in the Population of ten largest cities since 1872-1881⁶

Cities	Population (1951) (in lakhs)	1872-81	1881-91	1891-1901	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31	1931-41	1941-51
Calcutta									
(with Howrah)	45.78	- 3.1	+12.5	+22.9	+11.0	+ 4.3	+11.9	+67.4	+19.9
Bombay	28.39	+20.0	+ 6.3	- 5.6	+26.2	+20.0	- 1.2	+46.0	+67.5
Madras	14.16	+ 2.1	+11.5	+12.6	+ 1.8	+ 1.6	+22.8	+20.1	+47.0
Delhi	13.83	+12.3	+11.1	+ 8.3	+11.6	+30.7	+47.0	+37.8	+93.3
Hyderabad	10.86	....	+13.0	+ 8.0	+12.0	-19.0	+16.0	+58.0	+47.0
Almedabad	7.94	+ 6.6	+16.3	+25.3	+16.6	+26.4	+14.5	+88.2	+33.3
Bangalore	7.79	....	+15.7	-11.8	+19.1	+25.3	+29.0	+32.4	+92.3
Kanpur	7.65	+23.4	+24.9	+ 4.5	-12.0	+21.2	+12.6	+100.0	+44.8
Poona	5.89	....	+25.8	....	+ 5.3	+23.9	+16.5	+11.2	+73.0
Lucknow	4.97	- 8.2	+ 4.4	- 3.3	- 1.6	- 4.6	+14.2	+40.8	+28.4

in the city, away from his family, for only a period till he gets an opportunity to return to his village.

CHARACTERISTICS OF URBANIZATION

The growth of urbanization and the imposition of a competitive system on a self-sufficient type of production have disturbed the economic isolation of the villages, and created a capitalist system involving a seasonal labour market and the exploitation of the masses. Whilst we have not enjoyed so far the benefits of industrialism to any great extent, we have produced in our cities all the evils associated with overcrowding, slums and unemployment. In cities housing and working conditions, recreation facilities and sanitary conveniences have all been incredibly bad, and food has been scarce and unwholesome.⁷ An analysis of census returns throws some light on this problem, though it does not reveal the whole picture. The outstanding facts are :

(1) Some of the cities have greater densities than is known even in the heavy industrial countries of the world, e.g., in 1931 Bombay had 48,400 persons per sq. mile, and Calcutta 24,100, Madras 22,300, Jaipur 48,100 and Amritsar 24,800 persons per sq. mile as against only 24,900 persons per sq. mile in New York, 15,100 in Chicago, and 15,100 in Philadelphia in 1940.

(2) These densities are achieved despite an absence of tall buildings, for the bulk of population live in houses of one or two stories. Most of the tenements contain only one room

with one or more families living huddled together in this space despite the fact that the size of these tenements is normally between 10 × 10 and 12 × 15 feet.¹⁸ If an average of 2½ persons per room be taken as an indication of overcrowding, then houses sheltering 96 per cent of the population of Bombay will be considered to be overcrowded and this population is housed so inadequately that the streets have to be used to supplement the sleeping accommodation. In fact, overcrowding is so great in Bombay that men have to sleep out wherever possible, and during the monsoon, when it is impossible to lie on the pavement, varandahs, alley-ways and stairs are all crowded with persons sleeping there.¹⁹ Certain sections of Bombay show the worst form of overcrowding. Byculla with 99 per cent of the families living in single-room tenements, Sewri with 89 per cent, Mazagaon and Parel with 88 per cent and Second Nagbada with 87 per cent are the worst examples. The extent to which the slums have been created in India by the process of urbanization may be illustrated by the 1931 figures of congestion in Bombay city, Kanpur and Lucknow:

Cities	1 Room Tenement	2 Room Tenements	3 Room Tenements	4 Room Tenements	5 Room & over
Bombay	81	11	3	2	3
Kanpur	62.5	24.8	7.5	2.9	2.3
Lucknow	50.4	28.9	10.7	5.2	4.8

The census publishes figures of an average number of persons per house. The figures of

6. *Census of India, 1921, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 72; Ibid for 1931 p. 50 and Census of India, Paper No. 1 (1952), pp. 24-25.*

7. M. Read : *The Indian Peasant Uprooted, 1931.*

18. *Census of India, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 57.*

19. *Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 57.*

one census are not strictly comparable to those of another, because of changing definitions.²⁰

The average number of persons per house was 5.8 in 1881. It was 5.4 in 1891, 5.2 in 1901 and 4.9 in 1911. The figures have been more or less constant up to 1921 after which there appears to have been an increase in the number of persons per house. The figures were 4.9 in 1921; 5.0 in 1931; 5.1 in 1941 and 5.8 in 1951. This shows that the number of houses is not increasing as fast as the number of people. The condition of housing has become acute. It has worsened during the past few years due to increasing population influx of refugees from Pakistan and a slowing down of the construction of new houses because of high prices of land, steel and building materials.

The Planning Commission has made a rough estimate of housing shortage in industrial towns by collecting information from 37 towns with a total population of 13 million working in large-scale industries. It has come to the conclusion that there is an immediate need of housing accommodation for 4½ lakh industrial workers. According to another estimate there is a shortage of 18½ lakh houses in urban areas in addition to 10 lakh houses for displaced persons from Pakistan. Whatever may be the actual extent of the shortage, there is no doubt that there is acute shortage of housing accommodation.

The houses are not only scarce but the housing conditions are appalling both in the cities and the rural areas. The single-room ramshackle *bustees*, *ahatas*, *chawls*, *cherries* and *dowras* have all been built by private landlords and employers. In the busiest centres the houses are built close together, eave touching eave, and frequently back to back in order to use all the available space. Neglect of sanitation

is often evident from heaps of rotting garbage and pools of sewage, whilst the absence of latrines increases the general pollution of air and soil. Many of the houses are without plinths, windows and adequate ventilation. They usually consist of a single small room, the only opening being a doorway often too low to enter without stooping. In order to secure some privacy, old kerosene tins and gunny bags are used to form screens which further restrict the entrance of light and air. In dwellings such as these, human beings are born, grow up, sleep and eat, live and die.²¹ Though this was written over two decades ago, yet the general features of houses in every industrial centre remain the same. The same sort of overcrowding, congestion, lack of sanitation and ventilation, absence of latrines and water-taps, dark, damp, filthy tenements with little arrangement for privacy are to be met with even now. Cooking and sleeping in the same room are common. The whole thing is awfully disgusting and it is simply surprising how human beings live under such conditions. The same story about appalling housing conditions in Madras, Ahmedabad, Bihar and Kanpur has been repeated by the respective Committees.²²

Even with a bare 17 per cent people living in towns, the congestion in some of them is terrible. Rickets in children, and anaemia, dyspepsia and lassitude in grown-up people are characteristic of such houses whose air is vitiated by overcrowding; inhalation of such air results in the lowering of the power of resistance against all maladies in general and phthisis, bronchitis, diphtheria, pneumonia, enteric fever, parasitic diseases, etc., in particular. These diseases are common in all labour *bustees*. Epidemics also take a heavier toll in cities than in the open countryside. As Mr. Yeats remarked, "This urbanization has all the draw-backs of lack of control and general squalor." Approaches to very big cities like Bombay, Madras or Calcutta, are hideous. Thousands of homeless squatters are found camping in the outskirts. Brick-kilns are another hideous sight. Delhi with its "ribbon development" along with roads

20. Census of 1921 says, "Formerly a house was defined as the residence of one or more family having a separate independent entrance from the common way. But now it has been defined as the home of commensal family with its resident dependents and servants." (p. 46). This definition, though used in 1931, could not be applied universally in all parts of India, because of variation in family customs and reference to food and residence.

The 1951 Census attempted to follow a single system throughout the country. It defined a 'house' and a 'household' separately: 'A household' is a group of people who live together and take their food from a common kitchen. Whereas a 'house' is a building within which people live; provided that if different parts of the building is structurally separated and provided with separate main entrances so as to give independent access to each part (Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 48).

21. Report of the Royal Commission on Labour, 1931, pp. 271-72.

22. Census of India, Vol. 14 (Madras, Pt. I, p. 69); Report of the Royal Commission on Labour, p. 277; The Bihar Labour Enquiry Committee Report (1940), p. 88; and The Kanpur Labour Enquiry Committee Report (1938), p. 78.

going out of the city is an eye-sore. Calcutta is 'an octopus with more than eight tentacles.' Amritsar present an ugly, repulsive look.²³

The following table shows the density of occupation in dwellings of different sizes in a few towns. It will be noticed that the average number of occupants per room is the highest in one-room tenements.²⁴

Density of Occupancy (No. of persons per room) in dwellings of different sizes

	1 Room	2 Room	3 Room	All dwellings
<i>Madras</i>				
Sugar Mills	4.9	3.2	2.7	4.2
Tramways	5.0	2.2	—	4.6
Tanneries	5.9	3.2	3.0	4.8
<i>Bombay</i>				
Employers' Houses	4.5	3.2	—	4.4
Private Houses	5.8	2.7	—	5.2
Printing Presses	4.8	4.3	—	4.7
<i>Hydrabad</i>				
Employers Houses	4.0	3.1	—	3.9
Private Houses	3.8	2.4	—	3.2

(3) The absence of adequate housing accommodation has brought in a serious disparity between the proportions of sexes. (The costly city life, the absence of work for women and the restrictions on child and female labour reduce the possibility of bringing the family to the city. This makes the city all the more unattractive to the worker as a place of residence and increases the worker's desire to get back to his village home as soon as possible.) The sex disparity is most marked in the age groups 25-30 and 30-35. This is responsible for the spread of prostitution and of venereal diseases from the industrial centres to the villages. While the man-worker leading single life comes back to the village tainted and diseased, "the woman workers lose their self-respect and virtue and are looked down by the village population." In the thousands of slums of the Indian industrial centres, manhood is, unquestionably, brutalised, womanhood dishonoured, and child-

hood poisoned at its very source.²⁵ The following table gives sex ratio of the towns and cities:²⁶

Sex Ratio in the Towns and Cities, 1881-1941
Cities under 5,000

Class of towns	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
persons	110	110	111	111	113	118	N.a.
5,000 to 10,000	105	104	105	107	108	111	N.a.
10,000 to 20,000	105	106	106	108	110	113	N.a.
20,000 to 50,000	106	109	110	115	121	121	N.a.
50,000 to 100,000	111	114	111	118	120	120	N.a.
100,000 to 500,000	111	115	116	122	131	128	127
500,000 and over	162	178	156	171	175	173	164

Although India has been traditionally rural, there are undeniable evidences that a change is coming on. The acceleration in the growth of cities, the trend towards industrial and commercial expansion, the potential development of females in the urban industrial centres and the consequent normalisation of the sex ratio, all point to the fact that urbanization in India is likely to gain momentum as it goes forward, and that within the coming decades the pace may become extremely rapid.

But in India, we do not advocate piling up of people in big cities, blindly following the West. We are anxious not to repeat the mistakes of the West. We should have a scientifically planned development of our cities so that all evils associated with congested areas are prevented from appearing. Scientific town-planning would mean the equitable distribution of the available land according to the various needs of the community including the provision for residential and industrial areas, space for broad thoroughfares, dustless macadamised tar roads, and avenues, gardens, parks and pools and civic amenities like a protected water supply, hygienic sewage disposal and adequate lighting. For future we should have medium-sized, open, airy and healthy towns. What is needed is the urbanization of the rural and ruralisation of the urban centres.

(Concluded)

23. Yeats : *Census of India, 1941, Vol. J, Pt. I.*

24. Summarised from *Rege Committee's Report*, Table 137, p. 313.

25. R. K. Mukerjee : *The Indian Working Class* (1951), p. 320.

26. From *Census of India, 1891, 1901, 1931, 1941.*



SOME REFLECTIONS ON NATIONALISED INSURANCE ✓

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INTRODUCTION

(WITH the promulgation of the Life Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Ordinance, 1956 on the 20th January which came into force immediately, the management and control of all the life insurance companies, Indian and non-Indian, was vested in the Government.) The business community in India was taken by surprise and leaders in the field came out with various statements branding the government action as retrograde step in the field of life insurance in India, although the measure was hailed by the employees of insurance companies. It is in this context that it is considered necessary to make an analytical study of life insurance in its varied perspective. This is likely to provide food for thought in connection with the proposed system of nationalised insurance in this country.

PRESENT POSITION

(The number of insurers registered under the Insurance Act, 1938 on 31st October, 1955 was 317.) Detailed Statistics of insurance companies are available only up to 1954 and hence observations will be confined to the published data only.

(In December 1954 there were 210 Indian and 107 non-Indian insurers. Of the Indian insurers, 109 were dealing with life insurance only, 40 with life and general insurance and 61 with general insurance only. Of 107 non-Indian insurers, three were dealing with life insurance only, 13 with life and general and 91 with general insurance only.

Thus the total number of insurers concerned with life insurance either wholly or partially was 149 Indian and 16 non-Indian as shown below :

	No. of insurers registered	
	Indian	Non-Indian
Life only	109	3
Life and other classes	40	13
Other classes only	61	91
Total	210	107

From the above table it is clear that in the field of life insurance, (the Indian insurers have played a far greater role than the non-Indian insurers.) For example, the number of non-Indian fire insurers is 86 as against 69 Indian insurers. Further, there are 63 marine and 51 miscellaneous non-Indian insurers as against 66 marine and 84 miscellaneous Indian insurers. (It is for some time past that the role of non-Indian insurers has been on the decrease as far as life insurance is concerned.) This is evident from Table I which reveals that 17.5 per cent of total business was in non-Indian hands in 1945 as against 13.0 per cent in 1954. (It may be due to the fact that public opinion is in favour of giving patronage to Indian firms rather than non-Indian firms and Indian capital has found the field of insurance sufficiently remunerative and hence adequate capital has been diverted to this business.)

TABLE I

Year	Business in force in crore Rupees			% of total	Business to		New Business in crore Rs.	
	Total	Ind. Ins.	Non-Ind. Ins.		Non-Ind. Ins.	Ind. Ins.	Non-Ind. Ins.	Ind. Ins.
1945	557	462	95	82.5	17.5	123.7	12.6	
1946	651	550	101	84.5	15.5	140.9	12.9	
1947	706	603	103	85.4	14.6	126.5	13.1	
1948	724	621	103	85.8	14.2	121.7	12.9	
1949	765	662	103	86.8	13.4	130.0	12.2	
1950	780	671	109	86.0	14.0	125.8	13.7	
1951	873	755	118	86.5	13.5	131.4	16.5	
1952	922	796	126	86.3	13.7	130.3	16.4	
1953	966	833	133	86.2	13.8	138.2	17.0	
1954	1059	922	137	87.0	13.0	213.3	16.2	

EXPENSE RATIO

The expense ratio i.e., the percentage of expenses of management to the premium income in respect of Indian and non-Indian insurers as given in the following table reveals that during 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 and 1954 the expense ratio of all the Indian insurers was high as 28.9, 27.2, 27.2, 27.4 and 29.2 per cent respectively as against 21.8, 23.0, 22.4, 20.7 and 21.4 per cent in the case of non-Indian insurers. The average expense ratio of Indian insurers does not tell the whole story. Among the various insurers

Year	<i>Expense Ratio of Insurers</i>		
	Indian all	Indian other than big six	Non-Indian
1950	28.9	32.5	21.8
1951	27.2	28.2	23.0
1952	27.2	27.8	22.4
1953	27.4	28.3	20.7
1954	29.3	29.6	21.4

some had low expense ratio, others high and still others very high as given below :

<i>Name of Insurer</i>	<i>Expense ratio</i>
Oriental	25.4
Bombay Life	25.9
Bombay Mutual	30.6
Dig Vijaya	36.4
Bhasker	41.2
Ideal Mutual	43.2
Crescent	68.7

Similar picture is painted by the renewal expense ratio of various Indian insurers, e.g., it is 9.7 per cent in the case of Commercial Insurance

<i>Name of Insurer</i>	<i>Renewal of Expense Ratio</i>
Commercial	9.7
Oriental	11.7
United India	14.9
Bombay Life	15.6
Bombay Mutual	15.9
Bombay Zoroastrian	30.6
Central India	38.9
Home Security	46.0
Crescent	64.7

company as against 64.7 per cent in Crescent Insurance company. There is much disparity between the various units of life insurance in

India not only between the Indian and non-Indian insurers but between the Indian insurers themselves which has been the root cause of so many evils.

INVESTMENT PATTERN

Table II showing the distributing of assets of the various insurers reveals that in 1954, Rs. 164.5 crores or 54.8 per cent of total investment was made in the securities of public authorities in India by Indian insurers as against Rs. 30.1 crores or 59.2 per cent of the total investment by non-Indian insurers. The investment in British Colonial and Foreign Government Securities was Rs. 22.8 crores (7.6 per cent of the total investment) by non-Indian insurers. Investment in the private industries in India by Indian insurers was Rs. 48.5 crores (16.1 per cent of the total) and by non-Indian insurers Rs. 6.7 crores (13.0 per cent of the total). Taking into consideration both the Indian and non-Indian insurers, the investment in the public sector and private industries in India was Rs. 194.6 crores and Rs. 55.2 crores, i.e., 55.3 and 15.7 per cent respectively of the total investment.

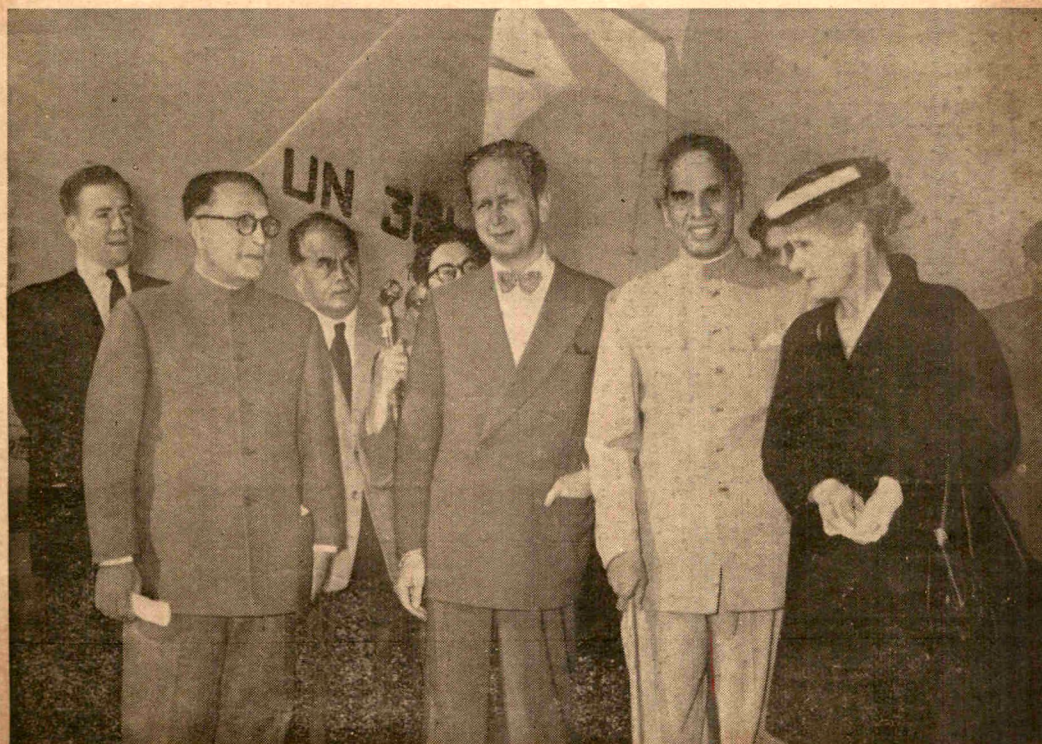
NATIONALISATION

(In spite of strict provisions in the Insurance Act of 1938 and its subsequent amendments, malpractices in the management of life insurance in India could not be eliminated. Several times the interests of shareholders and policy-holders were jeopardised. During the last decade as many as 25 companies came to grief and another 25 had so frittered away their resources that their business had to be transferred to other companies at a loss to the policy-holders and administrators had to be appointed in seven cases.)^{*} Besides, a number of cases of embezzlement are being detected at present when custodians are taking over charge of management and control of various insurance companies. [In the light of these instances there is nothing wrong if an impression was created in the mind of the public and the Government that in the majority of cases the private enterprise, in spite of various safeguards provided by the Insurance Act, does not miss to take a mean advantage of any lacuna in the Insu-

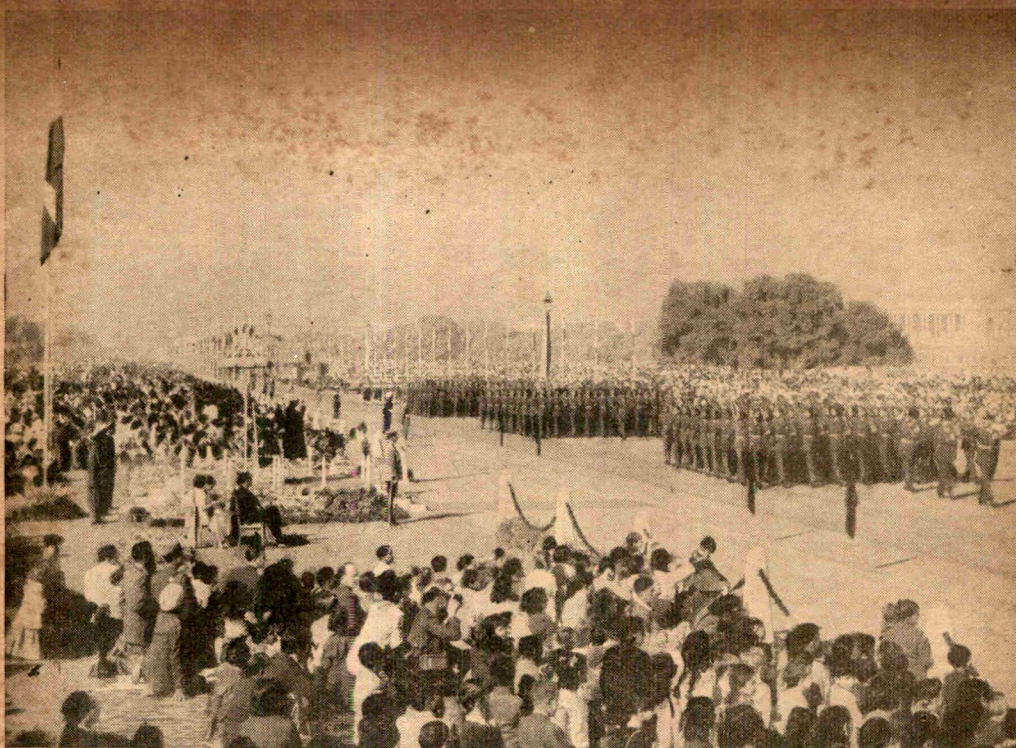
^{*} These are : East and West Insurance Co. Ltd., Empire of India Life Assurance Co. Ltd., Jupiter General Insurance Co. Ltd., Servant of India Insurance Co. Ltd., Tropical Co. Ltd., Union Life and General Insurance Co. Ltd., and Bharat Insurance Co. Ltd.



The Shahanshah and Empress of Iran visited Rajghat, Delhi, on February 17 to lay floral wreaths on the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi



Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General, United Nations, is seen with Sri V. K. Krishna Menon, who received him at the Safdarjang airport, New Delhi



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad takes the salute as detachments of the Indian Air Force, led by Wing Commander Mukerjee, march past the saluting dais on the Republic Day in New Delhi on January 26



A dance performance by Uzbek folk-artists

SOME REFLECTIONS ON NATIONALISED INSURANCE

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Table 2 showing Assets of Life Business of Indian and Non-Indian Insurers in 1954
Type of Assets

Type of Assets	Indian Insurers		Non-Indian Insurers	
	Assets (crore Rupees)	% of total	Assets (crore Rupees)	% of total
Central Government Securities	123.5	41.0	26.7	52.5
Securities of Part A and B States	22.8	7.6	1.1	2.2
British Colonial and Foreign Government Securities	3.7	1.2	7.2	14.2
Municipal, Port Trust, Improvement Trust Securities	18.2	6.2	2.3	4.5
Mortgage on Property	15.1	5.0	0.6	1.2
Loans on Policies	26.6	8.8	5.1	10.1
Loans on Stocks and Shares	0.1	—	—	—
Other Loans	1.5	0.5	—	—
Debentures of Indian Companies, etc.	19.4	6.5	4.3	8.4
Preference Shares of Indian Companies etc.	10.0	3.3	1.0	1.9
Ordinary Shares of Indian Companies	19.1	6.3	1.4	2.7
Land and House Property	75.9	5.3	0.7	1.4
Agents' balances, outstanding premiums, interests, etc.	7.3	2.4	—	—
Deposits, cash and stamps	13.5	4.5	0.4	0.8
Miscellaneous	4.7	1.6	—	0.1
Total	301.3	100.0	50.9	100.0

rance Act and appropriates funds in a way detrimental to the interests of policy-holders.)

It is true that undesirable elements are found in every walk of life and many people may say that this does not create circumstances which should necessitate nationalisation; only strict control should prove adequate to bring about the desired results. If the solution were as simple as envisaged here there would never have been any question of nationalisation. But when as many as 51 cases of misappropriation of funds from among 165 companies have already been detected the situation is evidently far from satisfactory which if allowed to continue might make things still worse. There are weighty reasons to doubt the honesty and integrity of private enterprise in life insurance. This of course does not cast any aspersion on such companies which have always championed the cause of policy-holders admirably and thereby furthered national interest.

(It may be said that the method adopted by the Government in connection with nationalisation of life insurance is far from satisfactory. It is true that the Government instead of announcing its decision in favour of nationalisation of life insurance and afterwards bringing forward a bill before the Parliament to give effect to this decision has adopted a tactical method of promulgating an ordinance for immediate transfer of management as a first step to be followed by a more elaborate action, viz., 'complete nationalisation' at a later date. But after having taken a

decision in favour of nationalisation of life insurance the best way to do things with grace and also not to jeopardise the interests of policy-holders was no other than to promulgate an ordinance. In this action the Government seems to be motivated by a sense of urgency for the change and by the interests of policy-holders and shareholders in general.)

NATIONALISATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

(Life insurance is very vital to the life of every nation wherever a full-fledged scheme of social insurance is not in operation. But it does not mean that life insurance is absent in countries with a highly developed system of social insurance. The field of life insurance is so large that the Government in many countries found it difficult to undertake so gigantic and complicated a task. The British Labour Party in 1949 proposed the nationalisation of life insurance for reasons of undesirable investments, high profits, over-trading and high administrative expenses but it failed to make a valid case for nationalisation and finally abandoned the plan altogether. Partial nationalisation of insurance was adopted in France in 1946 and State Departments of Insurance were started in countries like New Zealand, Brazil, Japan and Mexico.) But nowhere they seem to have been able to compete successfully with private enterprise. A postal insurance scheme was started in Great Britain in 1864 and was in force till 1928 when it was abandoned on the recommendation of a Parliamentary Committee.

This may be for the fact that a particular set-up, climate and incentive necessary for the success of private enterprise may not be adequate to the success of public enterprise in the same field. Public enterprise by its very nature needs special climate, set-up and incentive in the absence of which any experiment is bound to be less successful than private enterprise. It does not indicate the failure of public enterprise but only lack of proper incentives. Given a proper atmosphere there is no reason why public enterprise should not be a success.

POSTAL INSURANCE IN INDIA

The share of the Postal Insurance Scheme in India which has been open so far only to Government servants including members of Defence Services, employees of semi-government institutions like the Universities, District Boards and Municipal Boards and employees of government-owned factories, is quite insignificant. For example, in 1952-53 the life insurance work of Postal Insurance was of Rs. 2.4 crores as against 154.5 crores of private insurers. Further, during 1939-1953 the total business in force with Postal Department increased from Rs. 189.0 crores to Rs. 962.0 crores. This insignificant progress of Postal Life Insurance may be attributed to (i) certain serious obstacles in the way of postal insurance; (ii) organisational deficiencies and (iii) lack of incentive. Perhaps it is the lack of incentive to the people concerned that the Postal Life Insurance has been making steps in this country. In spite of various advantages with Postal Life Insurance it has not been able to make headway. Its organisation set-up is such that a large number of people who would have taken advantage of Postal Life Insurance have not done so for the fact that either they do not know about it or that they are approached by the private insurers at the psychological moment while there is none to do this job on behalf of Postal Life Insurance. People in India, not to speak of illiterates or less educated, even highly educated, do not know how to safeguard their interest in the case of life insurance. It is for this reason that they did not bother about the standing of the insurer. It is this reason which explains the sad state of affairs of so many companies. Under these circumstances if Postal Life Insurance is still to be continued it ought to be provided with all those props in the absence of which its progress has been so slow.

NATIONALISATION AND EXPENSE RATIO

There are widespread fears that as a result of nationalisation the expense ratio will go up. The Government should find out ways and means so that every possibility of this kind should be put off permanently. Perhaps the best way of doing it may be to evolve a definite pattern of organisation with a view to increase the efficiency of public sector. If it is intended to spread the gospel of insurance far and wide and allow it to reach beyond the more advanced urban areas well into the hitherto neglected rural areas, the expense ratio is bound to rise unless it is counter-balanced by an increase in efficiency. But a slight increase in the expense ratio due to increase in life insurance from rural areas is more than justified in the early period.

SOCIALISTIC PATTERN OF SOCIETY

(At present when we have already accepted socialistic pattern of society as the avowed objective of economic policy, the context of Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 has changed and hence we cannot now swear by that Resolution. An eminent economist, Prof. D. R. Gadgil, in his paper to the members of the National Development Council in January last has emphasized that a distinction must be made between private enterprise and private monopoly, and public sector should expand in those fields where private monopoly exists if the objective of socialistic pattern of society is to be realised early. Looked at from this angle the nationalisation of life insurance, as also stated by the Hon'ble Finance Minister, will be another milestone on the road the country has chosen in order to reach its goal of socialistic pattern of society.

FEAR AND SUSPICION

(The promulgation of Ordinance by the Government has created fears in the mind of the business circle regarding the way in which the objective of socialistic pattern of society shall be realised. It has at the same time to vindicate that wherever the private sector does not fear to misappropriate the funds belonging to the majority of nationals the Government does not lag behind and is prepared to go to the extent of taking the field for itself. There is a vast majority in the private sector who are anxious to play their role in the planned economic development of the country and for this purpose they want that specific con-

tents be given to the notion of socialistic pattern of society so that every one must know the way in which this policy will be pursued. Uncertainty tends to breed fear and suspicion in the minds of the businessmen and their practices in their turn create suspicion in the mind of the Government. This state of mutual suspicion ought to give place to enunciation of clear-cut policies laying down as to what is specifically expected from the private enterprise in different fields. Then the failure of private enterprise would obviously establish a case for Government interference and even nationalisation of private sector in that field.)

FOREIGN CAPITAL

Many predict that nationalisation of insurance has created uncertainty in the minds of foreign investors as well as technical personnel from foreign countries. This point seems to be highly exaggerated. As has been stated earlier the business of non-Indian insurers has been on the decrease specially when the work of life insurance has been on the increase during the last several years. There were only three non-Indian insurers before the vesting in the Central Government of their management and control which dealt purely with life insurance. These alone will lose their independent identity after nationalisation. Thirteen other non-Indian insurers which were dealing with general insurance besides life insurance will be affected only to the extent they have been carrying on life insurance work. Hence even after nationalisation these thirteen non-Indian insurers will still continue to carry on their activities in the field of general insurance. If they care, and this they would in all probabilities, they would be able to make up for the loss of life insurance work of non-Indian insurers in the near future specially when in the Second Five-Year Plan period there is possibility of expenditure of Rs. 4800 crores in the public sector and Rs. 2300 crores in the private sector on account of which there is bound to be enormous increase in the demand for general insurance.

As regards the investment of foreign capital in India, experience of this country in the recent past has not been very happy. In spite of various possibilities of fair returns from investment, assurances of facilities for remittances of profits and reasonable compensation in case of nationalisation the rate of foreign and specially that of American investment has been very low. It is, therefore, too much to say that the present step

of the Government is likely to retard materially the rate of foreign investment in this country

FUTURE OF PRIVATE MONOPOLIES IN THE FIELD OF INSURANCE

In the private sector after the extinction of private insurers 109 Indian life insurers dealing with fire, marine or other miscellaneous types of insurance will continue to operate. But in this field they are bound to face keen competition with non-Indian insurers which are on a firm footing and whose number although only slightly more (104) than their Indian counterpart (101) and which carry a major portion of business in this field in India and have a solid organisation of their own. This development in the present context ought to be carefully examined by the Government and whenever possible state patronage be made available to such Indian insurers as are established on sound business lines and are likely to further the cause of planned economic development of the country.

ORDINANCE AND LATER DEVELOPMENTS

As a result of Ordinance the Management and control of life insurance is vested in the Central Government. It authorised the Government to appoint custodians to take charge of the controlled business but till such time as the custodians were appointed, the persons already in charge of the business were to act as agents of the Central Government. But such persons were neither authorised to deviate from the policy normally adopted by them earlier in granting loans or making investment or incurring expenditure other than the payment of wages, salaries and commission or to transfer assets or acquire any immovable property or enter into any central service or agency or business other than that of policy.

The management of the controlled business of an insurer from the time of issue of Ordinance up to the time the management remains vested in the Central Government is entitled for compensation on monthly basis which shall be equal to one-twelfth of that amount of profit declared on the basis of valuation which is allocated to shareholders during the last two years.

But in the case of those insurers which have not declared any profit, the compensation will be at the rate of Re. 1/- per month for every Rs. 2,000/- of the premium income of the insurer from its controlled business in 1954.

By now the Government has announced the names of custodians for different companies and

the new reduced rates of insurance premia which are less than the rates in force in the Oriental Life Insurance Company by Re. 1/- per thousand.

(SHAPE OF NEW INSURANCE AGENCY

Before indicating the possible lines of approach to the question as to what should be the shape of nationalised insurance agency, it is necessary that we should have a clear idea of the insurers existing before. As stated earlier there have been both Indian and non-Indian insurers of different sizes, premium rates, expense ratios and varying degrees of efficiency. They have been competing with each other which has resulted in sufficient increase in insurance business. Besides, Postal Life Insurance as a Government Department has been operating side-by-side. Further in the case of Indian insurers some have a widespread network of branch offices all over the country, others confining themselves only to one State or certain areas of a State; some have sound financial standing while others have grossly mismanaged their affairs and have frittered away a major portion of their funds; some are well known for their services to the policy-holders in settling their claims promptly when they fall due, while others have shown complete lack of understanding to this most important question. Some have declared very high rates of bonus and dividends and others have had to be put under administrators for misappropriation of funds.

From all these it is obvious that there are certain weaknesses of small-scale units in insurance such as high expense ratio and consequent lower rates of dividends. Hence, in any new set up uneconomic units should not be allowed to exist. Further, the vantage points of the erstwhile insurers should not only be retained but increased as a result of nationalisation. The new nationalised institution or institutions must have service as its motto and security and efficiency as its watchwords. At no cost they should be sacrificed. But these aims can be realised in both cases when there is one nationalised agency into which all others have merged or few units of economic sizes as a result of amalgamation of small insurers into bigger ones. The latter may supposedly retain the spirit of competition which will disappear in the former.

But is there any sense in having different units when all are being owned by the State, and

the rates of premium and bonus are the same, the rules of service of the employees sooner or later will be the same and so also the rates of commission to the agents? In reality there will be no spirit of competition because the agents working under similar conditions will have same data to canvass their case and will not be able to compete with each other. Under these circumstances it is but feasible that there should be only one nationalised insurance agency. But for purposes of administration its area of operation should be divided into various zones and in each zone a large number of offices in important towns should be established which should have their dealings with the zonal head office. For each zone there should be an advisory or consultative committee in which all interests should be represented and so also there should be an Advisory Committee at the Head Office.

ACQUISITION OF PROPRIETARY RIGHTS

In order to acquire the proprietary rights of the insurers the Government is likely to bring a Bill before the next session of the Parliament. Besides other things the Bill will provide for payment of compensation to the shareholders on reasonable basis or any other basis as laid down in the Bill. But what can be reasonable basis for determining such compensation? No single yardstick can serve the purpose. The case of each and every insurer ought to be examined on its own merit, in which account should be had of the standing of the insurer in the insurance world, the average value of share during the last two years, the total value of assets and liabilities and the yearly volume of business. There is no doubt that it is difficult to assess the goodwill of different insurance firms and as a result of nationalisation the Government does not stand to gain at all due to this change of hands but still those insurers who helped in building a strong and well-knit insurance system in the country by their work and behaviour and honesty of purpose are entitled for a better deal from the rest of insurers.

SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

It is estimated that the increase in the amount of life insurance during the Second Five-Year Plan will be of the order of Rs. 224 crores and the Government may like to use these funds for development purposes. At present annual premiums of life insurance amount to nearly

Rs. 55 crores. But the Government should not merely be satisfied with this increase but should strive for greater increase in the business with a view to attain the target of total insurance of Rs. 8,000 crores when business at present is for Rs. 1059 crores. So far, insurance has spread mostly to the urban and semi-urban areas. Efforts must be made to take the message of insurance to rural areas and raise the *per capita* insurance to a figure which may be comparable with that in other countries of the world.* The percentage of insurance in force to one year's national income is only 9.2 in India as against 17.8 in Japan, 45.6 in Australia, 51.3 in U.K., 70.4 in New Zealand and 94.8 in U.S.A.

TASK AHEAD

The nationalised insurance institution is bound to face various problems in its formative period. In order to be able not only to increase its total business but also that from the rural areas it is essential that it should adopt the sound precedents of previous insurers and prove to be a model state-owned-and-operated enterprise. This will not only help in removing suspicion towards State enterprise in general but will foster the cause of socialistic pattern of society. Its failure is not only bound to retard the early realisation of this objective but also to create adverse psychological atmosphere for extension of public sector and achievements of targets in this field in the Second Five-Year Plan.

In the changed context as a result of disappearance of competition there does not seem to be the need to allow the old rate of commission to the insurance agents. But increased insurance from rural areas needs greater efforts and greater inducement. Hence it is advisable to allow higher rates of commission on the work from rural areas and lower rates on work from urban areas. The reduction in the rates for work from urban areas should not be such as to sap the initiative and enthusiasm of the agents.

The nationalised insurance agency should not form part of any Government department but should be a statutory body vested with powers to take decisions in all matters in the light of broad

outlines of policy laid down by the Parliament. It should be run on a purely commercial basis and hence the general rules of audit for the Government Departments should be adapted to subserve the purpose.

In the years to come the agency must be responsive to the changing needs of the people and their growing and varied requirements of insurance, if it is to assume proportions. For this purpose it would be desirable to have a development department located at the Head Office as well at the zonal offices which should devote itself to the study of this problem. As regards investment it has already been pointed out that 55.3 per cent of the investment is in Government and Municipal securities and 15.7 per cent in the private industries. Nationalisation does not mean that the already available amount of investment will be denied to these industries as announced by the Finance Minister. But the question is whether in the years to come the same percentage of investment will be available to private industries or not. It may be desirable to keep up this percentage invested in private industries as it will enable Government to be indirectly in touch with the progress of such industries. Further there is another question whether there should be any change in the hitherto granted loans by the insurers against mortgages of real estate insurance policies, land and house property. The Government may think of bringing about certain changes, e.g., it may like to grant loans for schemes which have been given priority in the Plan such as construction of houses for middle class and other people in low income-groups and slum clearance. However, any change envisaged in the pattern of investment should not result in the curtailment of facilities already available to policy-holders nor in too much reduction of profits and ultimate reduction in the rate of bonus to the policy-holders. The principles of profitability, safety, service and prompt settlement of claims which are the corner-stones of insurance business ought to be so harmonised by the nationalised insurance agency as to subserve the best interests of the nation and policy-holders and result in the maximum possible economic development of the country.*

* The *per capita* insurance in India is only Rs. 26 as against Rs. 191 in Japan, Rs. 214 in Brazil, Rs. 1,827 in U.K., Rs. 2037 in Australia, Rs. 3160 in New Zealand and Rs. 9800 in U.S.A.

* The views expressed in this article are the personal views of the author. They have nothing to do with his official capacity.

SOME FUNDAMENTALS OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF PAKISTAN

By Prof. J. B. GANGULY, M.A.

I THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC—A CURIOUS COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE SACERDOTIUM AND THE IMPERIUM

THE Draft Constitution of Pakistan declares Pakistan as an Islamic Republic. The attribute "Islamic" is justified by two specific provisions embodied in the Constitution. One is that none other than a Muslim shall ever be the Head of the State; and the second one is that "No law shall be enacted which is repugnant to the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the holy Quran and Sunnah" Pakistan is called a "Republic" because the government there will constitute and function, as they claim, on the line of British Parliamentary practice though without a second chamber.

WHAT IS "ISLAM"?

Islam is surrender to God. Surrender implies two concepts. Mentally, one must surrender to the will of God as propounded in the Quran and in outward behaviour, one must follow the practices of the Prophet Muhammad, known as Sunnah. Sunnah is the code of conduct for every follower of Islam.

How Sunnah came to furnish with a body of rules for the guidance of the Muslims? During the time of the Prophet Muhammad the Muslims were united together in the "Brotherhood of the Faithful" by the tie of the common faith. They knew no state in the modern sense. So there cannot be any existence of a state to regulate the conduct of the followers of his faith in his own conduct.

In such circumstances, it is incomprehensible that it has become possible for the framers of the Constitution of Pakistan to deliberately limit the sovereign power of the people of Pakistan by making the injunctions of Islam overriding upon the powers of their Parliament to enact laws.

We shall have to find out the answer in the genesis of Pakistan. Pakistan has been founded on the theory of the supremacy of religion as the main political force in the formation of a state, and not nationalism properly understood. Pakistan has been brought to being in the name of the protection of a minority solely based on religion. Originally the move was for asserting certain safeguards, such as separate electorate for the Muslims in the constitutional reform measures initiated by the ruling power. At that time there was no demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims. The late M. A. Jinnah in his speech delivered on Feb. 7, 1935 in the Indian Legislative Assembly said:

" I agree that religion should not be allowed to come to politics but is this a question of religion purely? No Sir, this is a question of minorities and it is a political issue "

At a later period the move turned into a demand for a separate sovereign state for the Muslims altogether:

"Muslims are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homeland, their territory and their State"—Jinnah's presidential speech, Muslim League Session, Lahore, 1940.

Thus it is clear that Pakistan has been established as a homeland for the Muslims. When the State has been set up on the basis of religion it is but natural that this religious bias would be reflected in the organic law or the Constitution of that State. But the matter relating to Pakistan cannot be explained away so simply. Though the demand for Pakistan was conceded to the Muslims they got it by surrendering territorial unity. Pakistan is composed of two wings separated by more than one thousand miles from one another. This territorial non-integrity in itself is not so significant as the consequent changes in language, literature, culture and tradition of the people of the two wings. Of late, the leaders of Pakistan are facing difficulties in binding together the two wings of Pakistan in one state and under one government. A progressive movement has emerged in Pakistan with the demand for a full-fledged democratic and federal State with fuller regional autonomy and full liberty for the people. Pakistan has been facing the vital problem of protecting the newly-born State from going apart and being torn to pieces. On the one hand, it became evident that religion was failing to maintain unity and the democratic forces of Pakistan were becoming more and more powerful and influential, on the other hand, Pakistan being ruled by a clique of oligarchs could not find out any force other than religion which can hold the different sections of Pakistan together into one State composed of people of different opinions and cultures.

The trend is not accidental. The different groups of a society develop a schism between themselves which is nothing but the outward expression of "schism in the soul" in Toynbee's words.

"If people are to feel at one with themselves, and if there is to be harmony among groups, two requirements have to be met. Subjectively human beings must feel that what unites them is superior to what separates them. Objectively, they need some institutional means for organising those feelings." *The Great Issues Of Politics* by Leslie Lipson, p. 148.

In a modern State the common unifying force is nationalism. But in Pakistan they have sought this unifying force in religion in spite of its losing ground in the modern age of secularism. When secularism has definitely replaced ecclesiasticism the attempt at maintaining religion as the main unifying force is certainly a reactionary step. And here lies a great danger for Pakistan.

"The political process has a characteristic, of which many examples may be noted, that when a trend in one direction has reached a point of excess,

it is likely to prove a counteractive in reverse." Lipson, *ibid.*, p. 167.

Similarly, too much emphasis on religion will have its reaction in Pak politics and then Pakistan may not find out an alternative force to keep the different sections in Pakistan together—this is the danger which the leaders of Pakistan can overlook at the cost of their own peril.

Thus the apparent contradiction in the Draft Constitution of Pakistan, *viz.*, religious supremacy fitted in a republican structure merely reflects the conflict between the religious leaders who are not ready to surrender their 'holy' rights to rule and the rising political forces which also asserts the right of the "General Will."

How far religious bias has been deliberately incorporated in the Draft Constitution to supply as a unifying force may be questioned. But it has been strengthened by the vested interests of Pakistan, who have been gradually losing ground from under their feet and who have been trying to maintain their political power anyhow. The rise of nascent progressivism in the body politic of Pakistan is not solely the result of growing political consciousness but also the result of growing distrust in the corrupt religious leaders.

Where and how far these conflicting forces will lead Pakistan to is very difficult to predict. But this much can safely be said that Pakistan cannot achieve political stability under the proposed constitution which fails to give a correct synthesis of the contradictory forces working in Pakistan.

II

FEDERAL STRUCTURE OF PAKISTAN

Subjectively, the unifying forces in Pakistan has been sought in religion while objectively, the institutional means of federalism has been accepted.

"A federal State," says Dicey, "is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of State rights."

Pakistan's problem of disintegrating forces has already been discussed. Pakistan would have avoided a federal structure but for the rise of strong opposition parties in East Pakistan which demanded greater autonomy for East Pakistan. Sir Ivor Jennings said on one occasion that

"Nobody would have federal constitution if he could possibly avoided it."—*Some Characteristics Of The India Constitution*, p. 55.

To stop the bickerings and conflicts between the rival groups in the Punjab (P), N.W.F.P. and Sind all these units of West Pakistan were combined into one province. The centralising policy which was strongly enforced in case of the different units of West Pakistan would have also been extended to the different units of Pakistan as a whole. Such a scheme could not be given effect to in the teeth of violent opposition from East Pakistan. Secondly, constitution is never made, it grows. The Constitution of Pakistan like that of India grew out of the Government of India Act, 1935, wherein the foundations of the federal system were already laid down.

That is why the federal structure of Pakistan appears, in many respects, similar to that of India. Like India the Draft provides for a strong Centre having right to proclaim a Governor's rule in any Province in time of emergency.

But in some other respects, the character of federalism in Pakistan is quite different from that of India. The classical definition of a federation runs in the following line:

That there are two types of governments—government for the whole country and the governments for the units comprising the federal union—each legally supreme in its own sphere. But from the very beginning of federalism as form of government, the problem of balancing power between the centre and the units and that between the units themselves have posed itself for many a time.

In all the existing federations, excluding Pakistan of course, the number of member units is more than two where the varied and complex relation between different units and that between the units and the centre ends in a somewhat balancing of claims and counterclaims, conflicts and compromises. But in Pakistan, they are going to have a federation of two wings with parity in the number of representatives to the central legislature. So in Pakistan they will have a federation where the interests of the two wings are so sharply different and where the central government is sure to be dominated by one wing there cannot be any balancing of interests, on the contrary, the conflicts are sure to be very sharp. Bi-cameral legislature has a special significance in a federal system—second chambers are designed to bring a balance and equality in the representation of the different units composing the federation. In Pakistan, they have abandoned any such scheme for a second chamber. *Prima facie* it might appear as progressive but ultimately it is sure to prove to be a wanting factor in the Pak Constitution. A second chamber at the centre, in the Pakistani context, could serve as a balancing factor of opposing interests in the lower house provided the system of representation to the second chamber could be based on well devised principles.

The observations made above suggest that the exigencies of the circumstances will always keep the federation of Pakistan in a fluid state. Contingency arrangements cannot ensure federalism. So in spite of an outer shape of federation Pakistan cannot truly become a federation of two wings though it can be a confederation of two states with much more autonomy of the member units than that envisaged in the draft under consideration.

The conditions mentioned above may lead Pakistan to a completely opposite direction, namely, centralisation. The governments of the world supply us with ample examples of differences between the law of the constitution and the actual practices of government. Compare *Modern Constitution* by K. G. Wheare, p. 28:

" . . . it is interesting to compare the law of the constitution with the practice of government. Although the powers of veto and disallowance have been exercised by the Government of Canada over provincial legislation, they have been used sparingly and they have done little to contradict in practice the independent status of the provinces. In Australia on the other hand, where the law of the constitution safeguards the independence of the states more strictly, the control of the Commonwealth of Australia over the governments of the states has become so great that some observers would say that in practice the states of Australia are little more than the administrative agencies of the Commonwealth."

The forces that generally condition the affairs of a state are varied. The forces are geographical, historical, economic and technological. But the most important forces are economic and "the tension of military preparedness." The United Front of East Pakistan has after stubborn and continued assertion been able to earn for the provinces "the major say in formulating economic, financial and commercial policies of Pakistan." Yet the greater financial resources of the Central government will ultimately mean a greater reliance of the provinces upon the central assistance. Moreover, the grant of vast American military aid at the central level and Pakistan's entering into several military pacts with different countries, all lead us to conclude that there is already a strong centralising tendency working in Pakistan.

So the conclusion is obvious that Pakistan cannot remain truly federal, it will, in practice, either turn into a confederation or a unitary form of government; the weight of centralising evidences existent in Pakistan, however, indicate a stronger possibility of its turning into the latter.

III

MINORITY SAFEGUARDS

J. S. Mill mentioned in his *On Representative Government* the "danger of class legislation on the part of the numerical majority" as one of the serious "angers incident to a representative democracy." Pakistan being composed of an overwhelmingly majority community and numerically an absolute minority is naturally all the more subject to the dangers of class legislation. This danger has proved to be a reality since Pakistan has been sought to be modelled as an "Islamic Republic" where the injunctions of Islam and not the will of the people will ultimately prevail. By debarring the non-Muslims from becoming the President or Vice-president of Pakistan they have been relegated to the status of inferior citizenship, in spite of the Draft Constitution's specific, albeit deceiving, declaration that

"Nothing in this article (relating to overriding authority of the injunctions of the Quran) shall affect the personal laws of non-Muslims, the status of non-Muslims as citizens of Pakistan . . ."

Such a discrimination between the citizens of a state on the basis of religion is the very negation of political equality which is the fundamental basis of

democracy. If it is claimed that Pakistan is meant to serve as a homeland for the Mussalmans only and the non-Mussalmans cannot claim equal treatment with the Mussalmans, the answer is, this is quite contrary to the professed and declared policy of the builders of Pakistan:

" . . . Mussalmans residing in the areas where they form a majority should have their own homeland and thereby have an opportunity to develop their spiritual, cultural, economic and political life in accordance with their own genius, and shape their own future destiny, at the same time allowing Hindus and others to do likewise . . . The division of India will throw a great responsibility upon the majority in its respective zones to create real sense of security among the minorities and win their complete trust and confidence . . ."

—M. A. Jinnah on the Lahore Resolution, 1940.

The Resolution of the Muslim League, Lahore Session, March, 1940 is more specific:

"That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in these regions (i.e., the regions going to Pakistan—the writer) for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them . . ."

From the extracts given above it will appear that the leaders of Muslim League in order to establish their right to form a separate state committed themselves to all kinds of safeguards and securities to the minorities who would be living in Pakistan. Whatever the purpose might have been, the commitments clearly recognised the fact that Pakistan was not for the Mussalmans alone but also for the non-Mussalmans. All these show that when religion is adopted as the fundamental basis of state true democracy can hardly be attained in spite of commitments which are sure to remain as scraps of paper.

Equality and liberty are the two pillars of democracy. We have seen that equality of treatment of the citizens of Pakistan is non-existent. What about civil liberty? The most important safeguards of civil liberty is the right to have a share in the administration of the country, in other words, the right to vote and free and fair election. But, here again, religious bigotry lulled all sense of democratic outlook which has been proved by the Drafting Committee's failure to reach a decision on the question of joint electorate. The ruling clique of Pakistan is insisting on a separate electorate for the non-Muslims. Why—not for the reason that the non-Muslims are demanding it, on the contrary, in the teeth of their strong opposition, the rulers are insisting on it for the sake of separating different communities from political unity. The rulers know that their vested interests are secured so long as they can maintain communal ill feelings among the different communities, so it is to their interest that they are to include such provisions in the constitution which will perpetuate their power that they are enjoying at present.

Special safeguards are, no doubt, required for the protection of minority interests, but minorities themselves are the best judges of their own interests. When the minorities demand joint electorate, if the rulers of the majority community really feel for the minority interests, they should try to satisfy the desires of the minorities. Moreover, the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League specifically directed to protect the interests of the minorities "*in consultation with them.*" Thus we see that the minorities are neither equal with the majority in political status nor do they fully enjoy political liberty in Pakistan.

CONCLUSION

On all these accounts it is very clear that the State of Pakistan as envisaged in the Draft Constitution

will essentially be undemocratic notwithstanding its bearing the name of 'Republic.' All attempts at a compromise between theocracy and republicanism may help to supply temporarily, but temporarily only, as a patchwork in unifying the two opposite forces perceptible in Pakistan, viz., the eager wish of the religious, corrupt and top leaders having no connection with the people to secure their political power and influence *versus* the bidding for power of the rising, nascent but growing forces of secularism, progressivism and democratic ideas. This patchwork cannot last long—the state structure of Pakistan is sure to change, exactly when it will, is a mere matter of time.*

* All the extracts from the late Jinnah's speeches or from the Muslim League Resolution have been quoted from *The Making of the Indian Constitution* by Dr. A. C. Banerjee.

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TATANAGAR

The Steel Town of India

By MANIK LAL MUKHERJEE

TATANAGAR may be called the premier steel town not only of India but of South-east Asia. It is 156 miles from Calcutta and is situated in the district of Singhbhum in Bihar. The climate is hot throughout

with rows of buildings and quarters Tatanagar wears a very beautiful appearance in the evening when the city lights vie in grandeur with the twinkling stars of the sky above, the visitors' eyes being diverted occasionally by the frequent glows of the blast furnaces.

On the night of the 10th November, 1954, when we arrived at Tatanagar at that unearthly hour of 2-41 hrs. the city was under a spell of winter and the giant rolling and puffing mills with the glowing blast furnaces of Tata Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., which know no rest, were still at work and found to be groaning as it were. Our journey from Howrah was a matter of only about six hours. For the night we slept in the bogie detached from the Ranchi Express which left Howrah at 20-45 hrs., though not undisturbed by



Tatanagar at dawn

the year except in the winter months which last here from about the middle of November to the end of January. The average maximum temperature of Tatanagar is almost the same as that of Calcutta being in excess by a degree or two. But the average minimum temperature is found to be always less by four to seven degrees than that of Calcutta. The summer months are very hot specially because of the hot blast furnaces and the various rolling and sheet mills working day and night.

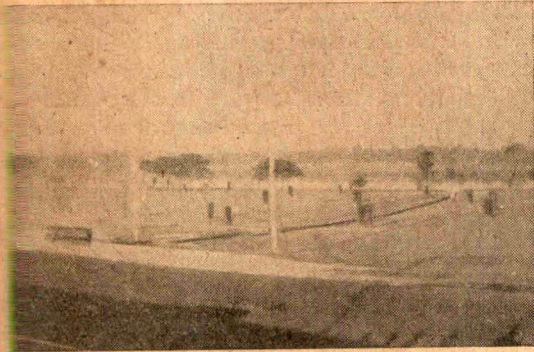
The busy industrial town of Tatanagar is very neat and clean and its undulating roads that run in various directions in many a circuit surrounded by overlooking hills, afford very pleasant drives. Bedecked



Tata Works at night

the not-too-infrequent clashes of shunting wagons. With a cup of very hot tea to cheer us up we sauntered out of the Railway Station and boarded the car

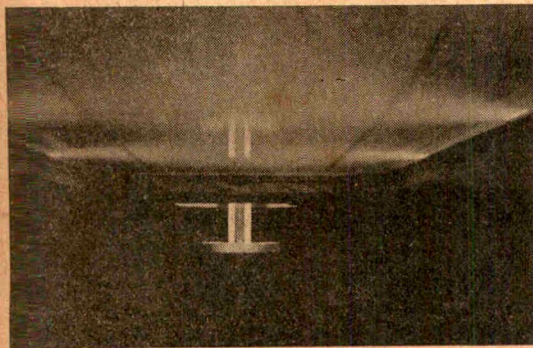
which had been in waiting for us to carry us to our destination. The smiling morning sun greeted us from the East. It was then about the middle of November and mercury stood within the range of 85 to 57 degrees Fahrenheit. With our overcoat on we had actually to shiver in the morning.



Artificial Lake and Park, Jamshedpur

Until 1905 Jamshedpur was a part of undivided Bengal but it was subsequently integrated with Behar by the then rulers with a view to cripple Bengal which proved to be the hotbed of nationalism.

The river Subernarekha which rises from the Hudu Falls at Ranchi passes through the town of Jamshedpur, the old name of Tatanagar, and divides the district of Singhbhum from the district of Manbhum. The river Kharkai meets the Subernarekha at some distance off Tatanagar. Lately a bridge has been constructed by the Tatas over the river Subernarekha over which runs a fine asphalted road that lead to the beautiful Dimna Nahah, a rain water catchment in the valley of the hills on three sides.



Night view of the Swimming Pool of the Jamshedpur Senior Staff Club

It is a place worthy of visit. There is a Rest House at the top which is very often resorted to as a place for picnic, for which permission has had to be obtained from the Tatas. A levy of rupee one per taxi is collected at the toll office near the bridge but private cars are exempted from such payments.

The history of the development of Tatanagar is the history of the development of steel industry in India. But the name of a great patriot and industrialist is rightly associated with it. He was the late Jamshedji Tata who had a broad vision of an India industrially free from foreign control. His dream has been fulfilled.

The present city is the ultimate growth of the tiny pretty village known as Sakchi, which is now a suburb of the main town, and was rightly renamed as Jamshedpur by the then Viceroy of India in the year of his visit to the place in 1911.

Until 1902 Sakchi was a village with a few straggling huts when the industrial dreamer, Jamshedji Tata, visited the place along with the great geologist, the late P. N. Bose, Mr. Weld, Mr. Page and others. Its close proximity to the ore-mines of Gua, Nayamundi and Rakha, all discovered by the late P. N. Bose, was the main reason for which Sakchi was selected to be the site for a highly prospective Steel plant and time has proved the justification of the selection.

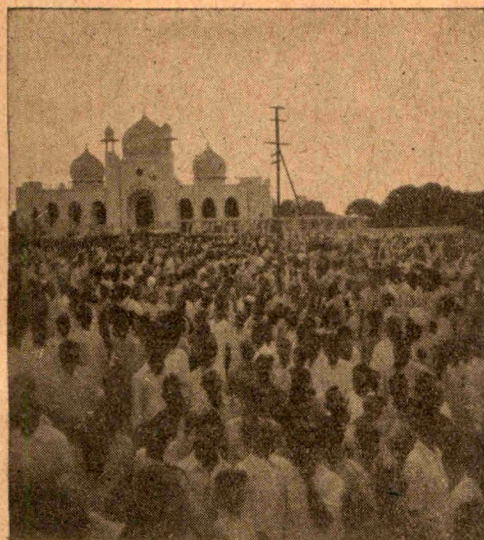


Hindustan Buildings, Jamshedpur

The present population of Tatanagar is 250,000 about 80 per cent of whom are the employees of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., the Tata Engineering and Locomotive Works (TELCO), Indian Steel Wire Products, the Tinsplate Co., and various other allied industries. More industries are likely to thrive up in future in this area owing to the availability of steel in close proximity to minerals of the ever-bounteous Chota Nagpur. The civic administration of the city is run by the Tatas themselves through an administrator and that very nicely. The roads are always very clean. Its road system resembles that of Patna, there being about one hundred and seventy-five miles of roadways in and around Tatanagar. The city is served by water mains running to about a hundred and fifty miles, the drainage and sewerage totalling three hundred and thirty miles, as I was told by Sri P. N. Mukherjee of the Public Relations Office of the Tatas, who also provided me with necessary statistics.

The domestic water-supply per day is about 11

million gallons. The total cost of maintenance of Jamshedpur Proper, I was informed, is over a crore of rupees. The total income including house-rents, land-rents, electric charges, etc., is barely Rs. 43 lakhs.



Central Mosque, Jamshedpur

The deficit is met from the Company's funds allotted for the purpose. Water is supplied free to the citizens, the charge of electricity consumed is only half an anna per unit. It may be noted that Tatanagar got its first electric supply from D.V.C. in August, 1954. Great care is bestowed upon the medical and health services. There is a Class I hospital with 410 beds and 48 doctors, of whom 10 are specialists, 114 nurses and sisters are always busy at the hospital. There are as many as 18 clinics of which one is a T. B. Clinic. The number of dispensaries run by the Tatas is six.



The Tisco Hotel, Tatanagar

Besides these, there are dispensaries of other Companies as well as of private medical practitioners. Sri Bankim Chandra Bose of the Tinplate Co., is one of the oldest and ablest medical practitioners of Jamshedpur. About Rs. 35.72 lakhs are spent every

year for medical and health services by the Tatas alone.

Great attention is also paid to the problem of education to the town. There are forty schools run by the Tatas. There are also thirty-five more run by other private bodies. The table is given below:

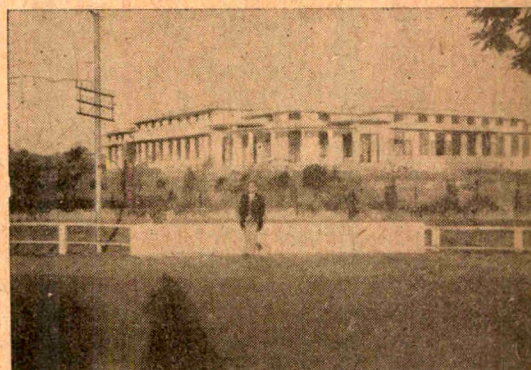
Category of school	No. of schools	No. of students on roll on
		31.3.52
H. E. School for boys	2	3370
Night High Schools for boys	1	486
High School for girls	1	862
Middle Schools for boys	7	4129
U. P. Schools for boys & girls	9	4278
Lower Primary Schools	16	4033
Middle Schools for girls	4	2121

19279

All the private schools are recipients of grants-in-aid of the House of Tatas. A table for the number of students studying through different languages media is given below :

Hindi	8959
Urdu	2336
Bengali	6230
Oriya	1485
Telugu	269

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Jamshedpur Club near Sakchi

This excludes the figures of other private schools, majority of which are run by Bengalis.

A great percentage of the profits earned by the Tatas go to the various Trusts created by them for the welfare of the nation and for the furtherance of scientific studies for the industrial development of India. Of the Trusts mention may be made of Sir Dorabji Trust which maintains the Tata Memorial Hospital, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Tata Institute of Fundamental Research. The huge Sir Ratan Tata Technological Laboratory is due to the munificence of Sir Ratan Tata. There are also the

Sir Ratan Tata Charities, Lady Tata Memorial Trust, J. N. Tata Endowment for higher education, the Indian Institute at Bangalore and several others.

By kind permission of Sri J. L. Sinha, Officer-in-charge of the Works, I had the privilege to go round the works and visit the production plant working at high speed. What impressed me most was the vastness of the Tata Works and the efficiency and skill with which all work is handled. There was perfect discipline amongst the workers. How valiantly the workers were working before the furnaces and great fires simply amazed me. The manner in which the sturdy workers of the Tatas face many a risk is really an example to our youth who should see those works at the first opportunity and learn that discipline and diligence work wonders.



Dimna Lake

A glance through the following items of benefits that a Tata employee is entitled to receive will convince the readers that the Tata employees are really well paid and well cared for. They get: (1) The basic wage, (2) Performance bonus, (3) An incentive bonus, (4) Dearness allowance, (5) Emergency bonus, (6) Food subsidy, (7) Attendance bonus, (8) A profit-sharing bonus, (9) Provident Fund, (10) Retiring gratuity, which is never less than 15 months' wages. The aforesaid benefits are, needless to say, highly attractive to labour and employees in general. With greater advancement of the plant it may be hoped that some day the employees themselves would become co-sharers with the shareholders.

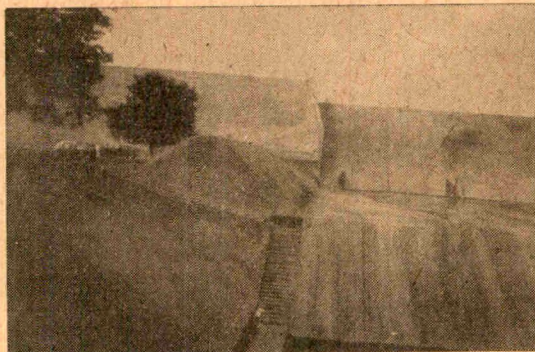
A brief history of the development of steel industry will certainly be of some interest to the readers. Let me now narrate the circumstances that led to the birth of the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., and as a consequence the development of old Sakchi into the full-fledged city of Tatanagar.

Whilst the selfless Indian patriots like the late W. C. Bonnerji and Dadabhai Naoraji had been engaged in devoting all their energies towards the political emancipation of India, another patriot and



To the Dimna Lake

industrial dreamer, the late Jamshedji Tata, devoted his heart and soul to make India self-sufficient in respect of cotton and steel products. Steel-making had never been unknown in ancient India, but it was a very hard problem for Jamshedji to tackle. A steel plant must needs stand in close proximity to iron ores and limestone mines and must have a reliable source of water supply. He consulted his British industrial colleagues who laughed at the idea. But Jamshedji was the man who would never be deflected from his purpose. He had that stubborn will and untiring perseverance even in the face of heavy odds.



The Dimna Catchment and Falls, Jamshedpur

A silver lining was noticed in the cloud of problems that beset his vision. About the year 1880 a German geologist Ritter Von Schwartz by name submitted a report to the then Government of India on the Chanda ores of Madhya Pradesh. In 1902, Jam-

shedji secured the expert services of the well-known American geologist, Messrs. Kennedy Sahlin & Co. of America, who deputed to him two technical experts,



The Dimna Reservoir, Jamshedpur

Charles Page Perin and G. M. Weld. Epic search was made by Mr. Weld but all to no purpose. At last Pramatha Nath Bose, a Bengali scientist, not very well-known at the time, who had worked as an officer of the Survey of India Department and had as a protest against racial discrimination resigned for being passed over by a junior British officer, came forward with his vast geological experience of Chota Nagpur mines. He assured Jamshedji that there are iron ore mines at Gua and Nayamundi, and by good luck the mines were actually discovered at those places. The location of limestone deposits in close proximity led to the selection of the little village of Sakchi as the site for the construction of a modern Steel Plant. Thus the first Steel Plant in India came into existence.



The Chota Nagpur Hills and Dimna Catchment near Rest House

It may be noted that P. N. Bose was then in the employ of the Mayurbhanj Raj State and he was the first Indian adviser of the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd. A statue was erected after his death by the Tatas most reverentially and placed in the Works, which stand in resplendence even to this day.

Sakchi is now a suburb of Tatanagar. A company was floated by Sir Dorabji Tata and his valiant compatriots and appeal for shares was made first in the London Market where it received a poor response. Towards the end of the year 1907 the first Steel Company was floated in Bombay and the entire share capital of two crores was fully subscribed by India's 8,000 patriotic citizens alone.

Construction work began in the year 1908 and the first cast of pig iron, so goes the Company's report, flowed down the runners on the 2nd Dec., 1911. The first ingot of rolled-off iron came out on the 16th Feb., 1912. Today the Company boasts of two great plants, namely, the East plant and the West plant. Now the vast sheet and rolling mills work and groan like giants all day and night and know no rest. The Company is now proud of possessing five big blast furnaces, one Duplex plant, coke ovens and many open hearth furnaces. Besides there are the tool shops of a wide variety.



The Dawn. Sunrise at Bihar

The Tata Research and Control Laboratory was opened by Sir Nawroji Saklatwala, Chairman of the Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd., the foundation stone of the same having been most ceremoniously laid by Sir Ardeshir Dalal on 6th November, 1937. It is housed in a very fine building and stands near the Burmah Mines Gate of the Company in close proximity to the National Metallurgical Laboratory of the Government of India where works in his silent manner, the eminent scientist Mr. Bucknall, the Director of the Laboratory. The Research and Control Laboratory of the Tatas must needs be proud of having the great metallurgist of India, Sri Vatcha Gandhi. A man of vast erudition and humble personality, his very appearance reminded me of the great Indian chemist and savant of India, the late Sir P. C. Roy.

Tatanagar is humming with activity and life today. Of clubs, libraries and cinemas there is no dearth. Besides motor cars, taxis and buses that ply day and night, the continuous flow of cycles, specially, during the busy working hours, led me to believe that Tatanagar has its own speciality.

The Bengali population of Jamshedpur seemed to be very happy. Recently the eleventh Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan of Jamshedpur was held on the 13th and 14th November, 1954. I was privileged to attend some of its sessions presided over by Dr. Kalidas Nag who graced the Sammelan along with a group of Bengali litterateurs from Calcutta. The deliberations were very thoughtful and the amusements and dramatic

performances including the music by the Gita Bitan made the function a grand success.

My thanks are due to Sri S. N. Mahalingam, the Chief Inspector of Boilers, and Sri Dilip Hazra of Sakchi for some of the information incorporated in this article. For the photographs published in the body of the article I must thank my friend Sri Sailendra Kumar Nath of the Government of India.

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FRENCH SEASIDE RESORTS

By G. SRINIVAS RAO, M.A.

VERY few countries in the world can be so rightly proud of their seaside resorts as France. These fashionable bathing centres are indeed as famous and appealing as the industries, museums and art galleries

which have brought endless reputation to France from time immemorial. Earnest and enterprising, the French believe in enjoying life in the fullest sense of the term, and their beaches are a mirror of their customs and traditions and their novel way of life. A dream-land of the tourists, France leads the world with its ever-new fashions and graceful beaches.



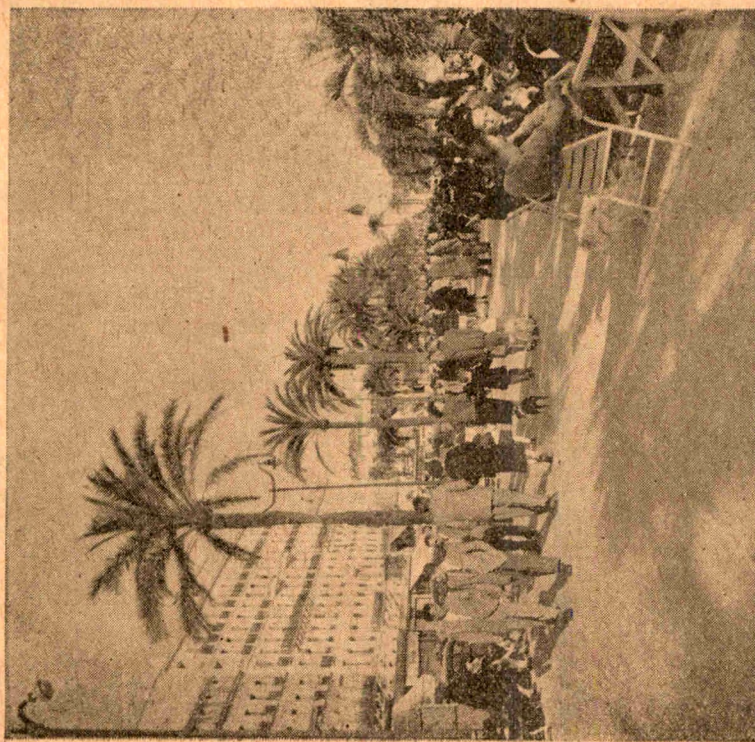
The Grand Carnival at Nice, the pride of the Riviera

The 2000-mile-long French coast faces the three mighty oceans, the North Sea, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, each of which has presented something unique to its three hundred and odd seaside resorts. The Mediterranean, hailed ironically as the laziest ocean in the world, washes out the southern coast and graces half-a-hundred resorts with warm climate and tropical vegetation. Since the weather is always pleasant and the sea perfect for bathing the numerous towns and cities here are always crowded and busy with carnivals and programmes throughout the year. The notorious and aggressive tides of the Atlantic have failed to harm Brittany, Gascony and Vendee which are rightly proud of their emerald coasts with prosperous cities facing the ocean. Dinard, Brest, Royan and Biarritz are some of the more popular holiday resorts which are specially attractive in summer when the climate is gentle and the

FRENCH SEASIDE RESORTS



The Automobile Fashion Contest in progress at Biarritz



The view of a busy street in Cannes

sea obliging. Also charming and equally fascinating are the beaches of the North Sea and the English Channel which have bestowed a variety of scenery and beauty. With broad stretches of milk-white sand, the fashionable dwellings of this region, like Le Touquet, Le Havre and Dunkerque, are perfect for swimming and cast a spell of magic on the visitors from all parts of the breathing world.



Holiday crowds relaxing at Dinard, the leading seaside resort facing the Atlantic Ocean

A brief account of the activities at some of these world-renowned seaside resorts will enable us to appreciate their way of life which is so very different and pleasant. Of all the resorts of the French Riviera, Nice, facing the Mediterranean, is superb. With fetes and fancy-dress competitions, dancing events and carnivals, it looks enchanting at all hours. None can resist going through the year-round schedule at Nice this year. Items like "His Majesty King Carnival," "The Battle of Flowers," "The Night of the International Lions Club" at *Palais de la Mediterranee* and the colourful display of fireworks are all unique in

themselves and are sure to create an atmosphere of fun, romance and exhilaration.

Fashionable parties, ballets and musical contests are also a regular feature at Cannes, "The Pearl of the Riviera." With a refreshing climate, beautiful roads bordered by the coconut trees, it is a favourite rendezvous of the film stars. The International Film Festival is the leading attraction of Cannes this year.

Juan-les-Pins, Antibes, Marseilles and Menton are hardly less celebrated than Nice or Cannes and continue to inspire the visitors with their ever-new charms, society life and memorable fetes and a host of other activities.

Fondly cherished as the "Queen of Brittany Resorts," Dinard, with its colourful surroundings, is always fascinating to its holiday crowds. The golden sand is packed up with gay and fun-loving men and women, boys and girls, who enjoy dancing and bathing in bright sunlight. There are all sorts of arrangements for camping, fishing, swimming and enjoying golf, tennis and a variety of sports.

Biarritz is yet another popular resort facing the Atlantic. Here the people assemble from the whole world to laze about in warm waters and indulge in traditional folk-dances and outdoor games. The outstanding event at Biarritz is the Automobile Fashion Contest. The happy onlookers, dressed in their most modern costumes, stand on either side of the road and cheer

the contestants as they move in all speed and elegance.

France thus has every sort of shore with unceasing activity in all its resorts at all hours. The less developed towns and villages are fast recovering and they are soon likely to capture the attention of the world trappers. It is these fashionable towns and cities that have contributed to the general prosperity and richness of France. No amount of praise can pay proper tribute to the irresistible charms of these fashion centres and it has rightly been observed that everything is missed if these French resorts are not seen.

YUGOSLAV FOLK DANCE

By JOHN FILCICH

It would be impossible to evaluate appropriately the *kolo* and its music to the lives of millions of Yugoslavs through the centuries. How much joy it has brought the Croats as their chief entertainment and diversion, how much consolation, courage, faith and national pride it has instilled in the Serbians, especially during the dark days of the Turkish oppression, would indeed be hard to tell. Small justice would it be to say that folk-music and dancing is so much a part of the everyday life of the South Slavs that it is found in very few places on the earth. Through these means they even prayed for rain, begged favours of the Deity, and mourned the dead. Today, with advancements and modernization, the ritual dances have disappeared and are only performed for serious public presentation. No longer is the threat of a Turk near, but the Macedonians nevertheless vow with each deliberate stamp in their *oro* or thrust of the sabre in the *Rusalija* that they will not be subjected to foreign suppression.

The kolos are, for the most part, a combination of Slavic dance traits—especially liveliness, gaiety, quick and often gymnastic footwork coupled with the Turko-Balkan style of dancing, the circle without partners. The Croats and Serbians migrated to the Balkan peninsula from beyond the Carpathians (present northern Ukraine) which can account for the Slavic style; proof of circle dancing dating as early as the twelfth century lies in a fresco in a Serbian monastery painted at that time depicting a circle of dancers, hands held with one person removed just as today, accompanied by a saint-king playing the ancient lyre and a saint credited to be St. Anne playing a

percussion instrument. While the circle form of dancing may have developed in Yugoslavia independently, Turkish influences have been incorporated and are very much in evidence, especially in Southern Serbia and Macedonia.

The name "kolo" which also means circle and wheel in Serbo-Croatian is given collectively to all folk dances of Yugoslavia although not all danced in a circle. There are many pair dances, kolos for threes, *lesa* or line dances, even solos. Influential in establishing the dance forms was the taboo first introduced by the Turks forbidding women to dance alongside the men. Later, married women were permitted, then a married man was allowed to hold the hand of a single girl (followed by other girls); in some places a

kolo could be formed if handkerchiefs separated the sexes. Gradually these taboos were removed, but in many cases the traditional form was retained. It is interesting to note that "pair dances"—one man and one woman—are not regarded as "couple dances" as is the case in other countries. We are speaking here of the true folk dances, not the polkas, waltzes, and lately foxtrots, which have invaded the towns and cities.

Few countries have the variety of folk music and dances as Yugoslavia has. This is accountable after studying its geography, foreign rule and mostly influences from its neighbours. Different neighbours and invaders exerted their cultural and folk traits deliberately or involuntarily upon the provinces adjacent to them or under their control; these provinces were usually isolated from other parts by rough mountains and distance made communication very difficult. As a matter of fact, for the most part the people learned



Men's Kolo, a Bosnian folk-dance

to live independently of their neighbouring countrymen and out of this grew individual folk culture often differing greatly within a matter of miles. This disunity of folklore and culture has given Yugoslavia a kaleidoscopic wealth of beautiful and individual costumes, dances, musical instruments, song forms, and folkcrafts in which the nation can indeed justify its pride in its folklore.

Starting in the north-westernmost part of the country, Slovenia has two distinct folk-cultures, the Alpine region around and north of Ljubljana, and the Bela Krajina, so called because the native garb is all pure white.

The former region was in centuries past under Austrian influences which has made that region the

most highly developed and modernized. Slovenia has been the cultural and educational centre, and its folkways have been patterned after the Austrian. Today it is synonymous with Alpine-Austrian, even the architecture and native costumes cannot be distinguished from the nearby Austrian. Typical folk dances there utilize polka, waltz, and schottische steps and have many interesting couple dances based upon those steps. The landler is very popular.

The Bela Krajina lies adjacent to Croatia and influences of the latter have been effected by contact. Here simple walking, weaving, and running kolos accompanied by singing may be observed. Hungary contributed influences which have made the dances of



Women's Kolo, a Yugoslavian folk-dance

Croatia what they are, especially in the fast czardas-type of turning. The native dance is the *drmes* which means "shaking" dance and it has many lively forms—in pairs, threes, fours, quadrilles and various sets of those combinations. Musical accompaniment is by the tamburitza orchestra. Chief trait of the music and dance is joy and gaiety.

Because of contact with the West, less original folk creations can be found along the Croatian coast, Istria (long a part of Italy) and Dalmatia. Worthwhile exceptions are the *balun* of Istria, *tanac* of the Island of Kirk, the *poskocice* of the Dubrovnik environs. The gay and lilting music of Dalmatia however is the most beautiful and melodious in the entire country.

The kolo is said to have been developed in Serbia, and without question Old Serbia is the home of the kolo, as thousands of varieties can be found there. The most appealing and intricate form of kolo dancing and also the kolo melodies are found in the Vojvodina region, the provinces of Srem, Banat, and Backa. They are in the Panonian plain where the characteristic costume is dark-on-white, and dancing is most intricate. It might be said that kolos reach their zenith in the Banat region as far as intricacies and embellishments of footwork are concerned.

It is interesting and factual that the kolos of the Vojvodina migrated and were adopted in nearly all other regions where circle dancing was common. As a matter of fact, the Vojvodina style and the very same dances that were popular there around the turn of the century (when the great wave of immigration to the United States from Yugoslavia and other European countries took place) have become the accepted style and repertoire of kolo dancing in the United States. In today's second and third generation kolo enthusiasts the "Banat" style is coveted and attempted to be mastered—it is the "right way" and so accepted, but not simply because it comes from that particular province. Examples of these dances are everyday language, the Malo kolo, Cujes Mala, Susa Mile, Zikino kolo and all kolos having the so-called "basic-step."

Moving southward to Southern Serbia and Macedonia we find the greatest Turkish influences in the music songs and dances. Here kolos often took the shape of ritual dances, and the gaiety and joy of the kolos gives way to stern pride, purpose, and deep emotion. If gaiety and lightness are traits of Croatian and Serbian dances, then seriousness and complete muscular control characterise the dances of Macedonia. Dancing is chiefly by men in a line, the leader establishing a pattern of often very slow, deliberate, highly-styled steps; he often separates from the line to perform near-gymnastic feats and is permitted to explore all choreographic possibilities of steps, squats, turns, kicks suiting the mood of the dance. Music is usually rendered by the flute-like *zurle* and one or more drums. Many of the dances of Macedonia resemble Greek horros in steps and style.

Here in a country hardly the size of California we find an infinite variety of folk music, songs, and dances. Here is a living museum of costumes so different from each other that one hardly expects to find them in the same country. With architecture including Turkish, Venetian, Byzantine, Roman, and Gothic influences of seven countries, over a thousand years of regional development is it any wonder that there is such a wealth of folklore to be found in Yugoslavia?

DR. JAMES H. COUSINS

An Obituary Tribute

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE successive deaths of a series of distinguished nationals of our country have snatched away from our midst during the last few weeks some towering personages of modern times. But the death of Dr. Cousins stands on a different footing. Though not an Indian national, Dr. Cousins had so completely identified himself with India and her national and cultural aspirations, that we cannot but look upon him as our own kith and kin. Born at Belfast on 22nd July, 1873, he died at the Mission Hospital in Madanpalle on 20th February last, attaining the ripe old age of 83 years. Taking his elementary education in a co-educational national school he got his early training in a boarding school in Londonderry from which he matriculated. But he had no college education and began his career as Private Secretary to the Lord Mayor. In 1917, he removed from Belfast to Dublin and soon after developed his poetical talents in association with A. E. and W. B. Yeats, the great Irish poets. Shortly thereafter he plunged himself into the new Irish Literary Movement and composed two dramas which were enacted in the Irish National Theatre. About this time he came in contact with Mrs. Annie Besant after listening to her lecture and reading her famous book *Esoteric Christianity* which gave him a deeper view of the realities behind dogma. In the meantime he had married Margaret, a Bachelor of Music and a strict vegetarian. Visiting London early in 1915 he came in contact with Grant Richards who published Cousins' volume of verses, *Straight and Crooked*, which were praised by the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Times Literary Supplement*. With an innate Irish sympathy for Indian political aspiration, Cousins and his wife were easily induced by Mrs. Besant to sail for India which they did on 6th October, 1915.

Arriving at Adyar on 1st November, the couple were permitted to have a week to themselves for absorption of the Indian climate and atmosphere. And after a week Mrs. Besant fixed Dr. James cou-

sins up as the literary sub-editor of her new journal *New India*, her organ for the agitation for Home Rule. Then began a busy literary career sandwiched between flaming political articles and volumes of drama and poetry. This young Irish poet immediately made his mark as a journalist to which he has been a faithful devotee in the intervals of poetic compositions. He has to his credit sixteen volumes of



Dr. James H. Cousins

poetry and drama, his last volume of sonnets being published in 1949. His contribution to prose literature was equally prolific with twenty volumes to his credit. His first contact with Indian Art began with a leading article reviewing the work of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, published under the title *Art of the East* on the 17th November, 1915. In this

article he contended that "the Art of India should be enriched by the advancement in technique and knowledge of the West; but enrichment will be assuredly turned to poverty, if the artists of India allow themselves to be lured away from their own vision and their own method." His career as an art-critic began with a brilliant review of Gangoly's *South Indian Bronzes*. This was followed by an invitation from Sir John Woodroffe, President of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, asking Dr. Cousins to come to Calcutta to see the Eighth Annual Exhibition of the Society and write about it in his own and other papers. His reviews were published—the first—in the *Statesman*, and immediately created a mild sensation in art-circles in Calcutta. On his return to Madras he immediately organized there the first exhibition of Indian paintings and awakened great interest in the new movement in Indian Art. This was followed by other stimulating exhibitions at Bangalore, Mysore and other centres, which became annual fixtures anxiously looked forward to by all lovers of art. In the still waters of Southern Indian culture, Cousins within a short time raised uproarious storms, the echoes of which have not died out yet.

His literary fame brought him an invitation from Japan as a visiting professor in the Keiogijuku University, Tokyo, where he stayed for one year, earning a Doctorate by his lectures on English literature. Mrs. Besant's *New India* having come to grief, Cousins joined the Theosophical College at Madanpalle as Principal. Shortly after this, Cousins induced the Maharaja of Mysore to found an Art Gallery at Mysore which he organised and arranged. In the intervals of teaching-work he used to travel all over India holding exhibitions of Indian paintings at various centres and delivering lectures on Indian Art. In 1928, he went on a world tour lecturing on Indian Art in Italy, Switzerland, France and the United States. In January 1937, Cousins took an active part in the Temple Entry Movement in Travancore and as a "white Brahmin" he was permitted to enter the Temple, and a Hindu name was given to him: "Jayram" (victory to the Light). He was also invested with the title of *Kulapati* (Head of the tribe). In 1931, when the young Maharaja of Travancore was installed on the throne and a new palace was built for him, Cousins appealed to the Maharaja that Indian Art should receive a place of honour in the homes of Indian rulers. This appeal was honoured by a plan to build a State Art Gallery for Travancore, and Cousins was invited too and he arranged and installed a State Gallery, which developed later as the *Sri-Chitralayam* (Palace of Art), one of the most beautiful art-centres of India. On 31st October, 1935, in recognition of his services to Art, the Maharaja of Travancore conferred on Cousins the *Vira Sringhala* (Bracelet of prowess), an honour formerly conferred by Travancore rulers on heroes of the battlefield. "But you have been a valiant warrior

for art and culture, and I have great pleasure in giving you this *Vira Sringhala* which is the highest decoration of the State. And in order to show that your prowess is for art and culture, I have great pleasure also in giving you this pandit's shawl."—(Maharaja). In June, 1936, a reception was given to Dr. Cousins at the residence of O. C. Gangoly at Calcutta, at which all the distinguished citizens of Calcutta assembled to do honour to a great friend and apostle of Indian Art. To the amazement and delight of every one, who should turn up but Abanindranath Tagore, the first artist of the revived school of Indian painting. The great artist was under medical orders to remain in his bedroom. But something had stirred him to disobey science in the interest of Art. After refreshments an illuminated address, the work of the artist A. P. Banerjee, was presented by Abanindranath to Cousins in an impromptu speech, in which he protested against the ugliness and want of delicacy, then appearing in recent works of Indian painters. He appealed with intense emotion to Cousins to stand up for the artistic qualities that the Bengal revival had maintained. Cousins pledged himself to do all he could to fulfil the artist's passionate desire. The subsequent career of this great champion of Indian Art is a glorious record of the fulfilment of his pledges to Dr. A. N. Tagore. At the invitation of several Universities of India, Cousins had delivered brilliant lectures on various phases of Indian art and culture at the Calcutta, Mysore, Hyderabad and Kashmir Universities, many of which have not been published. For the last few years of his life, he had acted as the Art Adviser to the Travancore State. Some of his books on various phases of Indian culture are permanent contributions to their subject-matter, of which special mention should be made of *The Cultural Unity of Asia* (1922), *Work and Worship* (1922), *The Philosophy of Beauty* (1925), *Samadarsana* (1925), *The Faith of the Artist* (1941), *The Aesthetical Necessity in Life* (1944). High praise is also due to his brilliant study of the Art of *Asitkumar Haldar* (Modern Indian Artist Series II). His career in life has been one of multifaced activities. He has given a good account of himself as a talented poet, as a sincere politician, as a brilliant journalist, as an affectionate teacher, as a militant social reformer, as an art-connoisseur, and as an ardent and educated art-critic of a wide range of sympathies. His services to the cause of Indian Art can never be repaid. For the last few years, owing to certain physical infirmities, he had retired from active work, spending his last days in meditations, in the Brahmacharya Ashrama at Adyar. In recognition of his services to the National Culture of India, the Government of Madras had paid him a pension during the last few years. He has died full of years and full of honours, in brilliant service to the cause of Indian nationality. He has left a void in the rich gallery of selfless service, which will be difficult to fill in the near future.

ROLE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN INDIAN PLANNING ✓

By SURESH RAMABHAI

IN his presidential address to the Lucknow session (1936) of the Indian National Congress, when Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made a plea for socialisation of all wealth and means of production in the country it raised a furore in the business circles. A rift between the interests of the big business and of the common man was clearly discernible. But the shame of our subjection and the pressure of political events followed by the breaking up of World War rather narrowed down the difference between the two and both united, more or less, for the attainment of political freedom. Ever since the dawn of independence, however, the said gulf has been getting progressively wider. The deteriorating condition of our handloom-weaver not only showed which way the wind blew but also served as the barometer of the pressure of the rich few over the poor millions. And the publication of the Karve Committee Report and after left no room for doubt in any quarter and even the blind could see the brutality of the same pressure.

Our eight years of Independence may well be looked upon as the speedy formation of a big business class covering an increasingly larger area of public needs and demands. It received, naturally, substantial support from the Government and greater still from the foreign interests entrenched in the country. It did not hesitate to join hands with the latter in partnership. A major consequence of this strange fact is that one can never be sure whether a thing 'Made in India' is made by Indian capital or by mixed capital. Be as it may, the Indian capitalist class is now sure of its ground and looks forward to capture not only the home-field with its manufactures but also the external market. This is why that it resents any attempt to define or demarcate its area and raises the popular bogey of being the cheapest supplier. It is a very amusing situation: the more it exploits the poor man, the 'cheaper' are its products, and the cheaper are its products, the more it exploits the poor man!

As newspaper columnists report, even members of the cabinet of our Union Ministry are not unanimous on the latitude to be given to the growing Indian industry. Had this growth simultaneously helped in the solution of the basic problem of unemployment, all would have cheered it up and wished it ever better. But the terrible reality is that in spite of our accelerating industrial, potential and a well thought-out Five-Year-Plan and ungrudging foreign aid and expert guidance, unemployment in the country is mounting up. What is worse, the Government is not able to

keep up its solemn word about its promise of employment in the coming second Five-Year Plan. The Prime Minister is reported to have said in a Congress-party meeting in December that we could not "afford to have unemployment in the country, specially large-scale unemployment. To provide employment is not only a duty but a social necessity." A recourse to cottage industries has, therefore, been taken by the Government in order to check unemployment. An All-India-Khadi and Village Industries Board was set up some three years ago and its schemes are on the rails. Only the future will reveal whether the Big Industry and Khadi Board can work together happily and increase employment, or the Big Industry alone can meet the situation; or if the unemployment situation worsens further, whether the whole thing needs a reorientation both in outlook and practice.

Taking a very optimistic view, let us assume that if the Big Industry prospers well, unemployment is no more, Khadi Board is wound up and heavy machinery pervades the land. What would then our country be like? Apart from all other mechanical equipments, we would be having militarisation on a grand scale as do the advanced nations of Europe and America. The greater our industrialisation, the heavier our militarisation. For, we would require a huge militia not so much to control our internal production as to keep a vigilant eye on our external market. India would then be a mighty power, both economically and militarily. Going forward in this line, we would be when at our best, a sound model resembling the Western countries today, say U.K., U.S.A., or U.S.S.R. Of course, the thing is not so simple as it seems. But we do take it, for a moment, to be so. The question then arises: Whether we would be content to be a country as advanced as any in the West? Is that the be-all and end-all of our existence? Then follows the supplementary: How is it that U.S.A. (or U.S.S.R.) is unhappy, in spite of her almost heavenly wealth? There is abundance, yet fear marks the eyes of their people. There is plenty of everything. Yet there is an emptiness in the heart of their people. There is no dearth of anything, yet there is a nervousness in the mind of their people. How is it that their very affluence is leading them to produce ever more terrific weapons of destruction?

The question then amounts to the objectives of planning. That Americo-European pattern of planning has essentially failed is obvious by the two great wars and the threat of a third one. Its failure

implies a failure of the values it cherished, of the sanctions it hailed as sacred, of the postulates it assumed as axiomatic. Without going into their details, they can be briefly summed up as follows:

- (i) Private or State ownership of land, wealth and means of production;
- (ii) Superiority of the intellectual or managerial work to manual labour;
- (iii) Use of arms in self-defence;
- (iv) Division of society into classes with their own exclusive (and mutually conflicting) class-interests;
- (v) Survival of the fittest.

It needs no prophetic vision to state that so long as Indian planning, be it through public or private sector, relies on and honours—as it plainly does today—the aforesaid values, its future is doomed. And because we shall be following a pattern fostered without, we shall always remain in the rear. It connotes that we would ever remain backward as compared to those which serve as our models today. Projected in the military sphere it means that our whole military strength may be reduced to nought—as that of France as against that of Germany, or that of Germany or Japan as against that of U.S.A. in the last war—in the fact of a single superior weapon of the adversary. At any rate working on these lines, we cannot possibly put up a better model. To what end this planning then?

It is high time that we have an intelligent look at the past as shown by history and a clear vision of the future we seek to build. Let us not do what other countries have already begun to undo or will have to undo. Not that we should have a closed mind. No, let us learn the best from everywhere and mould it according to our genius. Is it not pitiable that in spite of all our progress and planning up-to-date, we have not been able to give to our people a single new word (simple or compound) as an expression of our new adventures in all these eight years? The simple reason is that the roots of our thinking are not yet embedded in the soil of our country. Our Constitution is another proof of the same. We are only mercilessly watering a plant imported from without and the rising unemployment bears out the naked fact that the said plant refuses to take roots in our midst. And it is easy to see that cottage industries also have no place in that alien structure.

The need for a bolder and more radical approach cannot, therefore, be too much emphasised. In other words, we must redefine our planning-aims and strike our course accordingly. More wealth and more production should not be our only objective. Of course, we need not worship simplicity or poverty and deny health and happiness. Wealth or production is always welcome, but not for its own sake. Our goal can be described as:

- (i) Provision of work to all, i.e., no unemployment;
- (ii) Formation of a new social order resting upon values different from those of the current patterns (the five as enumerated earlier);
- (iii) Establishment of the efficacy of peaceful and non-violent methods for resolving our mutual disputes (be they on the national or international plane).

Here comes the role of cottage industries. It is no small thing if they enable us to solve the unemployment problem of a country as vast and as poor as India. But that is not the only function of cottage industries. In fact, they denote a way of life. Not the conservative one of ancient eras but the most scientific and modern one. This requires some explanation.

A plea for cottage industries is no denial of machinery. It essentially signifies self-reliance in the basic necessities of fooding, clothing and housing. With the discovery of atomic weapons of warfare science has unequivocally taught us the need of this basic self-reliance for man. As an individual may not be self-sufficient to the required extent, he must seek others' co-operation and every village, or as small a unit of human population as possible, must be basically self-sufficient. Non-independence in these basic requirements is full of danger as shown by the two wars and their aftermath. The very smallest units should stand on their own feet in meeting these fundamental wants, while in secondary and tertiary wants they can inter-depend. This envisages a new social order in which ownership would rest neither with the individual nor with the State but with society and everybody would offer his or her share in productive manual labour too which would both economically and socially be held as paying and as dignified as intellectual work.

Science also calls upon the urgency of recasting the social order. If the means of production continue to be individually owned, they will be denied, as at present, to the real producer and a craving for them will countenance rivalry, hatred and bloodshed. Any development plan which does not interfere with the established ownership rights is bound to be exploited by the haves and further impoverish the have-nots. Should the *status quo* be left undisturbed, planning will aggrandise socio-economic differences and stimulate warfare. Thus modern science beckons humanity to replace the current way of life by one of mutual sharing and non-violence.

It may doubtless be difficult for technically-advanced nations to burn their boats and blaze a new trail. Not so, however, for India which has just begun and also fought her battle of independence in a unique manner. She gave to *Charkha* the central place on her very flag. That *Charkha* not only symbolised the crude job of cloth-production, but an approach to

life, a technique of struggle, radically different from those ever resorted to in history. This enjoins upon us a serious responsibility of continuing our march on the very same path, unless we are convinced to the contrary, which took us to the freedom goal.

It is thus clear that the demands of this scientific age, of our peculiar freedom-struggle and of our devastating poverty—all point out to the necessity of proceeding in our planning on creative lines. It practically amounts to navigating an uncharted sea—which has its own charms and risks. And in this new order cottage industries have a veritable role to play. But they are no temporary substitutes for unemployment-doles. They should be looked upon as the heralds of the new age of peace, science and non-violence. Any attempt to foster cottage industries under mecha-

nised and military patronage, *i.e.*, under violent and unpeaceful auspices, is bound to crush them out, as has been the case during the last eighty years of India's industrial 'progress'.

To sum up, our planning aims should be definite and conspicuous. If our target is to build a social pattern as found in Europe or America, cottage industries have little place in it. On the other hand, if we seek to work, in the light of where the advanced nations succeeded and failed, on our own independent lines and rooted to our past, we will have to enthroned new socio-economic values in place of the old ones in fashion and change the standing structure to its very depths. And in this revolutionary task of social transformation, cottage industries occupy the same importance as the sun in the solar system.

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THE STATE BANK OF INDIA ✓

By PROF. LAKSHMAN PRASAD SINHA, M.A. (Econ), M.A. (Pol. Science).

THE State Bank of India has its origin in the recommendations made by the Committee of Direction of the All India Rural Credit Survey initiated by the Reserve Bank of India. Acting on the recommendations and suggestions of the above Committee Mr. C. D. Deshmukh announced in the Indian Parliament in December, 1954 the decision of the Government of India to assume effective control over the Imperial Bank of India as a first step towards the setting up of a State Bank of India. This announcement was quickly followed by the necessary Legislation and in April, 1955 the Government introduced the State Bank of India Bill in Parliament. The Bill received the assent of the President in May, 1955 and the State Bank of India came into being on the 1st of July, 1955.

The Nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and the establishment of the State Bank of India has set at rest the long-standing demand for nationalisation. The nationalisation of the Imperial Bank has been advanced and advocated since 1948. The announcement and implementation of nationalisation of the Imperial Bank has a mixed reception. The Financial and business circles view this measure as an inroad upon the freedom and enterprise of the Private Sector. The nationalisation of the Imperial Bank is in keeping with the Government economic policy of the socialistic pattern of society to which it is wedded. The decision to nationalise the Imperial Bank with a view to exercising effective control over it is neither new nor sudden. The policy of nationalisation has been taken to provide an integrated system of rural credit. It is in context of rural credit that the New State Bank of India has to be judged. The pro-

posed aim of the creation of a welfare state and the establishment of the socialistic pattern of society has impelled Government to provide an institution which will handle the problem of rural credit and develop the rural economy of the country. The State Bank of India with its widespread network of branches will be the main instrument of the integrated scheme of rural financial and credit facilities as outlined in the All India Rural Credit Survey Report.

The authorised share capital of the State Bank of India is the same as that of the Imperial Bank. The authorised share capital is Rs. 11.26 crores and the paid up share capital is Rs. 5 crores 62 lakhs and 50 thousand. The Rural Credit Survey Committee recommended increase of the share capital from 11.25 crores to 20 crores for this new Institution so that the institution may be able to do some real work in the field of rural credit. Provision has been made in the Act that the Reserve Bank and the Government must own at all times a minimum of 51 per cent of the total shares of the State Bank of India. Expansion in the share capital structure as stated above has also been recommended. In issuing shares to private parties the Reserve Bank would give preference to those who are holding shares of the Imperial Bank. The percentage of private shareholding will not be more than 48 per cent of the total share-holding.

The Central Board of the State Bank of India is composed of twenty Directors. Besides a Chairman (Dr. John Mathai) and a vice-chairman (Mr. V. Lal Mehta) there are two Managing Directors, one director representing the Government of India and the other director re-

presenting the Reserve Bank of India. Out of the remaining fourteen directors six are to be from Bombay, five from Bengal and three from Madras. The three circles will have local Boards of three members each.

The Board of Directors consists of nominated, elected and appointed members.

The aim of the creation of the State Bank of India is to provide facilities for Rural Banking and Agricultural Finance. In order to achieve this end the nationalised State Bank will open nearly four hundred branches all over the country in the course of next five years. Since July 1, 1955 the State Bank of India has opened 20 new branches and one hundred centres have been selected by the Government of India in consultation with the Reserve Bank and the State Bank for fulfilling the obligation of establishing new branches. The branches are to be opened in particular in the rural areas so as to provide financial accommodations to cultivators on a large scale. In the words of Sri A. C. Guha the new objective of the State Bank is "to recreate rural life" through this new organisation. In this new venture of providing rural credit facilities and agricultural financing this new institution will work in close co-operation with the Co-operative Banks and Warehousing Societies. In short, the State Bank will provide rural credit facilities and remittances and work for the development of the co-operative movement. Its function will be to put co-operative movement on a proper footing.

It has been stated further that the State Bank will maintain unimpaired its facilities to trade and commerce. This institution will continue to serve and provide credit facilities and accommodations to the needs of trade and commerce of the country. In other words, the functions discharged by the Imperial Bank would continue to be performed by the State Bank of India.

Thus the State Bank of India would discharge both the functions of providing commercial and rural credits. The interlocking of commercial with the agricultural financing functions is really difficult to reconcile. The long-term financing projects for development purposes together with the discharge of commercial functions will put heavy financial strain on this new venture and there is a lurking fear and apprehension in the minds of many as to whether it would discharge its objectives to either sectors creditably.

The State Bank of India like the old Imperial Bank would continue to function as the biggest commercial Bank of the country. It will continue to help all the scheduled banks. The State Bank of India like the Imperial Bank will be the actual leader of the Indian Money Market. Banks in need of funds will come to the State Bank for ready accommodations. The State Bank will continue to discharge the old functions of the Imperial Bank of giving financial accommodations to the commercial Banks in times of needs, stresses and strains.

"The State Bank of India will discharge the double function of service to the business community,

a major contribution to rural reconstruction and especially the welfare of the co-operative movement."

The State Bank of India will provide the suitable institutional pattern to provide rural credit to agriculturists. The lack of Institutional organ stands as an obstacle in the path of cheap remittance facilities. The State Bank of India will remove this difficulty to a great extent.

"The credit facilities, to a point, of the State Bank will be available to the co-operative movement at appropriate points. It follows that the movement must be so improved as to derive utmost benefits from the Banks services."

"On efficient co-operatives depends the success of the land reform, community projects and national extension, all that is comprised within plans for a better agricultural economy. Warehouses and Marketing will be even more important than provision of rural credit."

The State Bank of India will also provide warehousing facilities in rural areas which are expected to enable farmers to store their crops and unload them according to demand and not as at present sell at once to professional commission agents at the latter's price. Most of these functions will be discharged by the State Bank of India.

"The State Bank's rural branches will also attend to the needs of small-scale cottage industries, to which the plan frames assign a major role in the Second plan period." Thus the new institution will also serve the interests of small-scale cottage industries.

Like the Imperial Bank the State Bank of India will continue to discharge the functions and obligations of Government. It will continue to work as the agent of the Reserve Bank to discharge the obligations of the State and Union Governments.

Prof. N. R. Chaudhuri has summed up the functions of the State Bank of India in words:

"Without damage to its essential character as a sound commercial Bank, it can be easily made to respond in a positive and helpful manner to the State's policies towards Co-operative Banking, Co-operative Marketing and other business activities of the Co-operatives and informed and responsive sharing of purpose should enable it to work in co-ordination with the Government and the Reserve Bank and the Co-operatives for the fulfilment of the common objects in the economic and financial spheres."

It is argued that interlocking of commercial and agricultural functions under one institutional organisation will prove harmful for both trade, commerce and agriculture. The State Bank may complicate its business through over-involvement. Divided attention will prove harmful to both the sectors of our economy. And therefore it is advanced and advocated that India should have followed in the footsteps of Western countries in providing separate independent institutions which would have provided Farm credits alone. In Britain, in U.S.A., in Denmark and in other European countries there is an Agricultural Central Bank quite unconnected with the commercial Banking of the country.

The Gadgil Committee on Agricultural Finance of 1946 made a correct approach to the problem and recommended the setting up of a separate All-India Agricultural Bank at the apex and agricultural Credit corporation at the state level. Mr. Davis, the well-known American authority on Agricultural Finance also recommended for the establishment of an All-India Agricultural Bank. Hence expert opinion on the subject favours a separate institutional pattern for providing rural and farm credit and herein lies the real solution of the problem. The State Bank may prove unsuccessful in discharging its multifarious obligations and functions and thereby the needs of the Agricultural sector of the Economy may not be met, may not be fulfilled.

Further, it is said that the halting measure of nationalising the vital Banking sector of the Economy may stand in the way of achieving the objective of the socialistic pattern of Society which we have envisaged for our state. The entire Banking sector of the Economy should have been nationalised. Half-hearted and piecemeal nationalisation of Banking would be inadequate from the perspective of socialism and welfare state. Nationalisation in such a fashion would not meet the needs and requirements of our country.

Doubts have also been expressed as to whether the State Bank would be able to provide adequate rural credit. The problem of rural credit is so complex and complicated that an institution with so many obligations to perform and discharge would not be able to meet the multifarious needs and diverse requirements of Agricultural Economy.

There are critics who have criticised the compensation clause of the State Bank Act. The compensation offered is highly favourable to shareholders. The shareholders of the Imperial Bank should have been paid 75 per cent of the share value and compensation scheme should have been according to the slab system. That is, with increasing share-holding the rate of compensation should have been lower and lesser than for small share-holding.

It is also pointed out that the composition of the Board of Directors is highly undemocratic. That for 45 per cent of the shareholders there would be six elected directors on the Board of twenty is highly disproportionate and undemocratic. Hence it is urged that the directors should be elected on proportional basis. Proportional representation would help the democratic constitution of the Board.

The inroad of nationalisation in the Private Sector of Banking has created a sense of fear in the mind of the Private Sector of the Economy. It is said that the Government Policy of Mixed Economy which was the main plan of developmental policy enunciated in the First Five-Year Plan is giving place to extension of Public Sector to farthest length. Hence, the era of independence of the Private Sector or the Policy for co-existence of Private and Public Sectors side by side is gone. The Fourth Amendment of the Constitution of India has also created a sense of uncertainty in the minds of the Private Sector and hence it is just possible that the Private enterprisers may become shy in helping the developmental programme of the country.

The State Bank of India will be discharging the dual functions of commercial and agricultural bank. In the capacity of the agent of the Reserve Bank it will continue to function as the custodian of the funds of the Government. It will transact business on behalf of Government. It will continue to be the leader of the Indian Money Market. It will provide financial accommodation to the scheduled Banks. It will provide rural credit and act as an Institution for receiving deposits of the agriculturists. It will help co-operative movement and provide financial facilities to small-scale village industries. Thus in short, it will discharge commercial, agricultural, industrial and Governmental functions at the same time.*

* This paper was read at the sixteenth session of the All-India Agricultural Economic Conference held at Poona in December, 1953.

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SWAMI NIRMALANANDA IN AMERICA

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

Out of seventeen monastic disciples of Sri Ramakrishna, only six who were chosen to cross the oceans and preach the message of their Master in the New World were Swami Vivekananda, Abhedananda, Trigunatitananda, Turiyananda, Saradananda and Nirmalananda. Swami Vivekananda is the immortal inaugurator of the historic movement and his unique success in the Chicago Parliament of Religions is a landmark in the cultural annals of modern India. Swami Abhedananda followed the footsteps of the pioneer and spent about

a quarter of a century in the West and crossed the Atlantic seventeen times for this purpose. Swami Trigunatitananda who is the founder of the Hindu Temple in San Francisco became a martyr there after nearly fifteen years of hard work. The other three Swamis worked each for a few years there and returned to India to spread the movement in the motherland.

In the early part of 1903, Swami Nirmalananda came to Calcutta at the request of Swami Brahma-

nanda, the first President of the Belur Math from Kashmere where he stayed as the guest of Sri Nilambar Mukherji, the then Dewan of the State. Swami Abhedananda, who had proceeded to America seven years ago, desired to have Swami Nirmalananda as his lieutenant there since the work of the New York Vedanta Society of which he was the Head grew rapidly. Instructed by the President of the Mission Swami Nirmalananda left Belur on the thirteenth day of October, 1903, and sailed for America from Bombay on the fifteenth. He went by way of Naples and reached Geneva where he attended a religious conference and reached New York on Wednesday the 25th November via Atlantic Ocean. On arrival he was warmly received by his Gurubhai and the devotees and took up the work allotted to him. He assisted Swami Abhedananda in his presence and occupied his place in his absence from the city. He set himself to work in his masterly way and won the esteem and affection of all who contacted him. He proved himself quite efficient and equal to the practical Americans. He introduced the practice of daily meditation for the members of the Society and also organised a Sanskrit class for them. The earliest available report of his American work was in connection with an anniversary meeting held by the society in memory of its illustrious founder Swami Vivekananda in January of 1904. It appeared in the *Prabuddha Bharata* (Vol. IX, p. 34) of Calcutta and contains as follows:

"Swami Nirmalananda next read a paper especially interesting to all who listened; because it gave many facts concerning Swami Vivekananda unknown to his American friends and described in a picturesque manner some of the events of the Swami's early life as a Sannyasin when he was preparing for the great mission later achieved by him."

He also chanted in the meeting some passages of the Vedas that were particularly favourite to Swami Vivekananda. At last Swami Abhedananda concluded the proceedings of the successful function and spoke of the importance of Swami Nirmalananda's hard work and of the new impetus he had already given in certain directions. At the celebration of the Birthday of Sri Ramakrishna he conducted in the same year devotional exercises from half past three to five in the evening.

Soon after his arrival in New York he assumed in a great measure the direction of the Yoga class at the society and left Swami Abhedananda free to accept invitations to lecture outside the city and in other States of America. It is learnt from a report published in the *Prabuddha Bharata* (Vol. X, p. 16), the following information about his work. In 1904, for the first time since the establishment of the Society, there was no break throughout the summer

as Swami Nirmalananda remained constant in charge and carried on the Yoga classes uninterrupted. This was a source of great satisfaction and inspiration to the members of the society who were unable to leave the city and still more to those who resided elsewhere and stayed in New York for short periods.

Early in 1905 Swami Abhedananda was invited to Canada to deliver a series of lectures. During his absence Swami Nirmalananda took the charge of the New York Society. It was then that he delivered his first Sunday lecture and the subject selected by him was the Vedic conception of God. The clarity and force of his thought as well as the ease and fluency of his exposition disproved conclusively the claim he had always made that he was not a public speaker. Eminent scientists like Prof. Parker of New York also used to attend his discourses. Prof. Parker who was a great admirer of Kapila enthusiastically said one day to Swami Nirmalananda, "What a wonderful man was your Kapila, Swami? In fact, he was the father of science as well as philosophy."

While in India, Swami Nirmalananda spent several years in practising penance in Chamba, a State in the Himalayas. Sri Karam Singh, the then Magistrate and the Raja and other high officials of the State were intimately known to him. From New York Swami Nirmalananda wrote several letters to Sri Karam Singh some in English and a few in Hindi. One letter written on 30th September, 1904 is as follows:

"My dear Karam Singh, your loving note of the 22nd July last duly come to my hand. I was delighted to read it. I am glad to learn that you with all your friends there are doing perfectly well. I hope under the rule of the new Raja you will have every improvement in the Chamba State, and the subjects will be much more happy and prosperous. I am extremely sorry to hear that you lost your new-born child. May God bless you with another child who will live long and make you happy. Give my blessings to your father Captain Sri Kanta and his retinue. It is getting cooler and cooler here every day. We expect to have a very cold winter this year here. With my blessings and love.—Yours affectionately, Swami Nirmalananda."

Another letter written on 24th February, 1905, runs as follows:

"My dear Karam Singh,—I was very much pleased to receive your letter and to learn that you are all enjoying perfect health. The *chapolis*, *dhupa* and a photo of Chamba town have reached me safely yesterday. I was very glad to receive them and I thank you very much for the same. At present there are four Swamis of the Ramakrishna Mission in U.S. America. It is very cold here this year. The streets are all covered with snow 5 or 6

feet thick. I do not know how long I shall have to stay here. It may be five or six years more and then I may return to India. I am glad to learn that my friends in Chowtra Mohalla in Chamba town are doing well. Please tender my blessings and love to each of them respectively and accept the same yourself. I am all right here. Trusting this will find you all hale and hearty.—Yours sincerely, Swami Nirmalananda."

Through the joint efforts of the two Swamis the work of the New York Society flourished in a short time and expanded outside the city and a Vedanta centre was started in Brooklyn. Swami Nirmalananda assumed the direction of that centre also. A room for the meeting of the Yoga classes was engaged in the building of the local Historical Society, and the work of the new centre went on in it. Swami Nirmalananda was always ready to extend help and advice to all members and friends and to all seekers of Truth. All who came in contact with him felt themselves benefited thereby. Besides holding Yoga classes, giving lectures and teaching Sanskrit he also expounded the Upanishads to a small group of interested people as he was doing at the Belur Math. Like Swami Vivekananda, he was particularly interested in broadcasting the universal gospel of the Upanishads in America. He also spoke to American devotees of the wonderful life of Sri Ramakrishna and his apostles and of Indian culture and thought in general. "They listened to every word of his with intense interest," writes a correspondent, "for Swami Nirmalananda seemed to transport us to India, so clearly and earnestly he spoke." The impression which he made on his hearers, students and friends was so fast that time could not fade it. After thirty years' silence Mr. Charles F. Gray, A.I.E.E., writes to him for spiritual instructions. As the Swami was ready to teach so was he ready to learn. Once when a nurse brought him his diet he said he did not like it. "You mean, Swamiji, you do not care for it," said the nurse. At once Swami Nirmalananda caught the subtle difference in the expression and thanked the nurse for the necessary correction.

The teacher of Vedanta wore no solemn mien; the master of Yoga had no mysterious air about him. Simple and mirthful as a child, free and joyous as a school boy he shed genial lustre wherever he went. But deep beneath the plain exterior lay the austere ascetic and fiery monk. One glance of his pierced the thickest mask and the cleverest fraud stood exposed. In New York, there was a Psychic Research Society

which called up and exhibited ghosts. Once Swami Nirmalananda was taken to it by some friends. Its proprietor was a lady named Miss Muller who herself had a ghostlike countenance. She asked which ghost they wanted to see. Swami Nirmalananda told that he would like to see the ghost of a Red Indian. The host led him to a room where there was a pale bluish light. Soon a ghost appeared. All on a sudden Swami Nirmalananda, the dare-devil as he described himself, sprang forward and caught hold of the ghost's hand and shook it heartily. Instead of being airy and intangible it was as hard as iron. Swami Nirmalananda then led the ghost three times round the room. It had no power of locomotion by itself. The fraud was thus exposed. A scientist who had accompanied Swami Nirmalananda wanted to see the ghost of a famous scientist and a ghost duly appeared. When asked about a well-known scientific formula the ghost blushed. It was a clear case of false personation. Swami Nirmalananda had many such strange experiences in America. He remained there for about three years working so whole-heartedly and giving so much satisfaction that his devotees, students and friends were mortified to part with him. "But," in the words of Swami Ramakrishnanda, "urgent calls from his native land made him come back for the regeneration of his own motherland."

Sometime in 1906 Swami Nirmalananda returned to India healthier and stronger. Direct contact with the New World added to his experience broadened his outlook, made him conscious of his own powers and enabled him to understand deeper the message of his Master. After working in North India for some time he went to South India in response to a request of Swami Ramakrishnanda, the founder of the Ramakrishna Mission in Madras. He worked intensely and incessantly for about four decades in Madras, Travancore, Malabar, Cochin and other provinces, in the south and started many centres of R. K. Mission there. He passed away in 1938 in Ottapalam, Malabar where his body was cremated and a memorial temple was erected over it by his devotees. He was born in Calcutta in 1863, the very year in which Swami Vivekananda was also born and lived a long life of about 75 years. I had the privilege of meeting him at the Belur Math and hearing his inspiring conversations there. When he discoursed on religion and philosophy he roared like a lion and the audience felt inspired. In fact, he was a lion of Vedanta, a worthy apostle of his Master and an immortal son of Mother India.



SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL

By NIKHIL MAITRA

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL's exit from British politics is in itself doubtless most important, but it would seem absurd if somebody said it marked the end of the Victorian period. Yet, how very perilously near this did Mr. Attlee go in his comments as leader of the official opposition:

"The retirement from active political life of the Right Honourable gentleman, the member from Woodford, does indeed mark the close of an epoch. He is the last survivor in this House of those who served in Queen Victoria's reign . . . In the length of his political career he rivals Palmerston and Gladstone."

Nevertheless, if the truth is to be told, the curious thing to say is in this case also the correct thing namely, that the Victorian period in British politics lingered in the person of Sir Winston Churchill. He was a Victorian survival.

A personality is an influence and probably there are indivisible, but, even so, it is possible to study it in cross-sections. First, consider Churchill as a writer. Nearly all that he has written is historical writing. We know of only one other man who was made a Nobel Laureate in Literature for writing history, and that was Theodore Mommsen. Edward Augustus Freeman, himself an historian, said of Mommsen:

"The greatest scholar of our times, wellnigh the greatest scholar of all times . . . language, law, mythology, customs, antiquities, coins, inscriptions, every source of knowledge of every kind, he is master of them all."

Mommsen's history was on a much larger canvas than any of Churchill's histories. The latter are limited only to certain brief periods, though worked out intensively. So then, if the smallness of canvas is not a disqualification, there is no reason why it should be,—how can we forget Leon Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*? Or fail to note that the Nobel Academy only covered itself with ridicule by not honouring it? Public memory is not only short, but probably non-existent. What passes for public memory is, in reality, "public amnesia." We have forgotten Jules Michelet already and he belonged to only mid-nineteenth century. The printing press turns out tons of rubbish everyday, and as the rubbish mounts, the treasures get buried deeper and deeper. It is only left to archaeologists to exhume them.

The Nobel Prize in literature, of course, is by no means the ultimate recognition of human wisdom. There has always been criticism of its fiat and from persons not too unimportant. A. G. Gardiner, it may be recalled, discussing Rudyard Kipling, who had been honoured by the Nobel Academy, complained that goldsmiths were being passed over and blacksmiths applauded. So let it be with Trotsky.

Churchill's prose reminds one of Burke, and Burke reminds one of Harold Laski's comments that his "ignorant rhetoric" prevented the implications of the French Revolution from being fully understood in England. How many great movements outside Western Europe, we may ask, has Sir Winston's rhetoric helped to be fully understood in England? We pause for a reply.

The compulsions of rhetoric seemed to be inescapable in Churchill's prose. When he says: "Let us survey this dark and wide field," one senses and feels that the field, if it is 'dark' must also be made 'wide' for the sake of rhetoric and *vice versa*. We happen to know of great prose without any rhetoric at all. For instance, the few lines of Abraham Lincoln which the Oxford University honours itself by displaying on the wall "as a model of pure and exquisite diction which has never been excelled."

Dear Madame,

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which would attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost. And the solemn pride must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,
A. LINCOLN

We know also some great orations without rhetoric. Listen again to Lincoln whose following sentences Lord Curzon, then Chancellor of Oxford University, declared to be "the purest gold of human eloquence, nay of eloquence almost divine":

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continues until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toils shall be spent, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

"With malice toward none, with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for this widow, and his orphan to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

In our own times, we have known the silver-tongued oratory of Srinivas Sastri, heard him speaking against the repressive laws that tamper with civil liberties, with the white heat of passion, but without hector. And now listen to this from Sir Winston. It is from one of his letters to President Roosevelt:

"At this moment, when the New Year opens in storm, I feel my duty on behalf of the British Government, and indeed of the whole British Empire to tell you, Mr. President, how lively is our sense of gratitude and admiration for the memorable declaration which you made to the American people and to the lovers of freedom in all the continents on Sunday last. We cannot tell what lies before us, but with this trumpet-call we march forward heartened and fortified, and with the confidence which you have expressed that in the end all will be well for this English-speaking peoples and those who share their ideals."

Take again his description of Harry Hopkins:

"His was a soul that flamed out of a frail and failing body. He was a crumbling lighthouse from which there shone the beams that led great fleets to harbour.... There he sat slim, frail, ill, but absolutely glowing with refined comprehension of the cause. It was to be the defeat, ruin, and slaughter of Hitler, to the exclusion of all other purposes, loyalties or aims. In the history of the United States few brighter flames have burned."

Not without reason, indeed, has Churchill, the writer, never been in the front rank of British writers or British intellectuals of the twentieth century.

Now consider Churchill the statesman. What his statesmanship is worth history perhaps has not said yet; but if it has, it may have to revise its verdict. For, unlike Churchill, history does not retire. The dismemberment of Germany, which was his handiwork and which is far more ominous for world-peace than either the dismemberment of India or of Korea is now the rock on which the U.N.O. may founder. His attitude to colonial nationalism has yet to be proved to have been in the best traditions of statesmanship. His success as a politician, in a short range of things, has been exceedingly great. And it is not belittling him to say that, as a politician, he has been as great as one can be without much statesmanship. He has been the great sentinel of England, first against the menace of Hitler and then against the menace of international communism. His Fulton speech will remain, as long as the menace of Communism lasts, as one of the earliest and ablest political prognostications of our time.

He was incontestably the man who pulled England through, during the Second World War. But history will have to decide very carefully about the value of the Munich agreement as well, how far it was aimed at the isolation of Russia and also how far it gained for England some essential time to prepare. There has never been in the whole of English history a war-leader as spectacular and inspiring as Sir Winston. The totality of the concrete results of the work of Pitt or of the Duke of Marlborough might have been greater or might not have been, but none of them was half as meretricious or showy. His rhetoric communicated to his hearers an energy that transcended many limitations, though inevitably it created its own greater limitations. If the ultimate measure of oratory is the immediate success achieved, Churchill's oratory was superb, because it triumphed while Hitler's oratory, though by every other standard perhaps greater, was ruinous, because it failed. His peroration calling upon Englishmen to defend their country with "blood, sweat and toil" is borrowed from Garibaldi's call to arms, but it achieved its purpose consummately, when it kindled mass enthusiasm.

His versatility has been not only immense, but monumental. His vigour and vitality have been overwhelming and volcanic and his interests and pursuits encyclopaedic. Not until we get back to the Renaissance do we find such a character again. Taken all in all, where do we find his equal now?



METAPHYSICS AND ETHICS OF CHARVAKA

By NARESH NATH MAITRA, M.A.

It may be pointed out first of all that the Metaphysics and Ethics of Charvaka occupies a prominent place in so far as Indian philosophy is concerned. Before I proceed to discuss something about the metaphysics and ethics of Charvaka, I should like to speak first, what is meant by metaphysics and ethics. The reason is clear. Unless the readers are quite clear about the definitions of metaphysics and ethics, they will not be able to understand Charvaka.

What do we mean by metaphysics and ethics? The students of philosophy must have studied that metaphysics is the theory of reality and ethics means the science of morality. This is what we understand by metaphysics and ethics.

Now I am in a position to enter into a detailed discussion about the metaphysics and ethics of Charvaka, the Indian philosopher. It must be noted here in this connection that Charvaka, we know, was a distinguished ancient sage who propounded the doctrine of materialism in Indian philosophy. He was out and out a materialistic thinker and not a spiritualist at all and for this, all his theories regarding metaphysics and ethics are based upon one central principle which may well be called materialism.

Now let me point out his well-known theories one by one. First, I proceed to refer to metaphysics, and shall try to show Charvaka's conception of it. Charvaka, we notice, is of opinion that so far as epistemology is concerned, perception may be regarded as the only source of knowledge and at the same time he has totally rejected other sources, namely, inference, testimony, etc., as held to be reliable sources by other Indian philosophers. Now from his theory of perception he maintains the view that all perceptible objects have existence and we can rationally assert the reality of these objects as well. He has further advocated that heaven, soul, God, life before birth and after death cannot be believed in as they are practically beyond perception. He points out by saying that material objects are the only objects whose reality can easily be established and hence he concludes that matter is the only reality.

Then Charvaka proceeds to point out that the material world is composed of four elements, namely, air, fire, water and earth and he has altogether denied the existence of another element named 'ether' which is regarded as a valid element by many thinkers of Indian philosophy. He has maintained the view that 'ether' is such a thing that it cannot be perceived by any means and hence its existence is not proved. Thus we notice, herein lies the difference of opinion between Charvaka on the one hand and most other Indian thinkers on the other.

Let me now speak a few words about the place

of God in Charvaka's system from the metaphysical point of view. As I have discussed already that Charvaka is a materialistic thinker, so he has no faith in spiritualism and hence he holds that God's existence can not be established by any legitimate proof. He is of opinion that God does not exist on the ground that we do not perceive God. The material elements produce the world and the supposition of God as a creator is really unnecessary. This is the view of Charvaka, the Indian materialist.

Regarding the existence of human soul, it has been held by Charvaka that there is no soul as, like God, its existence cannot be perceived and from this it can be ascertained that the question of the immortality or future life of human soul as held by some philosophers both Eastern and Western, does not arise at all. This is Charvaka's conception of human soul. Thus I have discussed the metaphysics of Charvaka in a nutshell. . . . Having discussed the metaphysics of Charvaka, I am at present proceeding to say something about his ethics. The readers must not forget that ethics is the science of morality and it discusses such problems as 'What is the highest goal of human life?' There are various views regarding this problem and I shall try to point them out one by one. Some Indian philosophers bear in mind that heaven is the highest goal of human life. This is the opinion of the Mimamsakas. But Charvaka has rejected this view of the Mimamsaka philosophers and maintains the view that 'heaven' and 'hell' are nothing but the inventions of the so-called priests of India. According to other philosophers, it is said that liberation may be regarded as the highest goal of human life. Here also Charvaka has criticised this view. Then what will be highest goal of human life? According to Charvaka, the views which have been just mentioned are not correct. He comes forward and holds that pleasure is the goal of human life and although he admits that there is pain in this world, yet he advises us to minimise pain and enjoy as much pleasure as we can. Charvaka has given his famous doctrine, "As long as you live, live merrily. Eat clarified butter even by borrowing." Thus we notice that he agrees with the hedonists whose doctrine is "Eat, drink, and be merry. For tomorrow you may die." For this reason Charvaka's ethics may be called hedonism. This is the sum and substance of Charvaka's theory of ethics.

In conclusion, I must say here that Charvaka is a critical thinker and has saved Indian philosophy from dogmatism. For this, Indian philosophy is, indeed, indebted to Charvaka, the well-known materialistic thinker. Thus he has become a prominent figure in the field of Indian philosophy.

WELCOME

(About the Soviet Organization—"Intourist")

By LILIAN POPOVA

If one can imagine the map of the world and all the routes which lead citizens of various countries to the Soviet Union and *vice versa*, one would be dazzled by the many arrows pointing to all the corners of the world. Just in 1954 alone, 814 Swedes, 449 Frenchmen, 760 Finns, 199 citizens from India, 11 from U.S.A. and 1,505 from Poland, members of cultural, public, sport and amateur art delegations, visited the U.S.S.R. And this is not the complete list!

In 1955, the flow of visitors to the Soviet Union was even greater. The political climate on the earth has become warmer and it is easier to travel on international routes after the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Governments.

Foreigners not only come in delegations to the U.S.S.R., but thousands upon thousands of tourists want to acquaint themselves with the mode of life of the Soviet people and the sights of the country. In this respect, the year of 1955 may really be called a "fruitful" one. Journalists and bankers, farmers and businessmen, actors and senators were amidst the tourists. A Frenchman, Leo Bernheim, inspector of a life insurance company in Strasbourg, and a Norwegian employee Frederick Bergstroem, Henri Ambro, a lawyer from Casablanca, and a Chinese professor Ti Cheng Hui. A tourist from Pakistan, Czechoslovakian architects, American congressmen . . . 1,500 tourists from the G.F.R. and the G.D.R. The German tourists were able to watch the football match between the picked team of the U.S.S.R. and the world champion, the Western Germany eleven, at the Moscow "Dynamo" Stadium in August.

If they come in groups—it is called mass tourism; alone or in families—they are called individual tourists. Both groups are serviced by the All-Union Society "Intourists." This Society has many ties with foreign companies such as: "Transtours" and "Gavasse Exprinter" in Paris, "Froehlich" in Hannover, "CIT" in Rome, "Thomas Cook and Son" in London, several tourist firms in the USA and others. By the way, Mr. King, a representative of an English firm, was recently in Moscow to negotiate about the prospects of tourism in 1956.

These ties were strengthened and extended after the Soviet society "Intourist" took part in the 10th Session of the General Assembly of the International Touring Alliance, which took place in New Delhi in October, 1955. "Intourist" joined this Alliance. Simultaneously it negotiated and signed a contract with the General Direction of the Indian tourist firm "Mercury Travel," to exchange tourists with India. The first tourists from India have already visited the USSR. This is just the beginning of a large flow of

tourists from the friendly country, which will start in 1956.

"Intourist" has a large group of interpreter-guides at its disposal to serve its foreign guests. The guests are supplied with itineraries. The best hotel reservations are made for the tourists in the Soviet cities. For example, in Moscow they are made at the hotels "Savoy," "Metropole," "National," "Leningradskaya," "Grand Hotel," "Moscow;" and in Leningrad at the "Astoria" and "European" hotels. In the hotel restaurants the tourists may be served by the popular Russian cuisine or they may choose their own national dishes.

The tourists who plan to visit the Soviet Union may become acquainted with, and choose a route through the USSR by the representatives of "Intourist" in their own country. Now there are 15 such routes. Here are some of them. Leningrad-Kiev-Moscow (12 days); Moscow-Stalingrad-Rostov-Kiev-Leningrad (16 days); Leningrad-Kiev-Odessa-Yalta-Sochi-Tbilisi-Kharkov-Moscow (23 days).

Steamships, trains, airplanes, buses and automobiles are at the disposal of the tourists. A special tourist liner—"Peter the Great"—cruises between the Black Sea ports of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. This is a wonderful trip along the picturesque Southern sites. One of the largest groups of tourists to ever visit the USSR came in the summer of 1955, when 757 Frenchmen arrived on the Polish liner "Batory." When the Frenchmen were asked what they wanted to see most in the Soviet country, they replied: "tout"—everything. In Leningrad they visited the Hermitage, went to Petrodvorets. Then they came to Moscow and visited the Kremlin, the Underground, museums, the USSR Agricultural Exhibition; they saw the famous ballet "Swan Lake." Some manufacturers signed contracts with Soviet import and export firms.

All these routes are organised in such a way as to satisfy the different wishes of the tourists. But "Intourist" also meets the individual requests of its guests. For example, the Service Bureau quite willingly organised a trip for an Armenian from France to visit her relatives in Soviet Armenia; a journey for a Norwegian to his friend in Central Asia . . .

"Intourist" willingly meets the desires of its foreign guests which are quite diverse. One wishes to buy an ikon, another a Russian "Matryoshka"—wooden dolls which fit into one another, the third wants to visit a mosque . . .

In the autumn of the current year, 80-year-old Mrs. Williams from the USA came to the USSR. She has been a teacher all her life and was interested

in Soviet educational system. During her two-week stay in the Soviet Union she visited Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad and Central Asia. She met Kairov, the Minister of Education, and visited nurseries and kindergartens.

"Intourist" has large perspectives before it. The number of visitors to the Soviet Union is not only increasing every month, but more Soviet tourists are making trips through foreign countries. Large groups of Soviet people have been to Sweden, Finland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Bulgaria in 1955. In 1956, Soviet tourists hope to see the ancient Colos-

seum and the treasures of the Louvre, to visit the birthplaces of Shakespeare and Rabindranath Tagore. Besides this, new routes are being planned for foreign tourists in the USSR and particularly to Central Asia.

The Soviet society "Intourist" is not limiting the number of visitors to our country. No matter how many tourists wish to come to the USSR—they shall all be welcome. The more—the merrier! "Intourist" is ready to fulfil its noble task of helping to strengthen the contacts between nations and to promote mutual understanding among the peoples.

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ENGLISH RECORDS OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY INDIA

By PROF. N. B. ROY, M.A.,

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EVER since Leopold von Ranke inaugurated the method of writing history on a scientific basis, it has been the aim of modern historians to base their account on the "narrative of eye-witnesses and the most genuine documents" preserved in the archives. Hence, in recent years there is a growing awareness of the need of publishing the vast mass of records stored in the National State Government archives. The volumes reviewed below testify to this fact and incidentally reveal the degeneracy in our national life at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

(1) *English Records of Maratha History, Poona Residency Correspondence*, Vol. XIII, (Poona Affairs, Elphinstone's Embassy), Part II, 1816—1818. Edited by G. S. Sardesai, D.Litt. Published by the Government of Bombay. Pp. xvi+522. Price Rs. 28.

(2) *Selections from Nagpur Residency Records*, Vol. VII, 1812-17. Edited by Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D. (London), Principal, Nagpur Mahavidyalaya, President, Nagpur University Historical Society, Dean of the Faculty of Arts. Pp. xxx+667. Price Rs. 18.

(3) *Selections from the Orma Manuscripts* Edited by C. S. Srinivasachariar. Published by the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar. Pp. xxv+394. Price Rs. 15.

While the Congress of Vienna under the guidance of Prince Metternich was laying the foundation of a new State system in Europe after the overthrow of Napoleon in 1815, in India, the new political order which was rising upon the ruins of the Mughal empire was threatened with disruption. In 1814, the British had launched upon a war with the Gurkhas of Nepal and their initial reverses at the hands of the sturdy

mountain-people stirred up the latent disaffection of the Indian chiefs whose influence and authority had been curbed by the British. Chief among these potentates was the Peshwa Baji Rao II, and the heads of the Maratha States of Gwalior, Indore and Nagpur. During the crisis of the Gurkha war, the Peshwa openly revived his claim for the restoration of his authority in Hindusthan, and applied, to quote Elphinstone's words, "For our consent to His Highness's granting *sunnuds* for his possessions of Dhar, Deori and Malhargarh." (*Nagpur Residency Records*, III, 441, and *Poona Affairs*, XII). He also asserted the rights of a suzerain over the other Maratha Ruling Houses; repudiated, for instance, the Gaekwad's desire of a separate treaty with the British, without a reference to him, saying, "Must he (Gaekwad) not come here to accept the robes of his office from the Peshwa." The resulting friction led eventually to the murder in Poona (21st July, 1815) of the Baroda emissary, Gangadhar Shastri, a rather extraordinary personality who combined a strict adherence to the ceremonial rites of a Brahmin, with the outward pose and demeanour of an Englishman (Colebrooke's *Life of Elphinstone*, I, 276). Shocked at such an atrocious outrage, Elphinstone, the Resident at Poona, demanded at once the surrender of the Peshwa's Lieutenant, Trimbakji Dengle, who was suspected to have caused the assassination of a protege of the British Government. The Peshwa, a past-master in subterfuges, long prevaricated but was at length forced to submit to the Resident's demand, on the 26th September, 1815.

Nearly a year after this event, an episode as dramatic and sensational as the escape of Shivaji from the Agra prison, caused a stir in the whole of

Maharashtra. After his surrender Trimbakji had been delivered into the hands of the European guards and lodged in the fort of Thana. But he made a romantic escape from the prison on the 12th September, 1816, aided by a Maratha Syce and the ballad by which the deliverance was effected rang throughout Maharashtra:

"Where shall I find a Knight will ride,
The jungle parts with me?
There are five and fifty coursers there,
And four and fifty men;
When the fifty-fifth shall mount his steed,
The Deccan thrives again."

—(*New History of the Marathas*, p. 471)

Shortly afterwards Trimbakji put himself at the head of an armed following and excited disturbances in Southern Maharashtra with the Peshwa's connivance and support. The Resident understood the covert game which Baji Rao was playing and after futile expostulation, cowed him down by the threat of using military force. The result was the treaty of Poona by which the Peshwa relinquished all his authority over the Maratha Chieftain.

From this time forward till his surrender at the hands of Malcolm, 1st June, 1818, the Peshwa harnessed to his aid the armed strength which his own people could offer and used all the diplomatic resourcefulness and subtle ingenuity of which a Chitpavan Brahmin was capable, to ring the British lion within the chain of a confederacy of disaffected Indian chiefs, yet in the eye of the historians Baji has remained the villain of the piece, the architect of his country's misfortunes and downfall. He had, no doubt, many failings and foibles and hastened the ruin of his State. But his ceaseless diplomatic manoeuvring—call it spider-like spinning of cob-webs, the final show-down and the resistance organised by his lieutenants, Trimbakji and Bapa Gokhle appear to be the last glows that reddened the Western horizon, on the eve of the sun-set of the Maratha power.

This notable drama of the overthrow of the Maratha power has been narrated in the last two volumes of the Poona Residency Correspondence Series. The State papers published in the volume under review consist of the documents bearing on the period, 1816-1818, and are classified by the veteran editor into four different sections: (1) Escape and Insurrection of Trimbakji Dingle, 1816-1817, (2) Treaty of Poona and After, 1817, (3) War with the Peshwa and His Pursuit, 1817-1818, (4) Settlement of the Conquered Territory, 1818. Sir Jadunath who has been along with Dr. G. S. Sardesai, the main inspiration behind the publication of this remarkable series contributes a learned introduction, while Dr. P. M. Joshi, archivist of the Bombay State adds a foreword.

The second volume under review embodies a miscellaneous mass of records which has been classified

by the editor into various sections, such as (1) Bhonsla's Affairs, (2) Nizam's Affairs, (3) Peshwa's Affairs, (4) Sindhia's Affairs, (5) Pindaris, (6) Miscellaneous, (7) Trade and Commerce. The importance of this mass of documents lies in the picture presented of the period with which they deal. They show how the depravity of the ruling oligarchy and their mutual scramble for power caused the breakdown of the administrative machinery, and encouraged the growth of banditry all over the country. A few illustrations in support of this contention might be added from this volume..

The province of Berar, by the fertility of its soil and the industry of its population, was then, to quote the words of the British Resident, "*unquestionably the richest and most productive of the Nizam's dominions*," but it was reduced to a wretched state by the violence of a body of predatory chiefs, called Naika. According to the British Resident, they were "originally Zamindars, but having either suffered oppression from the government or seen a favourable opportunity of making themselves independent, have thrown off their allegiance and maintained themselves in a state of avowed rebellion." Their following used to "rob all travellers and plunder indiscriminately the whole of the country round them" (pp. 90-91). Such a lamentable aspect of affairs sprang from the weakness of the Hyderabad Government. The Nizam was an imbecile; his two ministers Munir-ul-mulk and Raja Chandulal, worked at cross purposes. The former charged the latter with harbouring design to overthrow the Nizam in concert with the British Resident and the Nizam had to take measures for his own security by increasing the strength of his personal guards. Such a degeneracy on the part of the Head of the State bred contempt for the government and the city of Hyderabad itself became the scene of the most violent outrages, as reported by Jenkins.

"For some time past robberies have been committed every night in the city by bodies of armed men with torches and the inhabitants are left to defend themselves without any assistance from the government. People are openly assaulted and killed in the streets and during the last fortnight almost everyday has been marked by the commission of a murder without any attempt at concealment on the part of offenders or even the form of enquiry on the part of government."

The general insecurity in the country was aggravated by another element, *viz.*, the Pindaris. An idea of their rapacity and unchecked depredation may be obtained from the perusal of the documents published in this volume. For instance, letter No. 29 vividly portrays how the three Pindari leaders, Namdar Khan, Chitu, Mazhar Baksh proceeded delightfully in an excursion of loot from Sironj in Malwa to Seringpatam in Mysore.

During the return journey they wheeled back along the sea-coast as far as Raja Mahendry and thence struck their way across Amraoti and Seoni to their respective cantonments. Such periodic visitations affected seriously agriculture and industry and brought the country to the verge of ruin.

It is, however, to be regretted that the editorial work, so far as this volume is concerned, has not been executed with the attention it deserves, and therefore leaves much to be desired. Firstly, a number of letters already published in the twelfth volume of the *Poona Residency Correspondence* has been reprinted here. I draw them below in a tabular form with the corresponding number of their counterpart in the *P.R.C.* volume:

<i>Nagpur Resy. Correspondence,</i> Letters No.	<i>Poona Residency Correspondence</i>
12	79
13	80
15	89
23	94
28	105
29	107
31	115
48	165

The curious thing is that the documents in the *P.R.C.* are full, without any lacunae, but in the Nagpur Residency volume, letters are printed with gaps. Why did the editor forget to make the necessary insertions by a reference to the *Poona Residency* volume? And were these letters so important that they required reprinting? Secondly, on reading the editorial and summaries of letters one comes across sentences such as, "Naiks had honey-combed the province," p. vii; again, "Perhaps as a sort of counter-blast to this, there started talks about forming a union between the Sindhia, Holkar and the Bhonsla side by side with the overtures between the Pindari chief . . . and the Government of the Sindhia," again, "Sindhia changed his mode of life to improve the condition of his government"; which is not consistent with what is stated later, p. xv. Again, "The information . . . relates to the State of Holkar's affairs over which Amirkhan wanted to dominate in exclusion of Meena Bai (p. xvii). "The Nizam's brutality by himself beating to death some of his maid servants is mentioned" (p. 291). Printing mistakes and irregular spelling of proper names are numerous. For instance, "Malwan" in one place, Malwa in another; "Pushtoo pass" in Sirguja State, p. 31; 'if' in l 10, first para, p. 31, *should be* 'by'; 'by' l 2, last para, p. 59,

should be 'my'; 'hither-to' p. 2, *should be* 'hitherto'; 'its' p. 64, *should be* 'its'; '1914' on p. 423, '1814'; 'Delay' on p. 278, 'Deny'; and the following words 'Shekh Jung' p. 121, 'Luhbers,' and 'Banra Bae' on p. 65, 'Kimbhaub,' p. 53, etc., are really queer. The third volume under review, offers, as its title implies, selections from the manuscripts compiled by Robert Orme and bears exclusively on the Anglo-French struggle in the Carnatic between 1746-58 A.D. It begins with the *Journal of the Coromondal War, 1751-1753*, as sketched by Capt. John Dalton. First Lieutenant under Admiral Boscawen, Dalton rose to Captain's rank in 1753. He wrote a narrative of the military transactions in which he participated in course of his voyage back to England in 1754. His letters written to Clive and Orme during 1762-64 form necessary epilogue to the above journal and are published here. The *French Capture of Madras in 1746*, as described by John Hallyburton, Secretary to Nicholas Morse, Governor of Madras 1744-46, a witness and a participant in the struggle is the third chapter of this volume.

Of particular interest are the following chapters such as, (i) *The Expedition to Arcot in 1751*, as recorded by Dr. James Wilson, (ii) *Journal of the Army under the Command of Major Lawrence, from April 21, 1753 to 11th October, 1754*, (iii) The negotiations at London for the adjustment of the differences between the English and the French companies on the Coromondal Coast between 1753-54.

The volume closes with a chapter on the *Siege of St. David* and its surrender to Lally, 2nd June, 1758, recorded by Mr. Wynch and the correspondence between him and George Pigot, Governor of Fort St. George, 1758. A minor episode—Record of Punaiyappa's plot against Muhammad Yusuf, Commandant of the Sepoy force under Strenger Lawrence, inserted in the middle relieves the monotony of military actions detailed in this volume.

The late Professor Srinivasachariar who edited this volume, has elucidated the obscurities of the archaic mid-eighteenth narrative by illuminating notes at the end of every chapter; while Professor Sathianathaier, Head of the Department of History and Politics, Annamalai University, has contributed a useful introduction. The volume is remarkably free from misprints; the printing and the get-up are equally good; the authorities of the Annamalai University deserve sincere congratulation for bringing out this excellent volume..



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE EARLY WOODEN TEMPLES OF CHAMBA: By Hermann Goetz. *Memoirs of the Kern Institute No. 1. Published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1955. With 16 plates, 12 text illustrations and 1 map.*

This scholarly monograph from the component pen of Dr. H. Goetz fittingly inaugurates a new series of publications (entitled "Memoirs") of the renowned Kern Institute of Leiden. The author who is an acknowledged authority on Indian art and archaeology gives us here a masterly account of the three earliest temples of the former State of Chamba in the Punjab Himalayas. These temples are the Lakshana Devi Temple at Brahmor, the Sakti Devi Temple at Chatrarhi and, the Markula Devi (Kali) Temple at Markula-Udaipur in Lahul. They were explored more than half a century ago by Prof. J. Ph. Vogel, the then Superintendent of the Northern (Punjab) Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India who appropriately contributes an interesting foreword to this volume.

The author's originality consists in his seeking to discover, in the absence of sufficient light from the contemporary inscriptions and the *Vamsavalis*, the historical as well as the ethnological setting of these monuments. This is done with an astonishing wealth of erudition in the first three chapters of his work following his short Introduction and bearing the titles "The Brahmapura Kingdom and the beginnings of the Chamba State," "The remnants of Gurjara civilization" and, "The coming of Hindu art in the Himalaya." His conclusions (pp. 72-73) may be thus briefly stated. Speaking of the Brahmapura Kingdom known both to Varahamihira and Hsuan-tsang, he says that it was a Gurjara State founded late in the 6th century, later a vassal of the Mukharis and of Harshavardhana of Thaneswar, then of Lalitaditya of Kashmir, and destroyed by the Tibetan invasion under King Khri-srong lde-letsan. The "Gurjara" population of the Brahmapura Kingdom, he further thinks, was a medley of undefinable barbarian tribes, some with cultural traditions derived from Central Asia and even prehistoric Europe, most of them, however, frontier-Indians from the Hindukush and Pamir area. Viewed in this context the three early temples of Chamba primarily represent not a local style of architecture and sculpture, but a conscious import of the highly refined post-Gupta art into a barbarian country, comparable to the churches and other religious equipment executed by Syrian, Byzantine and Italian architects and artisans for Charlemagne and his successors or the early churches and monasteries of Kiev designed by Byzantine masters and monks for the first Russian princes of the house of Rurik. In the two following

chapters (Chaps. V and VI) the author gives a detailed description of the three temples with their accessories and then sums up his final estimate of the characteristics of their style. The Brahmor temple, he says (p. 104), represents the Rococo (7th century) phase of Gupta art coming after its classical (5th century) and its Baroque (6th century) phase. The Sakti Devi temple though still belonging to the same tradition represents the transition to a local school (p. 105). The Markula shrine is a work of Kashmir art probably of the reign of Anantadeva (1028-63) and built by his Queen Suryamati (pp. 112-13). These temples and sculptures, he concludes (p. 117), are the keys to the great periods in the art history of Asia and of the world. As the ruins of Pompeii permit us a rare glimpse of the civilization of the Roman Empire at its zenith or as the Ajanta frescoes give us some idea of the glory of classic Gupta and Chalukya art, in the same way the temples and images of Brahmor and Chatrarhi are representative of the later Gupta art and Markula is the last remnant of the lost Kashmiri art.

From the above brief review it will appear that the present work is a most valuable contribution to the history of Indian art and archaeology in the post-Gupta period.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE BIRTH OF PAKISTAN: By Dr. Sachin Sen. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., 119, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta-13. Pp. vi+199. Price Rs. 10.

The book under review consists of twelve chapters including 'Introduction' and 'Conclusion.' It is a running commentary on the evolution of the state of Pakistan with its historical background. The book may be divided into two parts: Chapters II to V deal with the historical background, and Chapters VI to XI give us an account of the events leading to the Partition of India.

The Hindus and Mussalmans lived as neighbours for centuries. This neighbourliness led to fusion of both the cultures amongst the rank and file, though this received severe setbacks from time to time. But during the early decades of the last century, the Wahabi movement, sponsored by an extremely orthodox section of the Mahomedans called the Wahabis sought to separate the one from the other. The leaders had two objects in view; one was religious and the other political. They wanted to revive the Moslem power in India. The other object was expressed in the following lines of their 'war-song' given in translation:

"Fill the uttermost ends of India with Islam, so that no sounds may be heard but 'Allah Allah'."

The movement spread amongst the Moslems from Chittagong to Peshwar, Patna being its headquarters.

The British Government at first tried to quell the movement by force of arms. They failed, and resorted to other means. And it was these 'means' that fostered the sense of separatism. Education must be extended to the Moslems, and as far back as the seventies 'Moslem education' formed a special section of the Education Department of the Government. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, a nationalist to the core, and once Secretary to the Aligarh Branch of the British Indian Association of Calcutta, founded the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh with the noble intention of catering higher education to the Moslems. But this college later turned into a venue of separatism and its European principals influenced the Moslem leaders, from Sir Syed Ahmed Khan downwards, so much so that they became wedded to this cult and acted up to it most earnestly against the Indian National Congress. Sir Syed started the "Patriotic Association." Though this association had some loyalist Hindus,—Rajas and Maharajas—as its members, it was extremely reactionary, and sectional, too. This may be called the precursor of the Indian Moslem League of 1906, which was a purely sectional, or communal organisation. In the Indian Legislative Council, a Mahomedan member from Bihar advanced a plea for separate representation of the Moslems in the proposed Self-Government Bill of 1883. As a member of the Public Service Commission, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan supported the majority view with a note that the Civil Service examination should not be held in India on account of the dearth of Mahomedan candidates! To grasp the historical background of Moslem separatism, these points should also be noted.

The twentieth century dawned with ominous consequences. The 'divide and rule' policy of Lord Curzon fanned the fire of separatism, which, with the advent of the next Viceroy Minto, got the new appellation of 'communalism.' The 1st October, 1906, stands on the parting of the ways. It was on this date that the Viceroy Minto acquiesced in the very distinct special claims of the Moslem deputation headed by His Highness the Aga Khan. Since then the various claims of the Mahomedan community were met by the ruling authority. In the Morley-Minto Reforms those claims were for the first time met on the political plane. The Congress and the Moslem League entered into a pact, popularly known as the 'Lucknow Pact,' in which the communal claims of the Moslems were largely conceded. Lala Lajpat Rai criticised the Pact severely as it was later treated as a weapon to strike at the root of Indian nationalism by the designing Britishers and communally-minded Moslem leaders. Since the Non-co-operation Movement the leaders of the Congress adopted a policy of appeasement, and one concession to the Moslem demands, instead of appeasing, was instrumental for fresh ones. The author has dissected the political views of Maulana Muhammad Ali and successfully proved that though at one time he joined the national movement, he never eschewed his communal views. It should be said in passing that he was a member of the infamous Moslem deputation headed by the Aga Khan. The author has narrated in a separate chapter how the writings in prose and verse of Sir Muhammad Iqbal supplied the philosophical background of the idea of a budding separate State in Western India for the Moslems, and he gave it the name of Pakistan.

With the intensification of the movement for independence, the British bureaucracy left no stone unturned in driving a wedge between the two commu-

nities. And their machinations bore fruit in the second Round Table Conference in London. The communal rift was almost complete. Mahatma Gandhi returned to India empty-handed, only to be clapped into prison. The "Government of India Act 1935" was framed on the extremely communal basis. The re-appearance of Muhammad Ali Jinnah on the Indian political arena gave a strong impetus to the cause of the communalist Moslems. The wrong approach of the Congress High Command to the new situation as well as the diplomacy of the ruling authorities in the Second World War gave premia to the inordinate Pakistan claim of the Mahomedan community. All the attempts of the Cabinet Mission failed, and the Congress leadership, tired and desperate, accepted the Mountbatten Plan, which sought to create two independent States. India was partitioned, and the Indian Union and Pakistan came into being as two independent States.

In the later chapters of the book the author has treated the subject thread-bare and in a dispassionate manner. He has not spared to criticise the actions of the top-ranking leaders of both sides. The birth of Pakistan was no less due to the dubious policy of appeasement pursued by the Congress for decades. To the student of recent Indian history and for those who wish to have a clear idea of the nature of the Congress leadership, the book will prove extremely useful. We commend this book to our readers.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

NEW HORIZONS: *By Wilfred Wellock. Published by Houseman's Bookshop, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N-4. Pp. 96. Price 2s. 6d.*

The author is a thinker and a dispassionate observer of the trends of events. So he sees what many do not or will not see. He is, as the reading of the brochure will show, a lover of Man and not of race. The theme of the brochure in the author's own words is:

"The root problem of our time is how to pass from a quantitative civilisation which fragments the human person to a qualitative civilisation which makes whole persons.

"The ways and means of doing this are considered in the following pages, but they obviously include a new industrial revolution and a new culture, or perhaps an old culture brought up to date."

This naturally leads to the consideration of the Industrial Revolution which has produced the Western civilization which the East has begun to ape or is looking wistfully to, says the author (p. 53):

"This civilisation, born of the Industrial Revolution, is nearing its end; its enthusiasms and impulses are weakening and as it wilts, despair grows, for there is no obvious alternative to it. Until recently no one dreamed that the new prosperity could require an alternative. It is only too evident that events have moved too fast for reflection and rational action. Before a sane judgment could be passed on one invention, another had captured the public imagination and outpaced the prophets, whose warnings thus fell on deaf ears. In consequence, the Western colossus of a misguided science is heading for destruction."

And again:

"When the main motive of labour and industry is switched from satisfying self-expression to money-making, men become machines and societies competi-

tive gladiatorial associations that live on excitements which they miscall sport, and on self-indulgences which they call fun (p. 21). Can peace emanate from such state? Yet they talk of peace. And they conveniently forget that peace today is synonymous with maintaining the *status quo*. And maintaining the *status quo* is the same as clinging fast to privileges gained by the have-nations at the expense of the have-not-nations. And as dogs quarrel and fight over a stick of bone, so too these have-nations fight with each other for markets for their mounting commodities and the sources of their raw materials. To quote from the author:

"Today we live in a fool's paradise, worshipping abundance yet wasting it in self-indulgence and costly armaments. The Western nations put the blame for the latter on Communism, and turn a blind eye to the basic fact that war is inherent in their very way of life It is plain self-deception to say that all our war-producing problems could be solved around a table, given a little good will. . . . A limit must be set to Western living standards, to luxury and self-indulgence, and to the demands of fashions and social status. Our highest wellbeing and world peace, world brotherhood and co-operation, demand it." (p. 93).

"The real enemy of mankind today is not Communism but the fear of it, and the materialism from which that fear springs, and which even now is preventing the anti-Communist block from challenging Communism with an effective alternative." (p. 34)

What is that alternative?

"Russia will be beaten by a life of high quality, not by power, unless civilisation entire is to crash with her." (p. 39)

That alternative the author says is the way of life Gandhi pointed to.

The brochure is thought-provoking. It is sure to run to many editions as companion volumes, *Man, the Unknown* (Dr. Alexis Carrel), and *Culture of Cities* (Lewis Mumford), have run to.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

THE PRESS AND ITS PROBLEMS: By Mrinal Kanti Bose. Published by S. C. Sarkar and Sons, Limited, 1-C, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.

The book under review from the pen of the veteran journalist Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose was published in 1945. Divided into 2 chapters this slender volume of 162 pages deals with various aspects of journalism. Written a decade back as it is, the volume contains much that is quite useful even today. Chapters VIII and IX dealing with the early history of the Indian press and the history of press restrictions in India, respectively, are of particular interest to students of Indian history. The rest are of interest more to the professional journalist than to the general reader.

DIPLOMATIC SERVICE IN FREE INDIA: By Indra Datt. Published by Indian Book Company, Ltd., Delhi. Price Rs. 6.

India in slavery did not bother about the army organisation, or of Foreign office or the Diplomatic service. Freedom, however, has changed the complexion of affairs. External Affairs are no less important today than the Internal. Mr. Indra Datt's *Diplomatic Service in Free India* deals with the "mechanism of foreign policy with particular reference to India in the light of diplomatic theory and practice in other great countries of the world," among

others. Young Indian aspirants after the I.F.S. will find the volume quite useful. The Glossary at the end explains a number of frequently used, but not always understood, diplomatic terms.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

ESSENTIAL UNITY OF ALL RELIGIONS: Compiled by Bharata Ratna Dr. Bhagwan Das, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. Fifth Edition. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras-20. 1965. Pp. cii+904. D.C. 1/16. Price Rs. 10.

The author writes in the introduction: "While compiling this book and revising it again and again, the compiler has prayed constantly to the Great Masters of all the living religions, Manu, Krishna, Vyasa, Zoroaster, Moses, Isaiah, Lao-tze, Confucius, Buddha, Jina, Christ, Muhammad, Nanak and the Spiritual Hierarchy to which they all belong, for guidance of his fingers in this effort to serve his fellow men and women of all countries." The learned philosopher has spared no pains to compile the texts from different scriptures and put in his interpretations for the readers on this path.

It was as early as 1866 that Brahmananda Keshava Chandra Sen of revered memory compiled and published the *Sloka-Samgraha* (compilation of Theistic and moral texts from the scriptures of all the great religions of the world) as a step towards the mutual understanding of the followers of those religions. He saw that religion was the greatest factor in the history of human civilization and that the Religion which would be the outcome of the sympathetic understanding of and active participation with all such religions was sure to usher in a still higher civilization, which he likened to the kingdom of Heaven. At Sri Keshava Chandra's instance, both in India and the West, outstanding personalities published similar compilations. Mrs. Annie Besant had published between 1913-15 *The Universal Text Book of Religion and Morals* in several parts. The present author has followed her footsteps and amplified the work considerably. The first edition of the book was published in 1932 and in course of the different editions considerable additions have been made. The book should be widely circulated and studied.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJEE

1. TRIPLE YOGA: Pp. 168. Price Rs. 2.
2. YOGA IN DAILY LIFE: Pp. 174. Price Rs. 3.
3. EASY STEPS TO YOGA: Pp. 260. Price Rs. 3.

All the three books are by Swami Sivananda and published from Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivanandanagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The first book owes its origin to Messrs. Ramstedt of Stockholm and I. E. Downes of Australia who casually applied to the author for a correspondence course on Raja Yoga. Thus fourteen lessons on the subject were written in a succinct manner and sent to the correspondent students. Afterwards lessons on Bhakti Yoga and Jnana Yoga were written and two appendices added. These lessons contain commonplace instructions on the three Yogas and are suitable for the average aspirants.

The second book is now in the fourth edition and complete in twelve sections dealing with Bhakti Yoga, Raja Yoga, Karma Yoga, Hath Yoga and other allied subjects. The tenth section contains short stories of fifteen saints of which Jaigisavya is little known. Jaigisavya was a *siddha yogi* and remembered all his previous incarnations. He is often referred to in Yoga literature and said to have told Rishi Avatya, "Com-

pared to the infinite bliss of Kaivalya or Freedom sensual pleasure derived from objects is more pain." There is a description of Gandha Baba aias Swami Vijnanananda of Banaras who had the miracle of producing any sweet scent by squeezing a piece of paper.

The third book now running into third edition is the first publication of the Divine Life Society of Fashikesh. The first edition of the book appeared in 1942 and was sold out in a few months. It contains simple practicable instructions on religious life which everybody can follow. It is complete in eight chapters dealing with mysteries of mind, methods of meditation, yogic exercises and similar subjects. Pictures of *gyasanas* should have been given for a correct understanding of their technique.

All the three books are essentially on the same subject and often overlap each other.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FRENCH

LES ESPRITS DES FEUILLES JAUNES: By Hugo Adolf Bernatzik. Published by Librairie Plon, Paris, 1955. With 17 plates, 51 illustrations, and two maps. Pp. 269. Price 900 frs.

Dr. Bernatzik, the Austrian anthropologist, and his wife brought back from their expedition to the Indo-Chinese peninsula in 1936-37 a considerable collection of anthropological data which they have systematized in a series of monographs on the various peoples whom they studied. This book originally published in German in 1951 and intended for the layman has now been translated into French by Alphonse Tournier. The French ethnologist Georges Condominas has critically annotated the French edition and has supplied a bibliography.

From the earliest times the part of South-East comprising Malaya, Burma, Thailand, Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia has been the scene of north to south migrations of peoples and there in some of the densest jungles as well as in the isolated mountainous regions the primitive inhabitants were, when the Bernatziks studied them, practically untouched by advanced civilizations.

The three most primitive peoples described in detail in this book—the Moken of the Mergui Archipelago, the Semang of the Malay forests, the Phi Tong Luang of Northern Thailand, are all semi-nomadic. The last two peoples are nomadic bands of hunters but also collectors of forest produce which they barter for rice and tobacco, the first, the Moken, are however fishermen who live on boats and move about in search of fresh fishing grounds. The authors have also described the mode of life of some of the peoples of more recent migrations, such as the Meo, who practise a system of shifting cultivation, a system by which the land is cleared, fired, cultivated and then abandoned. The wastefulness of this method, though highly fruitful in itself, can be indulged only when there are unlimited resources of virgin forest. But these virgin forests are fast disappearing and therefore these tribes are gradually being forced to more sophisticated methods of production. Since agricultural practice in a primitive community is bound up with the social organisation, one danger, as the author notes, to which these peoples are becoming exposed is that with the introduction of intensive agricultural techniques the fabric of social life is threatening to break down.

The social structure of the primitive peoples is also breaking down with the spread of missionary

activities—activities of which Dr. Bernatzik is extremely critical. He emphasizes that the spread of Christianity in Asia is not a pure matter of belief, it is more significantly a movement to link the believers with European civilization which enjoys greater power and certainly greater prestige. The spread of Christianity and with it a new pattern of society and belief has led here, as elsewhere, to the deflation of the authority of the village chiefs and to a consequent bewilderment among the villagers on account of the disappearance of traditional leadership. Moreover, the rivalry of the various religious sects tends to engender discord amongst the converts, which in turn creates conditions open to much easy exploitation by political agitators.

To the layman the most interesting part of the book is perhaps the description of the months of searching over the most difficult country for the nomadic peoples. The Phi Tong Luang, which means "The Spirits of the Yellow Leaves," were so little known even among the local inhabitants that they were believed to be mythical. The Bernatziks were the first Europeans actually to live with them. The nomadic instincts of these people are so strong that they never stay in one place more than three or four days. The only way to study them was therefore to go on hunting expeditions with them. There are some exciting accounts of tiger and buffalo hunting with primitive weapons. The author also gives very vivid descriptions of long treks through the deep dark forests and of the eeriness of the jungle at night. The world of the Moken is a world inhabited by a galaxy of spirits. The Moken have fascinating legends some of which the authors have recorded.

The material for such studies is fast disappearing and therefore the data collected by these expeditions are of great value to scientists, historians and to administrators, to the administrators particularly, since they have to deal with the problems raised by the impact of larger economic development on peoples inured for centuries by habit and custom to a primitive and simple means of livelihood.

The book would have been more instructive and of broader interest if the author had given a general account of the racial affinities of the different peoples and of their migrations, particularly of his theory that the Polynesians and Melanesians are closely related to the Moi of Indo-China.

There are good photographs in the book but more maps would have made it much easier to follow the movements of the expedition.

MARGARET BASU

BENGALI

MAHAPRAN SIR DANIEL MACKINON HAMILTON: By Kalipada Bhattacharyya. Published by Sir Daniel Hamilton Estate, Gosaba, 24-Parganas. Pp. 80. Price eight annas.

Sir Daniel Hamilton, senior partner of Mackinon Mackenzie & Co. of Calcutta was not only a successful and wealthy businessman but also a man of sympathy for the poor peasants and the middle class people. He invested a huge sum to build up a Co-operative Colony at Gosaba which has proved a success after a good deal of struggle at its initial stage. There is now all-round progress in agriculture, small industries, health and education on co-operative lines and Gosaba is now a place of pilgrimage to co-operators all over India. The author could have done well if he made

use of statistics and figures in presenting the picture of progress of co-operatives at Gosaba. The book is well-written and deserves wide circulation among co-operators.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SAMAJ MANOVIGNAN: By Shivanand Sharma. *Friends Book Depot, Allahabad-1. Pp. 278. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The book deals with social psychology, scientifically and critically. It analyses the individual as well society with all their respective traits and tendencies and reactions in several situations and circumstances. The author has largely drawn upon standard works on the subject. His work, therefore, is packed with adequate information and interpretation. It is, consequently, a very good introduction to social psychology for those who have no access to the original standard writings of Western writers.

G. M.

GUJARATI

CHHAPANO BHUT: By Siavaksh E. Dalal. *Printed by the Mazda Printers, Bombay-1. 1950. Cloth cover. Pp. 232. Price Rs. 5.*

"Journalistic Ghost" is a special Reporter who in his progressive capacity turns up at odd places at odd times. Mr. Dalal began life as an office boy in a local journalist's office in Bombay and by his native intelligence ended in the Proprietorship and Editorship of his own paper. The vicissitudes of a Reporter's life in

and outside Bombay, Delhi and Rajkot are set out here with a raciness and a sense of humour peculiar to the community—Parsi—to which he belongs. He gives his own impressions of about fifty men who have been prominent citizens or writers or solid workers. A supplement gives his impression of the Race Course and the Racing Circles of Bombay. Altogether the book is both chatty and serious and would be liked much for its lighter side.

(1) **PRASHNOTTAR RATNAMALA** AND **JIVAN MUKTA ANAND LAHARI**: By G. Shankar M. Shastri. *Price three annas.*

(2) **ANTAR NIRIKSHAN**: By N. Porbandar. *Price Rs. 1.*

Both are published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1949.

The first book is Shankaracharya's series of questions and answers on philosophical subjects translated into simple Gujarati from the original Sanskrit. The second *Antar Nirikshan*, a treatise on self-inspection by Col. Sir Natwarsinghji, K.C.I.E., Maharana of Porbandar, the birth-town of Gandhiji. Its contents proclaim him to be a great thinker and philosopher. One wonders how such a silent but powerful thinker, who has buried himself in contemplation, meditation and introspection, could have become a cricket captain of international fame. The questions and answers are terse, crisp, to the point and enlightening. The Maharana is more fit to be a forest-dweller than a sitter on a king's throne.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Emerson's Advice to a Nation Growing Up

There can be no question that Emerson wielded a not inconsiderable influence in his lifetime upon contemporary thought. In an article in *The Aryan Path* Rodolphe Louis Megrz deals selectively with the practical side of Emerson's thought:

In 1803, when the United States of America was only half-grown geographically, and very young in national consciousness, the New England essayist and philosopher, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was born at Boston. He became a Christian minister, like his forebears, in a sect called Unitarian. At the age of twenty-nine he retired as a preacher, as his views on certain questions aroused the disapproval of the congregation. This was a good thing in so far as it encouraged him to visit Europe, especially England, and to study at closer quarters some of the sources of American civilization. Such a collection of pieces as *English Traits* shows how open-minded and independently critical he remained, and the long correspondence with several distinguished British writers which he afterwards maintained did something to broaden the views of each other in the two nations.

Emerson, after his return to America, still preached on occasion by invitation and also lectured as well as published many essays and prose studies. It became apparent that a mind of uncommon range and wisdom, by a remarkable mixture of poetry and philosophy, was presenting in a fresh way for the Western world of his time a wide range of ancient ideas that called for new and urgent application.

The student of Emerson's biography and writings will not need to be told that he owed much to Oriental and non-Christian sources of wisdom, but the attribute of his teaching that is most interesting today is its frequent application to the problems of the new nation of which destiny had made him a part. A crude, materialistic, vigorous nation; confident, though not always in the right way; alert to every means of "progress" towards its mighty future, although forgetful of, and often blind to, the more important values. In fact in their hurry and revolt Americans were in danger of adopting only the merely materialistic values of the industrial revolution that was transforming their parent civilization; and Emerson saw that their danger was the greater because they were removed from many of the artistic, literary and academic influences of their European background.

In *Essays*, a rich compendium of practically all his thought, there are many indications of his sense of universal religious wisdom—he was indeed a theosophist with a label, seeking truth everywhere, shorn of accidental and local trimmings. And constantly in these

comparatively disinterested essays he has something to say to the nation as if by the way, just as, when he directly lectured on the prospects and problems of growth of the United States, he passed from the practical and hortatory to the symbolic and universal. Let us glance through the *Essays* first. Although every page is seamed with wise sayings, it should be possible to select a few for adequate illustration. In "The Poet" he observes: "The Universe is the externization of the soul," by which he does not mean to exclude the intellect, but to establish a more complete truth. So in "The Over-Soul":

"All goes to shew that the soul in man is not an organ, but animates and exercises all the organs...is not a faculty, but a light."

And:

"What we commonly call man,—the eating, drinking, planting, counting man,—does not, as we know him, represent himself, but misrepresents himself. Him we do not respect; but the soul, whose organ he is, would he let it appear through his action, would make our knees bend. When it breathes through his intellect, it is genius; when it breathes through his will, it is virtue; when it flows through his affection, it is love."

His independence of sectarian and institutional creeds is further emphasized in more explicit passages, like this from "Self-Reliance":

"And so the reliance on Property, including the reliance on governments which protect it, is the want of self-reliance. Men have looked away from themselves and at things so long, that they have come to esteemthe religious, learned, and civil institutions, as guards of property, and they deprecate assaults on these, because they feel them to be assaults on property."

In the essay on "Politics" he urges that in dealing with the State we should not forget that its institutions are but human in origin and alterable to meet new circumstances, though politics are not to be treated with levity, as they rest on necessary foundations:

"Republics abound in young civilians, who believe that the laws make the city; that grave modifications of the policy and modes of living, and employments of the population; that commerce, education, and religion, may be voted in or out; and that any measure, though it were absurd, may be imposed on a people, if only you can get sufficient voices to make it a law. But the wise know that foolish legislation is a rope of sand, which perishes in the twisting; that the State must follow, and not lead, the character and progress of the citizen; the strongest usurper is quickly got rid of; and they only who build on Ideas, build for eternity; and that the form of government which prevails, is the expression of what cultivation exists in the population which permits it."

Although these disjointed extracts are deprived of the support of Emerson's associated ideas, they seem remarkably little "dated" when we consider all that has happened to the world since he wrote. Typical of all

the essays was one of the earliest, and longest, that on "Nature," which was published in the volume entitled *Nature: Addresses and Lectures*. This accepted the contemporary cult of non-human nature, as healer, restorer, inspirer, but transformed it into a recognition that "if there were good men there would never be this rapture in nature," for man, has fallen from his true estate though he is a kind of microcosm of all nature.

It was not long after writing *Nature*, about five years after his first European tour, that Emerson delivered several addresses and "orations" which appeared in the same volume. In some of these we see him at his best and most direct as adviser and inspirer of the young citizens of a young nation, urging them to avoid the stereotyped, and never to forget that man is an individual with the truth inside him and that he is essentially more than his particular function in the social system of division of labour. He complained that the organization of society changed men into things. In "The American Scholar," an oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, on August 31st, 1837, he reminded them that every year at their meeting the members of the Society really read one more chapter of the biography of the American scholar. He recalled an ancient fable that conveyed unlooked-for wisdom:

"... the gods, in the beginning, divided Man into men, that he might be more helpful to himself; just as the hand was divided into fingers, the better to answer its end.

"The old fable covers a doctrine ever new and sublime; that there is One Man—present to all particular men only partially, or through one faculty; and that you must take the whole society to find the whole man. Man is not a farmer, or a professor, or an engineer, but he is all."

In the distribution of functions, the soul, according to Emerson, becomes the dedicated intellect.

"In the right state, he is *Man Thinking*. In the degenerate state, when the victim of society, he tends to become a mere thinker, or, still worse, the parrot of other men's thinking."

The great influences affecting the spirit of the time include nature, which must be closely studied, not merely admired, and the mind of the Past best conveyed in books; but each age must write its own books, Emerson warns:

"The sacredness which attaches to the act of creation,—the act of thought,—is transferred to the record. Instantly the book becomes noxious; the god is a tyrant. The sluggish and perverted mind of the multitude, slow to open to the incursions of Reason, having opened, having once received this book stands on it and makes an outcry, if it is disparaged. Colleges are built on it. Books are written on it by thinkers, not *Man Thinking*; by men of talent, that is, who start with who set out from accepted dogmas, not from their own sight of principles."

In other passages of the same oration Emerson prevents any misconstruing of his meaning by emphasizing the kinds of diligent reading indispensable to the wise man, including "history and exact science"; but the colleges "must aim not to drill but to create":

"Gowns, and pecuniary foundations, though of towers of gold, can never countervail the least sentence or syllable of wit. Forget this, and our American colleges will recede in their public importance, whilst they grow richer every year."

With all his warnings to this youthful "dedicated intellects" who must help their nation, urging the sluggish intellect of the country to "look from under its iron lid

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and fill the postponed expectation of the world with something better than the exertions of mechanical skill," Emerson has no doubt that

"Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close. The millions that around us are rushing into life, cannot always be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests."

There are other pieces of exceptional interest and relevance to our theme in the same collection. One more example should be specially referred to "The Young American," a lecture read before the Mercantile Library Association in Boston, on February 7th, 1884. He refers to the "rage for road building" and other constructive labour, necessary to the progress of the young Union, but stresses at the same time that the arts and refinements of the old world will become of corresponding importance. So with the growth of Trade, potentially an instrument of liberty (particularly to the States when they declared and acquired independence of Britain), but bringing new problems of economic organization and of government.

Many times does Emerson, the poetic mystic and scholarly philosopher, surprise us by his attention to mundane but important facts of life in the new nation. He would no doubt have cordially approved the statement by Rudolph Steiner (unusually lucid and concise for him) in the Foreword to *The Threefold State*:

"Neither will what the writer says in this book find much favour with those who, under various forms, keep on reiterating the old phrases, that men must rise above their devotion to merely material interests and turn to ideals and to the things of the spirit. For the author does not attach much value to mere talk about the spirit, to speeches about a vague spiritual world. The only kind of spirituality which he is able to recognize is that which informs the actual life of men, and which shows itself not less active in mastering the practical tasks of life than in constructing a philosophy of the universe and of existence capable of satisfying the needs of the soul."

The only qualification necessary perhaps is that if Emerson had said this much he would immediately have shown that an adequate philosophy was truly a means to the wise cultivation of material resources.

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Contributions of Indian Women to Spiritual Life

In the course of an article in *Prabudha Bharata* Dr. Roma Chaudhuri observes:

From time immemorial, India has been a land of supreme spiritualism and lofty humanism, a land whose civilization started with reverential bows to the One Universal spirit, as the Inner Soul, and Permeating Essence of all; a land that invoked Him through numerous mantras, hymns, rites and rituals, and philosophical discourses. It is, indeed, a matter of legitimate pride to us that in these spiritual strivings and achievements of this holy land, our beloved Mother, her sons and daughters have taken equal parts and contributed equal shares, right from the beginning, and continued to do so all through her chequered history down to the present age. In this very short article, it will be our endeavour to give a very brief account of the spiritual achievements of Indian women throughout the ages, by taking just a few examples only for each age.

During the Vedic Age, as well known, women enjoyed the same social privileges as men, and were given the very same opportunities for education, secular and spiritual. As a result, women also reached the heights of spiritual perfection, and showed others the way to it by their superb utterances and inspiring hymns. Hence the *Rig-Veda*, the oldest treatise in the world, has won the distinction of being the only Scripture in the world that includes the works by women saints. Thus, out of the total ninety-nine *Risis* or Seers, the products of whose divine vision enrich this peerless treasure-trove of perfect wisdom, the *Rig-Veda*, as many as twenty-seven are women according to the celebrated *Brihad-devata* of Saunaka, an *upakramanika* or introduction to the *Rig-Veda*. The renowned commentator of the Vedas Sayana, has added two more to the list. Of course, a doubt has sometimes been raised that all these so-called Women Seers are not actual historical personalities, as some of the names (e.g. Urvasi etc.), are mere mythological, while some others (e.g. Ratri etc.), stand for natural phenomena and others still (e.g. Sraddha etc.) for mental qualities. However, there can be no doubt with regard to the fact that during the Vedic Age, there did flourish some great Women Seers who enthralled the land by their sublime hymns of great spiritual, as well as literary, value. Otherwise great scholars, like Saunaka and Sayana, would not have, in later times, referred to them unreservedly as *Risis* and *Brahmavadinis*.

Of all the women seers of the *Rig-Veda*, the most celebrated is Vac, daughter of the great sage Ambhrna. She illustrates how a woman can reach the highest pinnacle of knowledge and realization, and be blessed with the beatific vision of the Unity of Godhead and the Identity of the Absolute and the Self. Thus, having directly realized the non-difference between her own self and God and the Universe, Vac sings out in ecstasy:

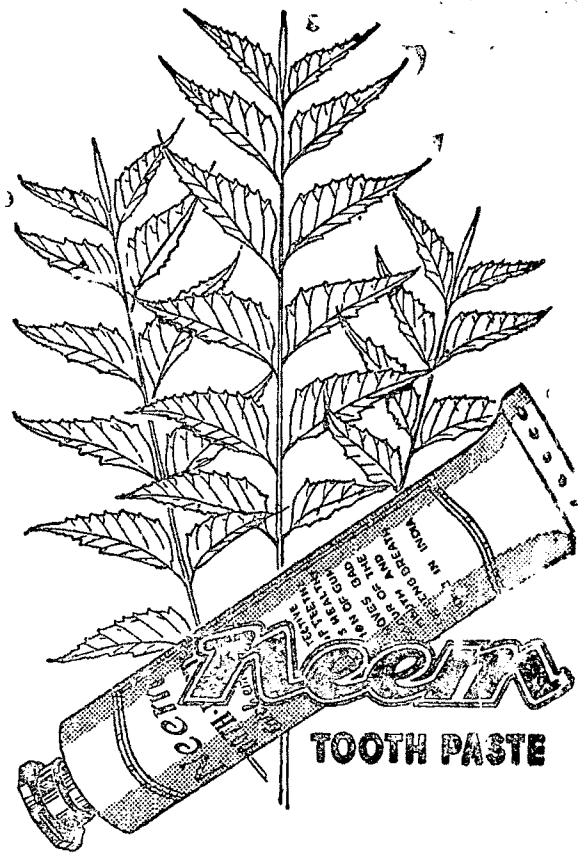
"I roam about with all the Gods, sustaining and holding them as their very Soul. He who eats food, he who perceives things, he who breathes, he who hears words—does so through me. I have entered into the Heaven and the earth as their Inner Controller. I have entered into all beings and all things, pervading them all. Creating everything, I blow on like the wind. Beyond the Heaven, beyond the earth am I—so vast is my glory and greatness!" (*Rig-Veda* 10. 125.)

During the later Vedic Age, viz., that of the Upanishads, this glorious tradition of the supreme spiritual

achievements of Indian womanhood continued unabated and with full vigour; and as a result, we meet in the ancient and celebrated *Bṛihadaranyaka Upanishad* (3. 6. 38.) the great woman scholar and sage Gargi, daughter of the sage Vācaku. She attained such heights of philosophical wisdom, that she did not hesitate to challenge, in the open Court of King Janaka, even the great sage Yajñavalkya. When Yajñavalkya claimed to be the 'Brahmistha' or the best knower of Brahman, he was challenged, and closely questioned on deep philosophical topics, by eight great sages and scholars, of whom Gargi was the only woman. But it was this single woman, amongst the galaxy of the great philosophical luminaries of deep spiritual realization, who had the courage and confidence to question the great sage twice. Not only that, on the second occasion, when in reply to her questions, Yajñavalkya explained to her the great and deep conception of *Akshara-Brahman*, Gargi gladly accepted him as the 'best knower of Brahman.' All these go to show that Gargi was regarded as one of the leading intellectuals of those days, and held in very high esteem for her profound scholarship, wisdom, and philosophic vision.

The Epic Age, too, presents to us a bright picture of women's all-round progress and perfection. In the *Ramayana*, there are several instances of saintly women, attaining highest realization and illumination through their own spiritual strivings. The case of Sramani Sabari is specially exhilarating. For, she was by birth, a low caste woman, yet became a great ascetic, honoured by other great ascetics. That women of these days could attain the height of spiritual perfection, even under adverse circumstances, is amply demonstrated by Sabari, an inspiring figure in the annals of women's ascetic achievements in India. Here asceticism should not be taken in its ordinary connotation, for Sabari was full of divine love also.

The *Mahabharata*, largely honoured as the 'Voice of India,' contains a still larger galaxy of women saints and scholars of old. Drawn practically from all spheres and strata of society (e.g., royal ladies, ordinary housewives, saints, scholars, ascetics) these great and holy women shine like brightest stars in the horizon of immortality. Perhaps, the brightest of the bright is Sulabha, a princess by birth, but an ascetic by choice, a wandering mendicant, and a roving spiritual ambassador, who, though born and brought up in the midst of the glory and grandeur of a royal court, renounced everything for the sake of *moksha* and roamed about alone from place to place in quest of Truth. Her philosophical discourses with the saintly and scholarly king Janaka bear ample testimony to her deep spiritual insight, supreme realization, and perfect wisdom. Another incomparable saintly woman was queen-mother Gandhari whose sublime maxim: 'Victory comes to the righteous alone' has passed into classics. Strong and courageous, indomitable and unbending in her iron will and firm conviction, Vidura, another queen-mother, dissuading her defeated son from a life of shame and slavery, and encouraging him to 'do or die,' has given us another inspiring saying which, too, has passed into immortality: 'It is better to flare up even for a moment than to smoke for ever.' To live is to live like a man, to bring forth the Divine in all: hence a short, glorious, full-blessed life is far better than a long life of ignorance and indolence: life is to be measured and evaluated, not by its length but by its depth, not by the number of years lived but by the area covered by inspiring spiritual influence. It is this message of courageous and fruitful



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life which is the message of the Epic Age, an age resplendent with heroic men and women who faced the problems of life with full self-confidence and vigour, and never bowed down to Fate in meek submission. It is, indeed, a matter of legitimate pride to us all, that the contributions of the women of the *Mahabharata* to the building up of a *Maha Bharata*, a Great India, have indeed been as magnificent and as enduring as those of men.

Gandhian Nationalism

J. C. Kumarappa writes in the *Gram Udyog*

Perika :

In the *Peace News* of London, 28th October 1955, Mr. Peter De Morny writes that in spite of Gandhiji's selflessness and lack of any personal ambition: "he had no outgrown nationalistic ambition and used his *Satyagraha* or Truthpower for the express purpose of winning his country of the foreign raj."

This statement discloses a gross misunderstanding of Gandhiji's approach. *Satyagraha* serves a double purpose. Gandhiji's ambition was universal release from bondage. It was to release the oppressors as well as the victims. The oppressors were under the bondage of selfishness and greed. By bringing about a change of heart in them his ambition was to release the British from the wrong position into which material avarice had led them, as under a vice. Such a change in the British would give them a right attitude towards the rest of the human family and they on their own, would withdraw from a false position. This, we trust, is what has happened. Anything else would be like snatching a rat from a cat's mouth. It would hardly be dignified, on the part of Mr. Morny, to make such a claim for his country. This would have been the position had the British been driven out of India by violence with superior arms. In the latter case, the aftermath would have bred hatred and ill-feeling. But our experience is that there is mutual goodwill and friendliness between Indians and Britishers as a result of our winning our independence through *Satyagraha*.

On the other hand, every nation should be able to make its special contribution to the family of universal brotherhood and fulfil its God-given mission. It can only do so if it had freedom to hold its head erect and express itself in its own way. Colonialism is inimical to serve this purpose. To shake oneself free from such a crushing burden is one's duty to oneself. This cannot be construed into a narrow nationalism which is completely foreign to Gandhiji's nature.

We trust Mr. Morny will appreciate this dual function of *Satyagraha* and not its superiority over one-sided "victory" brought about by violence.

Again, we feel, Mr. Morny's reference to Jesus and Caesar is based on a misconception of the oft-quoted cryptic statement, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." This text is usually used by States to justify their exactions and accepted as the final word by the prelates of the church.

With this tradition Mr. Morny contends that Jesus was solely concerned with the inner purification of a person and not with displacing Caesar. This is completely off the track. To say that Jesus did not concern himself with dethroning Caesar and to conclude therefore that Gandhiji's political activities were not in alignment with Jesus' teachings is wholly wrong. It is based on the misconception of the basic statement because of a casual reading of it or by wilful shutting off of one's higher understanding.

Let us look at the context. The Pharisees and Scribes, who did not relish the work done by Jesus in awakening the Jewish people's conscience against the wrong teachings of these leaders, wanted to place Jesus in a dilemma by asking him a question. "Is it lawful to pay tribute to Caesar?" If he answered it in the positive he would go against the susceptibilities of the Jews, if in the negative he would be liable to be prosecuted under the Roman Law as one who was stirring up sedition. So Jesus gives a conundrum and defeats their purpose. Taken legalistically, the Romans can take no exception to that statement and the Jews can construe it to be a direction to pay the temple due in "God's money" the shekel. But the deeper implication that applies for all time is missed by Mr. Morny and the Church protagonists. This is contained in the second part of the answer which was not part of the question asked.

"Render unto God the things that are God's." What are the things that belong to Him who made all the world and all that in them is? Naturally, the only possible reply is "everything." That means Caesar himself, being a creature of God, is on the same footing as an earthworm. Therefore he cannot be placed as a competitor to God in claiming a share in the loyalty due to our creator. All being God's there is no residue left for Caesar who may even be construed to be an usurper except in so far as he helps with God's own dispensation. So Caesar gets nothing on his own rights. This brings Man into direct relationship with God his Maker.

Besides, in comparing Gandhiji with Jesus we have always to bear in mind that the earthly ministry of Jesus was barely over three mortal years in which he had hardly time enough to lay down his first principles. Even his close disciples were able to grasp his teachings only dimly as through a glass. He left them promising the Comforter who will lead them into all the Truth. But Gandhiji's work extended over 45 years—nearly two generations! In this time he had the opportunity of, not only enunciating his principles, but also of applying them to the various walks of life. Even then we are still only groping on. So it will be stultifying Jesus to limit him strictly to the fields of his operation.

We shall be doing the correct thing by extending his principles beyond the spheres in which he himself operated, and imbued in his spirit, exploring other fields. Anything less will dishonour him or place his teaching beyond human reach as impracticable.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Chen Shu-tung on Transformation of Private Industry and Commerce

Following are excerpts from the report on the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce made at the meeting of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on January 31st by Chen Shu-tung, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., Chairman of All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce and formerly member of the board of directors of the biggest private publishing house, the Commercial Press, and of the National Commercial Bank:

Since the second half of last year, the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has entered a new stage of development. This new stage is marked by the fact that transformation which, in the past, chiefly took lower and intermediate forms of state capitalism, is now chiefly taking the higher form of state capitalism. It has developed from joint state-private operation of individual factories and shops in the past to joint state-private operation of whole trades. Thus the scale of the transformation has been greatly expanded and accelerated.

The understanding of the industrialists and businessmen has been growing constantly. Nevertheless, quite a number of them lacked clear understanding or had apprehensions about how specifically exploitation and classes would eventually be eliminated and capitalist ownership changed to ownership by the entire people in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic of China. Chairman Mao Tse-tung's directive enabled the industrialists and businessmen to see the essence of exploitation and the great future of our country. It has also enabled them to understand that only by joining their own future and that of their children with that of the country can they step on to a bright path and take their destinies in their own hands. For this reason, not a few industrialists and businessmen have criticised their past exploitation and their erroneous thinking, either at meetings or in the press. Deen-going criticism and self-criticism have taken place among the industrialists and businessmen. One group after another, they have pledged to do meritorious work for transformation and to reform themselves into working people living by their own labour. A high tide of socialist transformation of private industry and commerce has therefore emerged throughout the country.

Our great capital, Peking, was in the forefront and was the first to complete joint state-private ownership of all capitalist industry and commerce.

Following Peking, such cities as Tientsin, Sian, Shenyang, Chungking, Wuhan and Canton around January 20th completed their work of joint state-private operation of all the private industry and commerce and entered a socialist society. When the joint state-private operation was achieved, the various cities were overwhelmed with unparalleled joy. Everywhere in the

streets or lanes was decorated with lamps and lantern streamers and everyone was in great joy. The sound of gongs and drums and the bursts of fire-crackers continued day and night.

On January 20th, Shanghai, the biggest industrial and commercial city of China, victoriously completed joint state-private ownership of all capitalist industry and commerce and entered the socialist society.

In the high tide of transforming capitalist industry and commerce, many industrialists and businessmen in various parts of the country have taken specific meritorious actions in the course of transformation, and there have been a number of impressive instances in this connection.

The majority of industrialists and businessmen actively made preparations for joint state-private ownership. In the high tide of joint state-private ownership by whole trades, many industrialists and businessmen increased their investments as an expression of confidence in transformation.

What has characterised the high tide of transformation is the initiative taken by active elements among the industrialists and businessmen in various cities. This is also the important factor making it possible to complete joint state-private ownership by whole trades ahead of schedule speedily and well.

It is noteworthy that members of the families of many industrialists and businessmen showed great enthusiasm for the high tide of the transformation movement. Their efforts have been an important impetus in promoting the industrialists and businessmen to accept transformation.

The wives of many industrialists and businessmen have enthusiastically encouraged their husbands to go further to accept the transformation. In particular, the younger generation in the families of the industrialists and businessmen were all the more jubilant because their parents went a step further to accept transformation. The parents of quite a number of industrialists and businessmen, who have already reached to old age of 60 or 70, but were inspired by the new things in the new society, actively encouraged their sons to accept the transformation.

The great victories scored by China on various fronts since liberation were miracles unthinkable in the past. The enthusiasm shown by the industrialists and businessmen in vying with each other for transformation and many other impressive instances were also unthinkable in the past. These miracles could only appear in the great era of Mao Tse-tung, and only with the superior people's democratic state power.

The great victory of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was not accidental. It has been achieved because of certain objective tendencies. In the past six years, very great achievements had been made in the steady development of state capitalism. Before the end of last year, approximately 80 per cent of capitalist industry in term of value of output has been processing or manufacturing for the state. By the first half of 1955, the number of joint state-private industrial firms reached approximately 2,000. The value of their

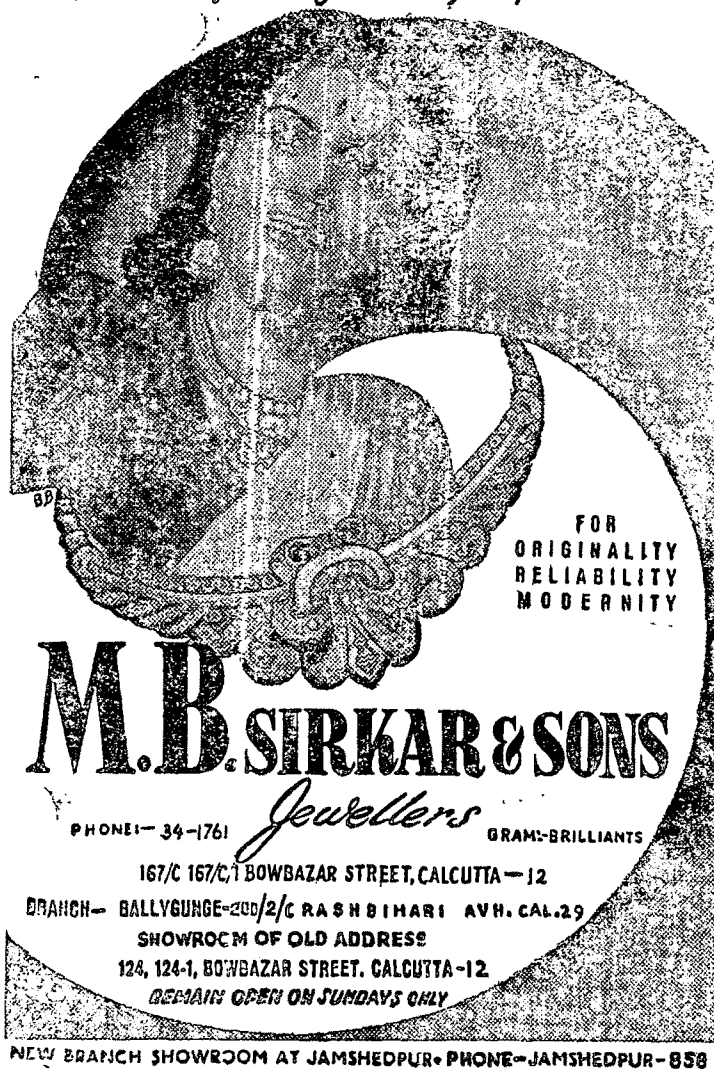
output, compared with that of private industry, was almost in the ratio of three to five. In the field of commerce, practically all leading privately operated trades supplied by the state and co-operatives had in the main changed over to state capitalist commerce engaged in handing distribution by contract for state companies or become state sales agents. The high tide of transformation of capitalist industry and commerce has expanded because of the experience gained from the existing basis.

The correct leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung is an important factor in the tremendous victory of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. His teachings help us to see clearly that the bureaucrat capitalists, that is, the comprador bourgeoisie, is a ferocious enemy of the people, while the overwhelming majority of the national bourgeoisie can accommodate themselves to socialist transformation and can be transformed by peaceful means. His teachings help us to see clearly that in the period of socialist

revolution, the people's state power led by the working class does not adopt the policy of expropriating or squeezing of the national bourgeoisie, but the policy of "buying off" their means of production through state capitalism as a transition. Under this policy, part of the profits produced by the working class for a certain period to come will still be allotted to the industrialists and businessmen. They will be allowed sufficient time in the process of transforming their enterprises to prepare themselves and to change themselves from exploiters into working people living by their own labour as their enterprises become owned by the people as a whole. This is a mighty inspiration to all patriotic industrialists and businessmen and has greatly heightened their willingness to follow the path of socialism.

The brilliant achievements in the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce have fully proved the correctness of the policy of the Chinese Communist Party and the People's Government toward the

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capitalist industry and commerce. Since the beginning of planned construction, the state has adopted toward private industry and commerce the policy of overall planning all-round re-arrangement and intensified transformation so as gradually to guide private industry and commerce into the orbit of state plan. All the industrialists and businessmen of China were informed of the contents of Vice-Premier Chen Yun's report and this has greatly strengthened their confidence in accepting the transformation. Since the beginning of the new stage in transformation, the state has adopted the method of turning whole trades into joint state and private ownership. It has accepted all applications for joint ownership by private industrial and commercial enterprises that are willing to be transformed and has helped the individual handicraftsmen and small trades both in cities and the countryside to organise themselves and proceed to co-operation.

The great victory of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce testifies to the mighty power of the leadership of the working class.

Since liberation, workers in private enterprises have constantly urged the capitalists to improve management and accept socialist transformation.

In the present changeover to joint state-private ownership by whole trades the mass of workers are jubilant and enthusiastic. They have formed youth shock-brigades which work tirelessly to assist the industrialists and businessmen to take inventory and assess capital and other necessary work. At the same time, they are making energetic efforts to do well in production and management. They have also pledged that hereafter they will further raise their working enthusiasm.

The great success of socialist industrialisation and agricultural co-operation throughout the country have provided the material basis for the rapid emergence of the high tide in the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce. The speedy growth of the socialist sector of the economy has not only brought about the daily shrinking of the proportion of non-socialist sectors in the whole national economy, but, at the same time, made it possible for the state to accelerate the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

The great victory won in agricultural co-operation has now overcome in the main the spontaneous capitalist influence in the countryside and cut the peasant's link with capitalist industry and commerce. Thus industrialists and businessmen realise that it is necessary for them to go further in accepting transformation.

Due to the continuous guidance given by the Party and the Government, many industrialists and businessmen have considerably enhanced their understanding in varying degrees. In addition, the industrialists and businessmen, pushed forward by the mass of people, urged by the mass of workers and encouraged by their families, have become increasingly active in taking the road of socialism. The advanced industrialists and

businessmen and the progressive core among them are increasing steadily.

Internationally, the power of the camp of socialism led by the Soviet Union grows daily and the enthusiasm of all the people in building socialism increases constantly. Under the impact of the great education of reality, the industrialists and businessmen's willingness to follow the path of socialism and go further on accepting transformation, like a mighty wave, has become a nationwide high tide, once Chairman Mao gave the guidance and directions.

Now, together with the people of the whole country, the industrialists and businessmen have triumphantly entered socialist society.

Our socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is carried out in two distinct stages. First, changing capitalist enterprises into state-capitalist enterprises, and then changing these enterprises into state enterprises in order to carry out the changeover from capitalist ownership into ownership by the entire people as provided in the constitution. By carrying the present stage one step further it will be possible in the future smoothly to change state-capitalist enterprises into state enterprises owned by the entire people and transform the capitalists from exploiters into working people living by their own labour.


There remain now many urgent tasks to be carried out. The first is the task of taking inventory and assessing capital.

Then comes the question of "fixed interests." In the past, the method of distributing profit in state capitalist enterprises was by apportioning it in four shares. Around one-fourth of the total profit was distributed to the capitalists. Since the changeover of whole trades to joint state-private ownership, this method of apportioning profit into four shares is no longer completely applicable, and it has been necessary to adopt the method of "fixed interest."

In addition, personnel arrangements is an important question. The policy of the state is to make proper arrangements for all industrialists and businessmen, to employ them according to their abilities and give them every possible consideration. In certain trades in some places, the work of placing of personnel has already been completed. According to the reactions of most of the industrialists and businessmen, they are all grateful for the considerate care of the state. Many have been placed in new positions and are happy beyond measure; they feel it a great honour.

As to the three questions mentioned above, the committees at all levels of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference should work closely with all department concerned, continue to apply the method of consultation, reflect all shades of opinion and help the organs of state to fulfil the current tasks speedily and successfully.

The transformation of the enterprises is only one aspect of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry




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and commerce. The other is to change the industrialists and businessmen. Changing them means primarily, ideologically re-educating the industrialists and businessmen, mainly through encouraging and organising them to study. To change them gradually from exploiters to working people of a socialist society who live on their own labour, it is necessary to raise their ideological understanding of patriotism and collectivism; to help them to study politics, world events and state policy, to help them to become proficient in the management of socialist enterprises and all the necessary techniques of production, and to encourage them to take part in political and social activities, and in this way raise still further the level of those in industrial and commercial circles who are already outstandingly active and constantly bring forward new activists.—*Hsinhuc News*, January 31, 1956.

Women "The Superior Sex?" Now Vote in all but 15 Countries

A wave of progress over the past sixty years has left the world with only fifteen countries where women still do not have the right to vote, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization reports in the issue of the *Unesco Courier* (No. 11, 1955) :

Unesco's survey shows that the wave began as a trickle in 1893 when New Zealand gave women the right to vote; only three other countries had followed suit by the beginning of the First World War. Today, the picture is completely reversed, especially in Europe and the Western Hemisphere where only four nations do not give political rights to women (Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Paraguay, Nicaragua). The other 11 countries : Afghanistan, Cambodia, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Yemen.

In their march toward equality at the polls, in education and in professional careers, women have had to fight the tradition that they are the inferior sex. But there is more poetry than truth in this tradition according to Prof. Ashley Montagu, American anthropologist who writes:

"The scientific fact is that women are naturally superior to men and I would add that we should all be grateful . . . for in this fact lies the hope of the world."

This superiority, explains Prof. Montagu, can be traced back to the sex chromosomes—known as the X-and-Y chromosomes—which determine the sex of a child. An XY combination means a boy, while a double X produces a girl. "The Y-chromosome is an incomplete chromosome," he points out, "It is to these deficiencies that almost all of the male's trouble and inferiorities can be traced."

How are women superior to men? Here are Prof. Montagu's answers :

—They live longer : "Everywhere, the expectation of life is higher for females than males."

—They are healthier : "Women are more resistant to most diseases and recover from them more frequently than men. For every female stutterer, there are five males. For every female colour-blind person, there are sixteen males. Bleeders disease occurs almost exclusively in males."

—They are better "shock absorbers" than men : "During the last war, it was shown that women under imprisonment and concentration camp conditions withstood these conditions better than men. Almost any-

where, in any country, for every female suicide, there are three male suicides."

—Women are more intelligent, too : "It has been known to intelligence-testers that, on the average, boys are not as bright as girls. At five years of age when most children enter school in the United States, girls are mentally two years ahead of boys and retain this advantage throughout their school years."

Then why is still a man's world? Prof. Maurice Duverger, French political scientist and author of a Unesco study, *The Political Role of Women*, has surveyed women's political and social rights in Norway, France, Germany and Yugoslavia and points out that the higher the level of leadership (whether in political, civil service, trade unions or business), the lower the level of women's influence.

Male opposition is responsible for this situation, but, writes Prof. Duverger, it would not have succeeded so well if it had come up against vigorous assistance from women. "The small influence of women in State leadership is largely due to women's own inertia," he points out. A French public opinion survey conducted two months after municipal elections in 1953 showed that 60 per cent of the men questioned said that they had been interested in the election results for the entire country, as compared to only 30 per cent of the women.

"While women have legally ceased to be minors, they still have the mentality of minors in many fields, particularly in politics, they usually accept paternalism on the part of men," states Prof. Duverger, "When things go wrong, women blame their husbands, and men blame the government."

An international picture of the enormous strides which women are making throughout the world is presented in the *Unesco Courier* by Mrs. Alva Myrdal, formerly of Unesco's Department of Social Sciences and now Swedish Minister to India, Burma and Ceylon. One of the many examples she cites is Japan where, in 1945, women had no civil rights whatever and where, today, there are 15,000,000 registered voters.

"Whatever our opinion may be about what is occurring today, one thing seems clear to me," writes Mrs. Myrdal, "It is impossible for any society to call for advanced or to embark on the road to technological advancement and, at the same time, continue to maintain women in their old inferior roles."

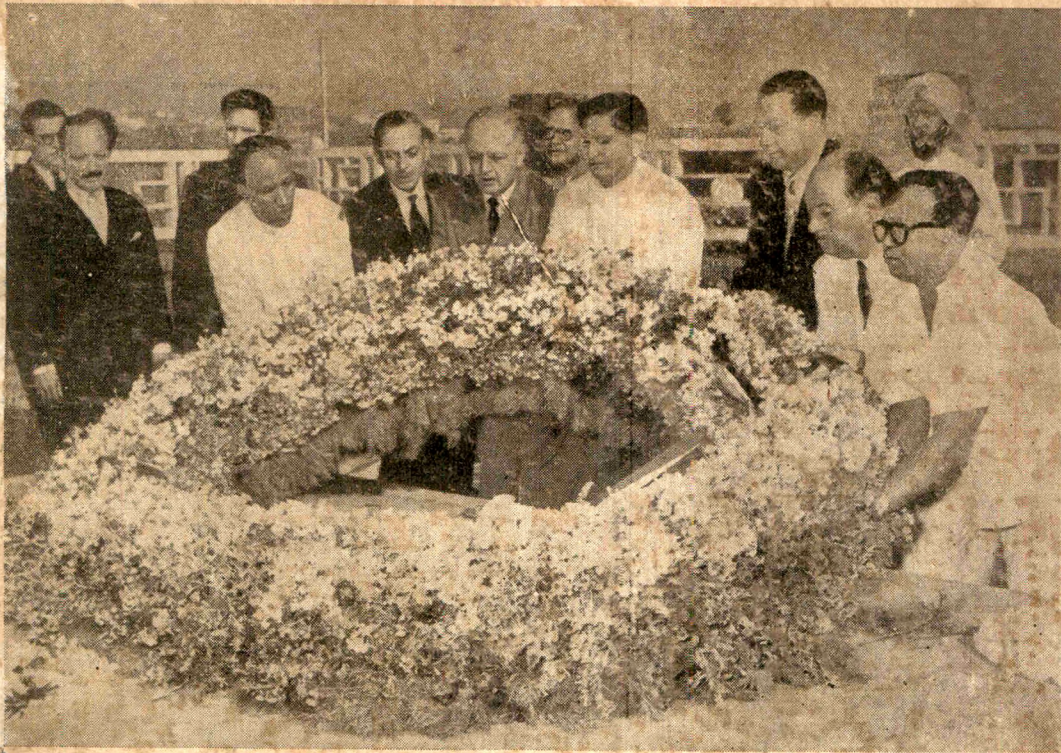
An article by A. H. Hourani, lecturer at Oxford University, tells of relatively little known changes taking place in the status of Arab women. "In all except the most backward regions," he comments, "polygamy has practically disappeared and the veil is rapidly going."

The *Unesco Courier* also offers some new facts about "the woman who does nothing all day long but stay at home"—the housewife. In France, for example, she works a 70-hour week. Social research experts in the United States, Great Britain, Belgium and France have discovered that housewives also handle and administer more than 60 per cent of the money in these countries.

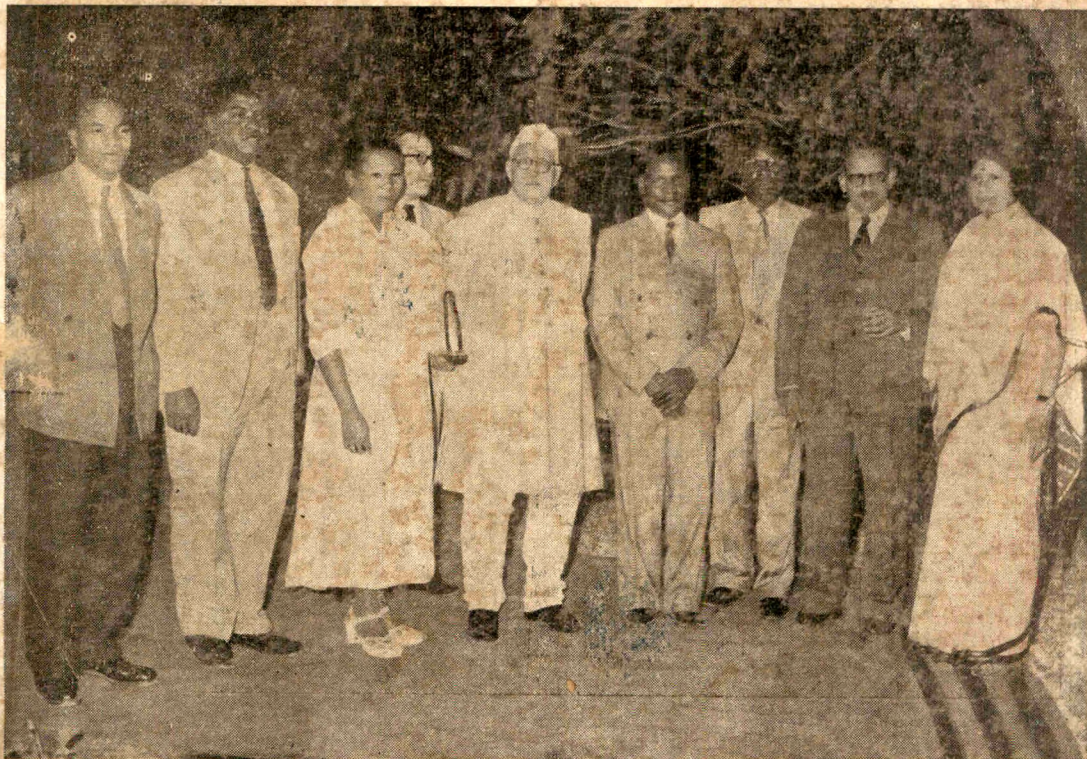
Unesco's Survey does not show that the women of the world are on their way to achieve the same position as those of the Tehambuli tribes of New Guinea where, reports the *Unesco Courier*, women go off all day to work as family breadwinners while husbands stay home to play the flute and decorate themselves with flowers. But the survey does show that they have come a long way since the treatment of women was summed up in this adage:

"A dog, a woman, a walnut tree.

"The more you beat them, the better they be."



M. Christian Pincau, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of France, laying a floral wreath on the Samadhi of Mahatma Gandhi at Rajghat, Delhi



Members of the Uganda Goodwill Mission with Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister in the External Affairs Ministry, at a reception held in their honour in New Delhi



THE LAST JOURNEY
By Priyaprasad Gupta

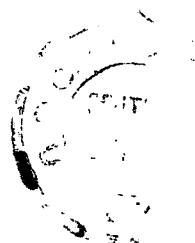
Prabasi press, Calcutta.

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WHOLE No. 592

NOTES

Yesterday, To-day and Tomorrow

The official budget year has come to a close and the budget for the next year is on the anvil. We have a whole host of officials who are putting forward claims for achievements—real or illusory—in the immediate past, and one or two who are putting forward plans for the future.

Achievements and Plans! The First Five-Year Plan, that is coming to a close, provides the main basis for the kudos claimed and the Second Five-Year Plan is the plan for the future. In both cases there is the same jumble of figures, without any clear statement in the terms of humane considerations, mental, moral or physical.

The First Five-Year Plan has failed miserably along those considerations. Education is at a lower level, considered in the proper terms of knowledge, *Gyan* and *Vidya*, as laid down by the ancients of all civilization, than it ever has been in the past four decades. Moral turpitude is rife in the country at all levels, official and non-official, and the lowering of Moral Values has reached calamitous proportions. Physically, this nation of C_3 persons has now been further downgraded, thanks to total lack of protective diets for 99% of the children over the past decade. No progress of any significant nature has been made in the matter of Public Health and Hygiene. The cities are as full—if not fuller—of slums as ever and the villages as full of misery as perhaps never before, despite a few show places furnished up by community projects. And yet we have the Planning Minister prating of achievement, *measured along the figures of moneys spent!* Elsewhere we give a Privy Council case to show what money does.

The poor have become poorer and the rich have become richer, that is known all over the country. Indeed, we would say that no honest man today has the chances of survival, unless he is prepared to sacrifice all his principles. But that is of no account, for money has been spent according to Plan, it matters little to what purpose.

Education has become expensive to a frightful extent, thanks to governmental indifference. Education means books and books mean paper, and paper has been taxed and controlled and wasted in thousands of tons, by the wiscacres at New Delhi. The result is that a text book costs five times that of pre-war rates, and a general knowledge book, of history, travel, popular science and normal information and relaxation, costs anything up to seven-fold the pre-war price. But what does that matter, the Central Government will prove—also by the figures of moneys wasted—that Education has progressed beyond measure!

We have no doubt that the Second Five-Year Plan will also show the same measure of success unless humane considerations prevail, in terms of cash, moral degeneration and misery.

In the meanwhile our neighbours are active. They have managed to secure the sinews of War, and are actively trying out the media of aggression, propaganda and armed skirmishing. We have let loose a spate of words, to what purpose, it is yet to be seen. Our prestige as a nation has not as yet reached anywhere near the impressive status that would justify most of the talk. The Dulles Press Conference, at New Delhi on March 10, made that point clear.

The Kashmir Issue

The first clear comment on the Kashmir issue, by Pandit Nehru in the Lok Sabha, came in the following news report :

"The Prime Minister, who was intervening in the debate on the External Affairs Ministry's Budget demands dwelt at length on Indo-Pakistan relations and specially the Kashmir issue. A notable omission was the question of Goa.

"Regretting that Pakistan should have joined the SEATO and Baghdad alliances because of her hostility to India or her desire to negotiate with India from a position of strength, the Prime Minister once again offered to make a no-war declaration.

"He made no secret, however, of how India's confidence in outside arbitration had been shaken after the Kashmir experience and said that the no-war declaration should be unconditional.

"In his reference to Kashmir, which was obviously meant for Western ears in view of the SEATO declaration on Kashmir, Sri Nehru traced the whole history of the dispute and narrated how Pakistan had put forward 'a tissue of lies' to cover its aggression on Kashmir and had ultimately to admit it.

"He did not deny that after Kashmir's accession to India in order to end a state of suspended animation India had promised to honour her international commitments but pointed out that since then many developments had taken place calling for a reconsideration of the issue.

"Amongst these new factors he mentioned the U.S. military aid to Pakistan, Pakistan's participation in the SEATO and Baghdad Pacts, creation of one unit in Western Pakistan and the constitutional changes in Kashmir and India. He reminded that no change in the Indian Constitution regarding Kashmir could now be effected without the concurrence of that State.

"Apart from all these, he felt that India should desist from taking any step which might upset the scheme of things in Jammu and Kashmir. In this connection he regretted the remark of the Pakistan President that the people of Kashmir were living in 'abject slavery' and disclosed that lured by the prosperity of the State, many people from occupied Kashmir were eager to come over to this side.

"He also repudiated the Pakistan President's allegation that for every border incident India was to blame and said that in all the ten incidents on the Jammu border, investigated by

the U.N. observers, Pakistan had been found to be at fault.

"In a brief reference to the situation in East Bengal he said that the migration had hurt that province also because 'quality' had come out. He believed that East Bengal had now begun to realise the mistake."

India and Kashmir

The recent statement of Pandit Nehru on Kashmir, though belated, categorically states for the first time what should have been stated much earlier. The Prime Minister declared on March 28, in the Lok Sabha that in the present situation all talks of plebiscite in Kashmir were beside the point. He said that the question of plebiscite could arise only after Pakistan had completely withdrawn her troops from the occupied area of Kashmir. While admitting that after Kashmir's accession to India, India had promised to honour her international commitments but since then many events had taken place calling for a reconsideration of the issue. Amongst these new factors, he mentioned U.S. military aid to Pakistan, Pakistan's participation in the SEATO and Baghdad Pacts, creation of one unit in Western Pakistan and the constitutional changes in Kashmir and India. He rightly pointed out that no change in the Constitution of India regarding Kashmir could now be effected without the concurrence of that State. Pakistan has joined SEATO and Baghdad Alliance because of her hostility to India or her desire to negotiate with India from a position of strength. The Prime Minister ruled out arbitration to settle Indo-Pakistani dispute over Kashmir, because India's confidence in outside arbitration had been shaken after the Kashmir experience.

The Prime Minister went a step further in his Press Conference on April 1, when he made it clear that he did not want a plebiscite to be held in Kashmir now. The accession of Kashmir to India is legal and complete as it has been accepted by Kashmir through her representative Kashmir Assembly. We are glad that Pandit Nehru has now said correct things regarding Kashmir and it is time that India's stand on the issue should be spoken in an unequivocal language. Over Kashmir issue we have been insisting that India should state categorically that Pakistan has no locus standi in the Kashmir affair, simply because she is an aggressor in Kashmir and there cannot be any agreement with a country which

has invaded a country forcefully and has since then kept it under control by force. It is gratifying that Pandit Nehru's latest statement is to the same effect. Pakistan now proposes to raise the issue in the U.N. General Assembly, because she knows that the Kashmir issue is likely to be vetoed in the Security Council by Russia. In this connection Pandit Nehru stated approvingly that the statement made by Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Krushchev was legally, constitutionally and practically completely correct.

In the Kashmir dispute, two things may be invoked and these are the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus* and Prescription. Over the doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus*, the noted jurist Dr. Hall states as follow: "Neither party to a contract can make its binding effect dependent at his will upon conditions other than those contemplated at the moment when the contract was entered into, and on the other hand a contract ceases to be binding so soon as anything which formed an implied condition of its obligatory force at the time of its conclusion is essentially altered." (International Law, Sec. 116). International agreements are entered into under certain implied conditions which are equally part of the "valuable consideration" which forms the essence of the contract. In Kashmir, since accession, many events have happened and these call for a revision of the commitment given by India. Further, this is a matter entirely between India and Kashmir and no third party has any interest whatsoever in Kashmir. When India accepted the accession of Kashmir, Pakistan was no party to that accession and none of her proteges, who are now championing her cause evidently to serve their own purpose, was a party to that. Whether there should be a plebiscite in Kashmir or not is a matter for India and Kashmir. We fail to understand how Pakistan can enter into the picture save and except that he is an aggressor in Kashmir. Pakistan's position in Kashmir has been accepted not by the United Nations as a whole, but by a few Great Powers that control the destiny of that International Circus.

What is the meaning of the term Plebiscite? Plebiscite means decision of a whole people given by direct voting. That can be done in a general election. Pandit Nehru stated that Jammu and Kashmir would soon have a new constitution and a general election would be held in the State on that basis at a future date. In other words, the general election in Kashmir on a new Constitution

will amount to a plebiscite to all intents and purposes. India can also invoke the law of Prescription. Prescription in International Law means "the acquisition of sovereignty over a territory through continuous and undisturbed exercise of sovereignty over it during such a period as is necessary to create under the influence of historical development the general conviction that the present condition of things is in conformity with the international order." Prescription in International Law has the basis of considerations of stability and order.

The Kashmir issue inevitably calls for a revision of India's foreign relations, whether she will it or not. Hitherto India belonged more to the Anglo-American bloc than to the Russian one. But the Kashmir and Goa issue must change that relationship by implications. India is against all regional Pacts like SEATO and Baghdad Pact to which the UK and the USA are parties. That is the first step towards estrangement from the USA and the UK. Mr. Macdonald, the British High Commissioner, rightly pointed out that there was a slump in the Anglo-Indian relationship. Since then there came the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and Lord Mountbatten to retrieve that deteriorating position in the Anglo-Indian relationship. Lord Mountbatten endeavoured to bring back the old friendship between these two countries and Pandit Nehru the other day averred that there was no "crack" in India's relationship with Britain. But that is a false picture and temporary patchwork will not tie the bond that is fast loosening itself by the impact of world events.

War seems inevitable—that may be within ten years or twenty years. That war will be a war between Communism and the others, between USA and UK on the one side and Soviet Russia on the other. Britain's affinity is with the USA and she is bound to do that. In international affairs Britain will be compelled to play second fiddle to the USA and the former's foreign policy must be deemed to have been tied to the latter's. When it is a question of choice between India and the USA, Britain will have to choose the latter, because neither Britain can turn Red nor can she afford to lose the remnants of her colonies and dominions. Britain knows full well that without the assistance of the USA, she cannot retain her colonies during the next war.

India cannot afford to give up her claim over Kashmir and Goa. The USA seems to be com-

mitted to defend Pakistan's interest in Kashmir and so also Portugal's interest in Goa. Russia is the only power that may help India in her effort to regain Goa and the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir. By the force of events India is being pushed gradually towards Soviet Russia and that is inevitable, unless the Anglo-American bloc sees its way towards rectifying its present policy towards India. The commitment of American aid to Pakistan has tied that country to Pakistan and Britain is automatically strangled to that unholy entente. India must seek her ally elsewhere in this diplomatic warfare and against the nebulous designs of the USA. The Anglo-Indian relationship is bound to deteriorate notwithstanding Pandit Nehru's bold declaration that no crack has occurred to our mutual relationship. In the next war, Britain and India may have to part ways, if not earlier.

Refugees from East Pakistan

Sri Mehr Chand Khanna, Rehabilitation Minister at the Centre, gave the following information in the Union Parliament regarding the influx of refugees from East Pakistan :

"Replying to a motion by Sri Upendranath Farman and Sri K. M. Vallatharas for eliciting information regarding the large-scale migration of Hindus from East Bengal, Sri Khanna gave details of the efforts made by India to check the exodus and to prove that the Pakistan Government had not been co-operative in the least in regard to this matter.

"He said that the migration of nearly a quarter million people in 1955 had added tremendously to the heavy problem of migrants who had come to India previously and whose relief and rehabilitation was a most difficult task. The resources of West Bengal were already over-taxed and efforts were being made to locate lands in other states for the rehabilitation of the displaced.

"The Rehabilitation Minister said that the main reason for this increasing exodus was the feeling of insecurity and economic discrimination under which the minority community lived. A contributing factor was the recent statement by the Pakistan High Commissioner in India suggesting that the only effective way to stop migration was to seal the border. This was a negative approach to the problem and the result of such statements had been a feeling of panic among the

minority community and an increase in the rate of migration.

"The question, he said, appeared to be engaging the attention of the Pakistan Government, and their Foreign Minister had recently expressed a desire to discuss the matter further and take necessary action."

Pineau on S.E.A.T.O.

The March 12. issue of the *Time* contained the following news-item regarding the French Foreign Minister's views on the doings of France's allies. It would be remembered that M-Pineau made similar remarks at New Delhi recently :

Two hours after the French Government announced that Premier Guy Mollet had accepted an invitation to visit Moscow in May, his fellow Socialist, Foreign Minister Christian Pineau, unburdened himself of the sharpest talk any French foreign Minister had directed at France's allies in years. Addressing the Anglo-American press club, Pineau declared bluntly : "I am in deep disagreement with the policy followed by the Western nations during recent years." His thesis : "We have made an enormous mistake in deciding that security problems were the only international problems we had to worry about. Of course we need security. Of course we need strong armies. But need we talk of this all the time ?"

Pineau pointed to SEATO's recent naval and military maneuvers off Thailand. "Do you really think that, in this atomic era, this handful of ships will give the impression that the West is the leader of the world? The Bulganin-Khrushchev tour of India was much more important. If the West does not make an effort in the direction of propositions of peace, we shall be beaten first on the field of propaganda and then on that of policy."

As for France's friends, "despite alliances, despite affirmations, there is no real common French-British-American policy today," said Pineau. He pointed to North Africa, where France blames much of its troubles on tacit U.S. support of the Arabs. "We have the impression that behind certain forms of rebellion and of propaganda there lurks the desire of certain powers to swallow up the heritage of France." Turning on the Americans present, he reproached the U.S. for backing the government of Ngo Dinh Diem against the French : "Each time you Ameri-

cans do something wrong, you do it with the best of intentions. If there had been full co-operation on Indo-China, we would not have arrived where we are today."

Pineau spoke with the acerbity of a Frenchman sick and tired of hearing only criticism from his allies. His speech made no stir in France, a nation oppressed by long years of retreat and humiliation, and all too ready to believe that the fault must be somewhere else.

Budget and Inflation

The prices in India have tended to rise since the publication of the new budget of the Union Government. There has been a sharp rise in prices of cloth, yarn, gur, sugar, gold, silver and equities. The upward spurt in prices is partly due to speculative motive of the people and partly due to the budgetary influence. The Central Government has so far done nothing to arrest the trend in price increase. The step to control the forward deal in raw cotton has failed to have any significant effect on ready cotton prices. The market is apprehensive that control may be imposed on cloth production and its prices, and as has been the practice in India, prices go up by speculative activities whenever there is any rumour of control. During the past six months, the prices of cloth and yarn have been steadily on the increase. The Chairman of a cotton mill of repute in India has sounded a note of warning in view of the rising prices of cotton textiles. He has observed that the present trend in price increase must necessarily affect India's exports of cotton textiles. Cotton textiles occupy the third place in our export trade and the rising prices will handicap India in world competitive market. It is time that the Government of India take immediate steps to import raw cotton in sufficient quantities and encourage establishment of a few more cotton textile mills.

The sugar industry has not lost the opportunity to reap a higher profit out of the speculative market. The other day some sugar magnates in India uttered sugar-coated words to the effect that India is almost self-sufficient in sugar production and therefore India needs not import sugar from abroad and that the indigenous production will be stepped up so as to meet our internal demand. It is queer to note that whenever there is a shortfall in domestic production of sugar and whenever the Central Government allow

import of this commodity, the internal production sharply increases. Relying on this trend, the Government next year stops import of sugar, and the industry quickly seizes this opportunity to reduce production with a view to earning windfall profits against higher demands, no doubt placing the blame for this shortfall in production either on the low production of cane or on low sucrose content of the cane or on both. In 1952, the production of sugar stood at 14.94 lakh tons; then it came down to just 10 lakh tons in 1953. To meet the internal demand Government had to import sugar from abroad. In 1955, there was record production of sugar (15.86 lakh tons). The internal demand is somewhere between 18 lakh to 20 lakh tons. Twenty-five new sugar mills are going to be established in the near future. But before they come into operation, the Government should continue to import sugar, otherwise the internal prices will increase further.

There has also been a steady rise in the prices of foodgrains. Last year there was some surplus in production of foodgrains. The authorities should have built up a buffer stock within the country, instead they allowed export and the result is that the inventory surplus has fizzled out and the market has tended to be speculative. This is also true of certain other agricultural commodities, like raw cotton and oil seeds. Last year when there was some surplus production of raw cotton, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari advised the Government to purchase the surplus stock so as to build up a reserve and this would have enabled the Government to control the market in the face of shortfall in supply. But this advice was not accepted by the Finance Minister as he refused to provide funds for the purpose.

The Government of India's export policy was rather too hasty in so far as it encouraged export of commodities essential to domestic production and consumption. Rice was permitted to be exported to the extent of 2 laks tons, and out of this quantity nearly 60,000 tons have been exported. Now the domestic market is feeling the shortage of rice, the result being a steady rise in price. Instead of conserving the surplus stock within the country, the authorities encouraged export by relaxation of qualitative and quantitative restrictions on exports and export duties were reduced. Shipments of foodgrains and other agricultural commodities were freely allowed even with the full knowledge that floods have

devastated a large part of the country with consequential loss in production.

The Government have been suffering from a complex of over-complacency in their economic policy. The First Five-Year plan witnessed a downward trend in prices, notwithstanding deficit financing to the extent of nearly Rs. 500 crores, amounting to one-fourth of the total expenditure. They do not place any importance in gold, the Finance Minister holding the view that gold is not an essential commodity for the life of the community. But theory does not always tally with the stern realities. There are more things that happen in reality than can be dreamt of in theory and it is that gold prices tended to have sympathetic movement with the rise in general prices and gold itself also influenced the general prices. Gold is the barometer of prices in a backward country like India and it is a known secret that 50 per cent of India's gold requirements come by smuggling, the entire margin of profits on that account going to the pockets of the few dealers and speculators. There is no reason why the Government should not allow import of gold from the sterling area countries against licence. That will have two effects—it will lower the prices of the yellow metal within the country and the State will earn a considerable amount on account of customs duty.

What is the cause of this inflationary spurt in prices? Some have observed that this is due to the deficit financing already done and which is also going to be done under Second Five-Year Plan. But this is too hasty a conclusion unwarranted by facts. During the First Five-Year Plan the country well absorbed the injection of extra money to the extent of nearly Rs. 2,000 crores, and in spite of that prices tended to move downwards. The excess income of the community was well matched with the rising tempo of production and supply of consumer goods. The turning point came with the new budget. No doubt from the first week of November 1955 to the last week of March 1956 there was an increase in the circulation of notes by Rs. 147.91 crores, as against Rs. 115.24 crores in the corresponding period of the last season. But the money market has not showed any tendency of easy money conditions, rather it is just the opposite. The money market is tight and it is passing through a stringency. In Bombay the call money rates range between $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent, and in Calcutta it is as high as $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent, that is, this is higher

than the Bank rate by $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. It is strangely unusual that call money rates should exceed the Bank rate, which is comparatively a long-term rate than the call money rate.

This is indicative of the fact that speculative hoarding is accelerated, encouraged with the short supply of essential commodities including food-stuffs. Thanks to the Finance Minister's myopic view regarding consumption which has induced him to impose excise duties on commodities essential to the daily use of life. The price level is sympathetically attuned and that common fact has been ignored by our Finance Minister in his latest budget. Knowledgeable circles aver that with the help of loans at a cheaper rate of interest advanced by co-operative banks, farmers or middlemen are conserving stocks of commodities for the purpose of speculation for higher prices in the future. The Reserve Bank should forthwith raise its rates on loans to co-operative banks and the latter in turn should be asked to raise their lending rates so that speculation is discouraged.

Commercial banks should also raise their lending rates. There has been a great disparity at present between the borrowing rates and lending rates of commercial banks. The commercial banks should now think over to raise their short-term lending rates.

The nature of present inflation is not so much monetary as it is commodity-induced. That is, the tempo of rising prices is to be attributed not to the deficit financing, but to speculative withholding of stocks of essential goods with the help of cheaper bank credit. This situation has been aggravated by the faulty outlook of the Government in not taking sufficient steps to build up stocks for the purpose of speculative shortfalls. The Government decision in allowing the export of essential commodities has helped the inflationary spiral. The taxation measures of Central Government in so far as they are directed towards restriction of consumption, have caused their prices to go up by creating inducements for their hoarding.

The Finance Minister thought that less consumption will lead to increased savings, but the result has been inflationary. The Taxation Enquiry Commission also held the view that to raise increased savings during the Second Five-Year Plan, consumption should be discouraged by direct and indirect taxations. But there is many a slip between the theory and the practice,

between the idea and the reality, and neither the Finance Minister nor the Taxation Enquiry Commission could foresee that it was a blunder to tax essential commodities. The inflation will raise the prices and as a result the cost of living and the cost of production are bound to go up. The export prices will tend to rise thereby affecting export trade of India.

The immediate step to fight the rising prices is to raise the Bank rate and also the rate of lending to co-operative societies. The Reserve Bank's bill rediscounting rates should also be raised. Co-operative bank should enquire thoroughly the purpose of loans that will be extended to the farmers or the middlemen and loans against hoarding need be stopped. Instead of taxing the essential commodities, the Finance Minister could have raised the rates of estate duty. Rates in India are much too low in comparison with the rates of other countries, like Ceylon and Pakistan. Higher rates for estate duty will not affect consumption nor present capital formation. Besides, the slab system of estate duty lessens the incidence and to have the desired effect and to increase the income for the State, the slab system should be changed to step system, as it is in the United Kingdom.

Treasury Bills tend to have inflationary tendencies. The increase in the issue of Treasury Bills is a fundamental cause of inflation as it tends to increase the liquidity ratio of commercial banks. The liquidity ratio is the proportion of liquid assets to total assets and since Treasury Bills enable bank to turn the bills into cash they can afford to allow their cash ratio to fall below the conventional minimum limit. Withdrawal of Treasury Bills will compel the banks to revise their short-term lendings and a fall in such lendings will to a great extent arrest speculative deals.

Taxation in India

The new budget which has been, and is still being, considered in the Lok Sabha, has certain aspects which is overlooked by our politicians in their enthusiasm for the socialistic pattern. We append the following remarks to show the other side of the medal :

At the recent General Meeting of the Bank of India, the Chairman, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Baronet, C.B.E., K.C.I.E., made the following remarks :

I should like to refer to the Central Budget introduced in the Lok Sabha a week ago on the 29th of February. I must confess to a pessimistic view of the proposals. I might describe the Budget as one to make the poor poorer and the rich poor. Leaving aside China, about which we know little, India is one of the poorest countries in the world and, taking into consideration the size of its population, it has fewer rich men than any other country. We hear a great deal about the equalisation of wealth. Since the landed classes have already been more or less wiped out, I presume that this can only refer to the industrialists. Does the Government mean that these industrialists are of no service to the country and that they do not give employment to hundreds of thousands and serve the country in many other directions of which the Government are well aware. There is now an impression that the intention of the Government is to wipe out the private sector. Every obstruction is being placed in its way and when it is unable to fulfil the targets contemplated for it in the Five-Year Plans the Government may have an excuse for nationalising all industries.

The Budget has introduced the principle of double taxation. Dividends paid by companies above 6 per cent. per annum on their paid-up capital are to be taxed. No distinction is made between companies recently brought into existence and companies of long standing which have been managed with efficiency and honesty and which have conserved their resources, enabling them to pay high dividends. All companies have already paid tax on their profits from which dividends are paid. This undoubtedly is double taxation, but, worse still, companies which intend to capitalise some of their accumulated profits on which they have already paid tax will have to pay tax again and companies which have already issued bonus shares from reserves which have been taxed will be taxed again on the dissolution of the companies. Again, the withdrawal of the rebate of 1 anna in the rupee on undistributed profits will cause a further drain on the resources of companies. The penal tax of 8 annas in the rupee on undistributed profits of investment companies which come under Section 23 A of the Income-tax Act will preclude any ploughing back of their profits for financing the further development of the country. Also, it appears that all companies which come under Section

23 A will fall within the mischief of the new dividends tax. This is grossly unfair as it means that the Government compel such companies to pay a very high dividend and then tax them for doing so.

Few outside India realise that India can claim to be one of the highest taxed countries in the world. The Government have included all sections in the orbit of taxation by increased excise duties. Formerly, deficit financing was unheard-of by financiers and economists. India has put into operation very big schemes by deficit financing. The success of these schemes will depend upon good administration and no corruption. It appears to me that the success of deficit financing mainly depends on getting value for money. Maladministration and corruption may frustrate the very foundation of deficit financing. I am only speaking aloud what I know thousands are saying in ordinary conversations.

New Refinery Near Calcutta ?

Last month this news-item appeared in the daily press. In view of the fresh impetus given to the search for petroleum, by the Union Government, it is of interest to our readers to get a full picture of the other details :

New Delhi, Feb. 15—The Assam Oil Company, it is reliably learnt, has recommended to the Government installation of a 1 million-ton refinery near Calcutta, which it prefers to Digboi.

The proposal is based on the company's assessment that the Naharkatiya oilfield is potentially capable of sustaining an oil refinery of that size.

The company also calculates that Naharkatiya's 1 million ton a year of crude oil and what is being produced in Digboi can substantially meet India's oil requirements.

Before the estimate becomes a reality, however, a great deal more drilling and development will be necessary in the new oilfield. The need for this cautious approach is borne out by the results of drilling operations which have, so far, been carried out.

A total of 11 wells has been drilled, out of which three have proved complete failures. This supports the study of the geologists that the oil-bearing rocks in the Naharkatiya region are complex and contain, what they call, "many faults."

Nevertheless, the confidence of the experts has advanced to the stage when the construction of a new big refinery can be actively discussed,

The problem of transporting the crude oil to Calcutta has been examined in some detail. It would involve laying down a pipeline, 650 miles long linking Calcutta with the oilfield. Though a difficult and costly operation, it has been declared a feasible proposition by the company's advisers.

The alternative to a pipeline is transport of crude oil by barges across Pakistan. The success of such a project would depend on continued good relations between the two countries.

Calcutta is specifically preferred to Digboi and other possible places on the ground that the present refinery in Digboi more than meets the need of Assam and the new refinery, among other reasons, must be near a potential consumption centre of its products.

The proposal will be examined in detail by the Government, I understand, after the formation of a rupee company in which the Government, according to existing commitments, will have a 33-1/3% share.

Negotiations for this purpose between the Government and representatives of the company are expected to be resumed in a few weeks.

The effort still is to float the new company before the end of March as agreed in the terms of the recently granted prospecting licences.

In the meantime, the Government awaits the report of the Russian experts who are busy writing it in Calcutta.

The Stanvac Company, operating in West Bengal, is expected to start exploratory drilling in the Bengal basin in a few months.

Co-operative Movement in Bombay

The annual report of the Bombay State Co-operative Bank for the year 1954-55 reveals that as the Apex Bank of the co-operative movement in the Bombay State and as a balancing centre for the central and urban banking institutions not only in the Bombay State but also in other States in India, the Bank has to conduct all types of banking business and to provide all banking facilities such as maintaining of current accounts, collection of bills or remittance of funds, purchase or sale of shares and securities. The Bank has also to assume responsibility for providing an institutional agency for financing agriculture through co-operative credit institutions in the State of Bombay. The Bank has 69 branches spread all

over the States. The authorised share capital of the Bank is Rs. 1.5 crores including contribution from the Central and State Government to the extent of Rs. 1 crore.

It may be recalled here that the All India Rural Credit Survey has put great emphasis on the role of the co-operative movement in the economic regeneration of India. The Survey states: "Co-operation has failed; but Co-operation must succeed." Bombay leads with 8.3 per cent as the proportion of families borrowing from its co-operatives. The next highest percentage is 4.9 per cent for Uttar Pradesh. In terms of quantum of co-operative credit, Bombay is ahead of other States. A family in Bombay gets on an average more than Rs. 28 from the co-operatives; whereas no other State reaches even Rs. 9 per family (in Punjab and Madras are Rs. 8.8 and Rs. 8.9 respectively). As for the proportion of co-operative borrowing to total borrowings, Bombay's record is 16.2 per cent, the next highest is that of Punjab's with 4.2 per cent. Bombay leads in credit for short-term agricultural production with 42.1 per cent of total borrowings as compared with 5.9 per cent in Punjab and 1.2 per cent in Madras. Mainly on account of the adoption of crop loan system, the advances by primary agricultural societies in Bombay have sharply increased since 1946-47. In 1951-52, the amount of such advances stood at Rs. 8.12 crores. In India, the average owned funds per co-operative society amounts to Rs. 4,529 in Bombay, Rs. 2,293 in the Punjab and Rs. 2,080 in Madras.

In Bombay, during 1955, there were 1123 agricultural societies with a total membership of 9.29 lakhs. The total agricultural loans advanced amounted to Rs. 13.85 lakhs. The average loan per member is Rs. 148 and the average membership per society is 84. The system of providing agricultural loans is beset with various difficulties. The system of granting loans to the cultivator at the level of primary credit society is characterised by:—insistence on a form of security which results in credit aligning itself to ownership of property; indifference to recovery, the failure to recover in turn leading to low turnover of funds; inattention to purpose, productive or other, and failure to relate recoveries to production; consequent on all these, both a tendency to be

complacent about supervision and, in actual fact, a very large lack of supervision, and necessarily the increase in outstanding dues. The agricultural credit that is extended nowadays generally falls short of right quantity, is not of the right type, does not serve the right purpose and by the criterion of the need, often fails to go to the right people.

Bombay has tried to amend many of the aforesaid drawbacks of co-operative credit in India. She has introduced what is known as the crop-loan system. The crop-loan system has the following main features: (i) production is the main purpose of arrangement for finance, (ii) short-term loans are given on the basis that a crop is anticipated, and not primarily that a title exists; (iii) the loans are related in amount to the estimated outlay on raising the crop, and (iv) the recoveries are made, as and when the crop is sold, from the proceeds of the sale. The loan should, to the maximum extent possible, be disbursed in kind. The success of the crop-loan system is largely dependent on co-operative marketing, on which also depends effectiveness of recovery.

The shift in the mode of providing agricultural finance from security to anticipated crop and from creditworthiness to "creditworthy uses" of the credit, and the provision of agricultural credit on a scientific basis of a crop-loan system to the medium and small cultivator, especially in the economically backward and co-operatively underdeveloped areas or to the backward communities or sub-marginal cultivators, presupposes considerable amount of planning and supervision over the use of credit and loyalty and discipline among the borrowers and within the institutions providing such credit. Community projects and National Extension Blocks have been introduced and are being worked in most of the districts served by the Bombay State Co-operative Bank. The system introduced in the Kolhapur Community Project areas of providing timely manure doses for crops and marketing of the produce through co-operative agencies has given very encouraging results both in increasing agricultural production and encouraging co-operative effort and community action.

The Bhakra Project

We hear a lot about our achievements in the 1st Five-Year Plan. But we hear but little about

the sordid side issues that this plan has brought in its train. The following news-item, taken from the *Hindusthan Standard* is an eye-opener in that respect :

"March 29.—The Public Accounts Committee of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha in its report on Bhakra Project said that it was high time that a probe be made into the working of the Board.

"The Committee also recommended 'with all the force at its command' that a high-power committee independent of the Bhakra Control Board and with public representatives on it should be set up to go into the working of the Project as early as possible.

"It may be stated that last year, too, the Public Accounts Committee had made a similar recommendation which said : 'Independent enquiry into the overall working of the Bhakra Canal's administration and Project administration is an indispensable necessity.'

"The Committee's report presented to the House today by its Chairman Chaudhuri Rizakram suggested immediate reconstitution of the Bhakra Control Board with some legislators on it.

"The Committee also complained of poor attention from Government department which, it stated, did not attend properly and promptly, to its questionnaires and frequently replies were delayed inordinately and even the replies were both 'vague and unsatisfactory.'

"The Committee expressed concern over the fact that irregularities and defects which were pointed out last year had again been repeated and that there was no noticeable improvement either in regard to the preparation of firm estimate of the project, or in regard to observing uniform schedule of rates in all circles of the project or in the execution of work which continued to be executed without sanctioned estimates.

"The Committee observed that relaxations like permission to recruit raw, inexperienced and unqualified engineers from unrecognised institutions for the project work by the Board brought in its trail irregularities and malpractices and that the Board failed to preserve financial control over the construction work which resulted in large-scale pilferage and corruption.

"Pointing out huge items of 'infructuous expenditure,' the Committee wondered how the average cost of the survey per mile of the Bhakra main line came to Rs. 590 while for other canals it ranged up to Rs. 147 only.

"Recommending a number of enquiries, the Committee suggested that the responsibility for infructuous expenditure should be fixed on the erring officers and expenditure amounting to lakhs of rupees, incurred by the Government in paying off demurrage should be recovered from officials through whose fault or negligence such loss occurred."

Aid to Asia

The *Time* Newsmagazine gave the following figures regarding aid to Asiatic countries by the U.S. as compared to that by the U.S.S.R. :

From Washington last week came the first statistics on the much-touted Communist economic offensive.

The big item; of a promised \$500 million in economic credits and grants-in-aid the Communists have delivered \$23.4 million—between 4% and 5% of their promises. The U.S. has sent \$37 billion abroad since the war, including \$4.3 billion to the Middle East alone.

Other sample comparisons :

India. Since 1950 the U.S. has made outright gifts of about \$266 million, plus loans of \$272 million; the Communists have contracted to build a 1,000,000-ton-capacity steel plant on an \$80 million to \$95 million loan at 2½% to be repaid in twelve annual instalments.

Pakistan. Since 1951 the U.S. had made gifts of \$290 million and loans of \$65 million; the Communists have advanced 200 tons of tubing and three mobile electric stations for drilling rigs.

Egypt. Since 1952 the U.S. has given \$62.3 million in technical and development aid, recently offered \$55 million more to help start the new Aswan Dam; the Communists have made several offers of aid, including "a new railway network" and a \$5,600,000 electric plant.

Indonesia. Since 1949 the U.S. has given about \$142 million; the Communists have offered an \$8,000,000 loan to rehabilitate a sugar mill.

Despite their negligible showing on actual aid delivered, the Communists are getting political results that are far from negligible. In many underdeveloped and new countries, the climate of opinion is strongly anti-capitalist, especially where capitalism can be linked to memories of imperialism. Government-to-government aid from the U.S. does not necessarily become an argument for free enterprise. Government-to-government aid from Moscow fits ideologically into the

planned economy, anti-free-enterprise prejudices of those countries.

Economically, Red aid to underdeveloped countries cannot hope to rival U.S. activity. Propagandistically, the Communists are getting a lot of mileage out of each ruble that goes abroad.

Freedom for Malaya

Recent News from Malaya indicate great jubilations in the prospect of liberty. The following piece of news that reached us in February gives the background to that :

"Liverpool, February 7.—Malaya will be granted full independence within the British Commonwealth on August 31, 1957, it was announced today.

"The news was given to 300 Malayan student-teachers at Kirkby near here by Tengku Abdul Rahman, Malaya's Chief Minister, who for three weeks has been negotiating with the British Government.

"Prelude to full independence will be self-government starting from now.

"The Malayan prince told the teachers who are studying at a college for Malaysians that the prosecution of the eight-year-old war against Communists in the rubber jungles would now be under the control of a Malayan Minister.

"He announced his mission to London had obtained control of finance and of internal defence and security.

"Plans for giving Malaya complete independence will be set out in a 7,000-word report to be published tomorrow.

"The report, following a three-week conference, is ready for signature by Tengku Abdul Rahman and Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, British Colonial Secretary.

"According to conference sources today, the 52-year-old Tengku has been granted practically everything he asked for."

De-Segregation in U.S.A.

The Supreme Court of the U.S.A. has decreed all segregation on the basis of colour to be against the Constitution. But prejudice dies hard—even in the U.S.A. In the first weeks after the dictum a coloured young woman got a most offensive reaction to her attempt at admission to the Alabama University.

The *New York Times* commented vigorously as follows :

Is it "white supremacy" that is being demonstrated when a mob of a thousand demonstrators turns on one mild-mannered young Negro woman, guilty of no other act than attending classes which the Supreme Court of the United States says she has every right to attend, and pelts with rocks and eggs the car in which she is being spirited across the University of Alabama campus? Is it "respect for law and order" that is being shown, when the trustees of that university, instead of standing up to this threat, vote to suspend not the instigators of the outrage but the young Negro woman herself?

We are glad to note some opposition among the University of Alabama students to what has happened there, and we honor them for this opposition. They are better defenders of the good name of their university than the rock-throwers. For the rock-throwers themselves there is only this much to be said : they are not the real makers of opinion in this sorry business; they are merely immature young men who have taken a tip from some of their more irresponsible elders who happen to be in positions of high power. What does a man like Senator Eastland expect to happen, on the student level, when he declares that a unanimous decision of the Supreme Court is the result of "left-wing brainwashing" of that court? This is what he is asking for. This is what he gets.

We congratulate those students of the University of Alabama who have raised their voices in protest against mob violence on the campus and in Tuscaloosa on the issue of race segregation in education. Thus far the resolutions and petitions have not come to grips with the central issue, but they have indicated that some considerable number of the students realize clearly that mob rule is not the way to approach that issue.

This is sound thinking. The segregation problem is complex and difficult. It will not be solved this week or next. But it will never be solved if the method of approach is that which has been seen in Alabama. This is the first time that force and violence have become part of the question. It should be the last time. Some of the questions involved are legal, some sociological, some moral. No mob ever had the equipment to solve that sort of problem. Mob action, moreover, intensifies the problems in the emotional field precisely for those persons who are least able to contribute to their solution.

An Important Judgment

The Queen's Bench Division of the Privy Council has delivered recently an important judgment which has revealed the way in which Indian Sea Customs Act is evaded to the detriment of national honour. The facts of the case are as follows :

In September 1948, K. C. Sethia (1944) Ltd. agreed to sell and deliver to Regazzoni 5 lakh jute bags c.i.f. Genoa at 248 shillings per 100. At that time India was the largest and cheapest producer of jute bags and South Africa a large consuming country, but, by way of political protest and on account of a dispute which had arisen between India and South Africa about the treatment of Indian nationals in South Africa, the Indian Government had, by regulations made under powers conferred by the Sea Customs Act, 1878, prohibited the export of goods to South Africa direct and sought to avoid indirect shipments, infringements of the regulations making the goods liable to confiscation and the shipper to a penalty. Consequently, South Africa was restricted in its purchase of jute bags and was prepared to pay high prices for any made available. Both the plaintiff and the defendants were well aware of the prohibition and that it would be unlawful for a shipper to export either directly or indirectly to South Africa, but they sought to take advantage of the situation, and both parties contemplated and intended that the contract goods would be shipped from India and be made available in Genoa for resale to the South African buying agency.

In an action by the plaintiff Regazzoni claiming damages for non-delivery of the jute bags, it was held by Justice Sellers, on Dec. 19, 1955, (i) that the Indian regulations prohibiting the export of goods to South Africa could not be regarded as either penal or revenue enactments (notwithstanding that infringement of the regulations might involve penalties and fines which would enhance the revenue) nor were they confiscatory or political laws such as the courts of this country would disregard, and therefore the English Courts would recognise that in September-October, 1948, it was illegal for an Indian shipper to export jute bags from India when the ultimate destination was the Union of South Africa.

(ii) That the business venture contemplated by the parties was dependent upon someone getting out of India the prohibited commodity which would enable the plaintiff to make a profit out of the demand of South Africa; that the contract, to the knowledge of both parties, could not have been performed without the performance in a foreign and friendly country of an act which was illegal by the law of that country; and that, therefore, the contract was invalid and unenforceable in the English Courts.

[Regazzoni v. K. C. Sethia (1944) Ltd., (1956) 2 W.L.R. 204]

Physical Education and Students

Commenting on the reported refusal of the Principal of a Poona College to send for the Intermediate Examination a batch of thirty boys otherwise qualified on the ground that their attendance at physical training classes had been unsatisfactory, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes that such an action was without precedent and there was even room for doubt "if it can be justified in law."

In the absence of sufficient details it is not possible to decide the merits of the Principal's conduct but it is inconceivable that any Principal could so behave without the backing of definite regulations governing such cases.

In this connection references to existing facilities in our educational institutions for the promotion of physical training naturally come to mind. Here the findings are none-too-remarkable. Most of the educational institutions have no open spaces worth mentioning to enable the students to practise games, etc. About the implements and accessories for physical education and training the less said, the better. Moreover, generally no stress is given on the importance of physical training. Whatever efforts are there are chiefly limited within building up sports teams for tournaments and very little serious efforts are ever made to impart a systematic course of training. The general conditions of the country contribute not a little to this appalling condition and the *Bombay Chronicle* rightly traces the reasons for the inadequate provisions of physical training in educational institutions to the living conditions of students, the distance they have to cover to get to their colleges, the varying hours of classes resulting in overcrowding and the general poverty

of the majority of the students rendering them unfit to undertake physical exercises after the long hours of the classes are over.

Patna Police Firing was Unjustified

The one-man Judicial Commission set up by the Government of Bihar to enquire into the disturbances in Patna in mid-August last year in which one student had been killed and five others injured as a result of firing by the police, held that the police firing near the Bihar National College on August 12, 1955, "transgressed, in the circumstances of the case, the limits of justifiable firing."

Mr. Justice S. K. Das, Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, who comprised the one-man commission of enquiry, also held a judicial enquiry into the Nawadah police firing on August 15, 1955, but in that case the commission found the firing "justified and necessary."

Travancore-Cochin

The fifth Ministry in seven years in Travancore-Cochin resigned on March 12 after one year in office following differences within the ruling Congress Party. On March 23, the President by a proclamation issued under Article 356 of the Constitution took over the administration of the State in his own hands because he was satisfied "that a situation has arisen in which the Government of that State cannot be carried out in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of India." The State Legislature was dissolved and Mr. P. S. Rau, until recently Chairman of the D.V.C., was appointed Adviser to the President in Travancore-Cochin.

The outgoing Chief Minister, Mr. Panampilli Govinda Menon, said that while the Congress Party deeply regretted this development it was inevitable. He laid all responsibility for the imposition of President's rule to the irresponsible conduct of the Opposition including the six dissident Congress members.

Highly critical of the imposition of the President's rule in the State, Mr. Pottom Thanu Pillai, P. S. P. leader and a former Chief Minister of the State, urged for the holding of general elections at the earliest opportunity and added that there was no excuse for putting off the general elections in the State.

Mr. Pillai said that while the Congress

had been allowed to form a Government when it had only a strength of 59 members in the Assembly last year the Praja Socialist Party with 61 members this time was not given an opportunity to form a new. "I leave it to the public for their own inference," he said.

The Speaker of the dissolved Assembly, Mr. V. Gangadharan characterised the decision to impose Presidents' rule as "unfortunate" and said, "The undemocratic attitude taken up by the Rajpramukh and the Government of India in this respect is not justifiable. Denial of the right of forming a Government to a leader of a party who commands the support of a majority in the legislature undermines democracy and hence the convention established in Travancore-Cochin now is a dangerous one."

In an editorial article on the President's rule in Travancore-Cochin, the *Hindu* writes that the imposition of President's rule after the failure of two ministries in two years could not be considered as reflecting a healthy state of affairs in the State. "Though the instability was inherent in the precariously balanced position of parties that resulted from the last general election, the crisis that led to the resignation of the Congress Ministry showed that an even greater weakness is the lack of cohesion within the different political parties."

The Congress Ministry failed because of the irresponsible conduct of the six dissident members. But such internal dissension was not the peculiar characteristics of the Congress Party alone. "The other political groups have shown themselves even more loose-knit; with the consequence that there are individuals inside each group who start a hectic manoeuvring for position the moment here seems to be even a remote chance of a change of Ministry. Otherwise it is difficult to account for the claims about the actual number of members who were supposed to be prepared to support this or that Party in office, or the astonishing frequency with which a handful who could tilt the balance avowed their readiness to support one Party at one moment and at the next moment declared that conditions had changed or they had not understood the conditions properly."

The newspaper does not find any point of criticism regarding the conduct of the Rajpramukh and avers that so far as the people were

concerned they stood only to gain in promptness and efficiency on the part of the administration as a result of President's rule.

In conclusion, the *Hindu* writes: "If Party leaders realise that a new political approach alone can bring some kind of stability to the State and engage themselves earnestly to persuade the electorate, on the basis of declared policies, to return an effective majority they may find that the interlude of President's rule has not been too long or an unmixed evil."

Cyprus

Britain has apparently decided to adopt an openly "get tough" policy *vis-a-vis* the Cypriots' demand for national independence. The action of the British Government in deporting Archbishop Myriartheos Makarios, the moderate leader of the Cypriot nationalists, from Cyprus could not have any other meaning. Indeed the British authorities made no bones about their policy and in an earlier broadcast announcing the breakdown of the talks between Britain and the Cypriot nationalists over the British offer of limited autonomy the Kenya-returned Governor of the island, Sir John Harding had said: "I am determined there shall be an end to violence. Terrorists must be eliminated and intimidation stopped." Justifying the deportation of the archbishop the Governor said: "[I reached the] decision to order the archbishop's deportation in the light not only of his overt seditious activities, but also of a large volume of evidence indicating that the archbishop has himself been deeply implicated in the campaign of terrorism."

But, as the U.S. newsmagazine *Time* points out, the British were thoroughly mistaken in thinking that "such documentation would numb the shock which the deportation caused at home and abroad."

In Greece, the news of the deportation came as a surprising shock. A wave of great indignation swept over the whole of Greece and public sentiments ran so high that Greek Government had subsequently to cancel their earlier order permitting political rallies in Athens against the British action. Meanwhile in Athens and Crete angry mobs burnt down the British flags.

The Holy Synod, governing body of the Greek orthodox Church which was presided over by Spyridon, octogenarian Archbishop of Athens and All Greece, characterised the deportation as "vandalism", as "a nefarious act reminiscent

of the dark days of serfdom;" and appealed to Patriarch Alexi of Moscow and other prelates for moral support in its protest against the deportation of the Cypriot clerics.

Immediately on receiving the news of deportation the Greek Cabinet met in an emergency midnight meeting on March 9-10. After the meeting the Greek Foreign Minister Spyros Theotokis announced the Government's decision to recall its Ambassador to London. The permanent Greek delegate to the United Nations was simultaneously instructed to lodge a complaint with the Security Council. Premier Constantine Karamanlis said that Greece looked to the United States of America for a just solution of the Cypriot question.

In the United Kingdom itself there was widespread criticism of the Government's action. The Labour Opposition brought a motion in the House of Commons to censure the Government's policy though it was lost by 65 votes, 252 voting in favour and 317 against the motion. In the ensuing debate one labour member, Mr. F. E. Jones, contended the legality of the deportation order because, as he said, the Governor had no lawful right to direct that the Archbishop should be taken to any particular place outside the island, in view of the fact that the Governor's jurisdiction was limited in law only to the island and its territorial waters. Mr. Noel-Baker, who had served as an interpreter at the talks in Cyprus, spoke of his "very sincere respect and admiration" for the archbishop and said: "It is my impression he (Makarios) is a sincere, patriotic, modest and a very remarkable leader of his people (Cypriots)."

The Government put forward the usual charges of terrorism and violence against the exiled archbishop. The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Allan Lennox-Boyd, said in reply to a question by the liberal leader, Mr. Clement Davies, that the Governor's action in deporting Makarios had the full and prior approval of the British Government. Defining immediate British Government policy toward Cyprus the Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden said, "Our immediate purpose must be to defeat terrorism. Our duty is to safeguard the strategic need of our country and our allies." The House of Commons upheld the Government policy by 317 votes to 251, a Government majority of 66.

In the House of Lords the Government policy came under criticism by the Archbishop

of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher who said that the arrest and deportation of Makarios had been received by Christian opinion in Britain and elsewhere with "great perplexity and distress." Dr. Fisher put forward a three-point plan to end the deadlock which provided for the appointment of a Commission for drafting a Constitution for Cyprus in consultation with Makarios and with a definite time-table for its promulgation. After the draft had been drawn up Britain, Greece and Turkey would appeal for an immediate end of terrorism on the island, Archbishop Makarios should also be assured of an end of his exile as soon as disturbances ceased on the island. Lord Munster, Minister without portfolio, said that he did not see any possibility of Dr. Fisher's suggestions being accepted by the Government.

Meanwhile on March 12 the United States Government urged the British Government to find means of resuming negotiations with Cypriot nationalists. Lincoln White, the State Department Press Officer, indicated that in the view of U.S. Government the deportation of Archbishop Makarios was a serious mistake. The U.S. Government had had no advance information, he added. On the following day, March 13, the U.S. Government formally offered its good offices to find a "fair and just solution" of the British-Greek dispute over Cyprus. The statement announcing the U.S. offer said that though the USA was not a party to the Cyprus issue she was following the matter with attentive interest as it involved the "interests of close friends and allies of the United States." The American Ambassador in Athens Cavendish W. Cannon in a talk with the Greek Foreign Minister on March 13, also expressed the "sympathetic concern" of the United States Government and "of the American peoples over the recent developments in Cyprus." He also praised the dignity and statesmanship shown by the Greek Government in this connection.

The British reaction was quick and sharp. The British newspapers took up the remark of Ambassador Cannon as an insult to Britain and the conservative *Daily Mail* came out with a front page editorial describing the attitude of the US as a "Kick in the Teeth." The British Ambassador in the USA Sir Roger Makins demanded an official explanation. Observers in London said that the Anglo-American alliance suffered its severest setback since the end of the war over

the Cyprus issue, reports the *Statesman*. The London office of the newspaper writes: "On the specific point of the deportation, we have . . . the authority of the *Times* special correspondent in Nicosia for saying that talks with Archbishop Makarios should not have broken down at least when they did."

The view of the Government of India on the Cyprus question was given by Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon in New York. Speaking at a luncheon of the UN Correspondents' Association Mr. Menon said that Cyprus must be given independence before being linked with any other country. "We have always held that the idea of a country choosing to go on one side or the other when she is not totally free is not a real choice." He, however, did not say whether India would change her position of neutrality in favour of the support for the inclusion of Cyprus issue on the UN agenda in the ensuing General Assembly Session.

Makarios Deported

On March 9, when Archbishop Makarios, leader of the Cypriots' union with Greece movement, was driving to the airport to board a plane bound for Athens a British Security Officer quietly took Makarios into custody. The U.S. news-magazine *Time* describes the episode in the following words. "In his flowing black robes the archbishop was led into the airport, past the Greek airlines plane waiting to take him to Greece, to another corner of the tarmac where an RAF Hastings transport plane was parked. Already in custody beside the Hastings were three other Cypriot clerics, including Kyprianos, Themistokleons, Kyriakides, Bishop of Kyrenia. At 4.30 p.m. the Hastings took off for Kenya, where the Cypriots were transferred to H.M. Frigate *Loch Fada*, which set out for the Seychelles Islands, a British crown colony in the Indian ocean, about 1000 miles east of Kenya, and just south of the Equator. Here the archbishop will be confined to a small bungalow, 1800 feet above the sea, which Lady Addis, wife of the resident British Governor, describes as 'a delightful place—sunny, peaceful, beautiful but rather lonely'."

Cracks in North Atlantic "Defense"

The aggressive character of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation came in for comment in neutral political quarters. The Western

ble had so long continued to make it appear as a purely defensive device. Despite French criticism of the organisation's extension into the Middle Eastern politics through the Baghdad Pact and occasional squabbles among the members on specific questions affecting the one or the other, generally speaking the facade of unanimity of the Atlantic Powers was successfully maintained. However, the decision of the Icelandic Parliament calling upon the withdrawal of NATO forces (wholly American) from the island directly affects the very organisation of the NATO and this marks a new phase in Atlantic diplomacy.

Iceland has no army of her own. She was, however, a founder-member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Under a 1951 Agreement between the USA and Iceland American servicemen were stationed at Keflavik, 35 miles from Reykjavik, capital city of the island. The Keflavik aerodrome had been based out to the USA in 1946 under a law of the Icelandic Parliament.

Following countrywide general mass discontent at the stationing of American troops on the territory of Iceland proposals for the revision of the 1951 defense treaty with the USA were moved in Iceland's Althing (Parliament) in the middle of November, 1955, by Socialists, Social-Democrats, and the Defence of the Nation Party. The resolutions *inter alia* called for transferring to Iceland maintenance of the military installations and bases and for withdrawal of American forces from Iceland within three months of an appropriate request from the Icelandic Government.

The vote in the Icelandic Parliament "has spread considerable alarm in US Government circles," reports *Press Trust of India*. The news agency adds: "But what intrigues the US administration is the contradictory nature of the resolution which, even while demanding American withdrawal of defence forces reaffirms the country's adherence to NATO. A section of the (US) Press is willing to dismiss this as pure election tactics but what is not explained is the nature of the majority by which the resolution which is as anti-American as any could be, was passed."

"Meanwhile Iceland's President has called for new elections on June 24. By that time US Administration officials hope to assuage the

wounded Icelanders' feeling resulting from continued stay of American forces."

Arab Powers Meet

The heads of three leading Arab States—Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria—met in a week-long conference in Cairo from March 6 to 11 at the initiative of the Syrian President. The participants in the conference were Premier Gamel Abdel Nasser of Egypt, His Majesty King Saud Ben Abdel Aziz of Saudi Arabia and President el Sayed Shukry al-Kuwatly of Syria. King Hussein of the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan was also invited to join the conference but he declined the offer. A communique was issued on March 12 from Cairo after the conclusion of the talks.

The three leaders reaffirmed their adherence to the UN Charter to the principles announced in the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung. They discussed the present situation in the Middle East, with particular reference to the threat to their security presented by the Baghdad Pact, imperialist interference into the internal affairs of Arab countries, and the continued violation of agreements by Israel and came to "well-defined decisions concerning the problems which were laid before them." The conferees noted the "increased national consciousness of the Arab nations" and all of them were "agreed to work for peace."

Eleven major decisions of the conference were mentioned in the communique. The first decision was the setting up of an "all-conclusive plan . . . for enduring Arab security, preserving the safe structure of the Arab Nation and defending it against the dangers of Zionist aggression and foreign domination, which prevent a state of peace and stability from reigning over the area, thus creating a state of tension and constituting a threat."

Plans were also drawn up to co-ordinate Arab defence against the violence of Israel as well as to meet the situation "arising from the fact that certain states have adopted by allowing the recruitment of their subjects into the Israeli armed forces." The conferees also agreed on plan to counter the supply of arms to Israel.

The fifth decision related to the laying down of an "all-conclusive plan . . . to counteract attempts exerted through the Baghdad Pact to bring pressure to bear upon Arab

countries, endangering Arab security and disuniting the common Arab front at a time when the Arab countries feel they are in bitter need of being united in effort and policy.

It was also agreed to extend all possible support to Jordan and to give her "every help . . . in the event of foreign pressure or Zionist aggression." The conferees would contact King Hussein of Jordan and would reiterate their previous assurance to him.

Measures for strengthening the Arab ties and for fostering Arab unity, which was most necessary now for the preservation of Arab independence, were also agreed upon by the three leaders.

The three heads of States further agreed on a plan to co-ordinate "Saudi-Syrian-Egyptian policy in political, military, economic and cultural fields, aiming by such thorough co-ordination at the mobilization of all forces and their direction toward the realization of the general good of the Arab Nation."

A decision was also made to face the problem "arising from the British occupation of the Buraimi Oasis and the Oman Emirate."

The three leaders decided, "after extensive examination of the present situation in North Africa, that French policy which persists in violating the rights of the North African peoples gravely threaten the peace of that area. France has to recognise the rights of the North African peoples to independence in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principle that all peoples have the right to national self-determination."

Pakistan Becomes a Republic

Pakistan became the second Republic member of the Commonwealth at five minutes past seven o'clock in the morning of March 23—the date on which 16 years ago the Muslim League had adopted a resolution at Lahore demanding the creation of Pakistan. The proclamation announcing the inauguration of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan was read at a ceremony in Karachi attended by thirty-five special envoys and over a thousand distinguished persons.

The Constitution bill calling for the establishment of an Islamic Republic of Pakistan was passed by the Constituent Assembly on February 29—nineteen members boycotting the session. On March 5 Major-General Iskander Mirza was elected

First President of the Republic. Proposed by 50 members election was not opposed but twenty-one East Bengal members—12 Awami Leaguers, two Ganatantri Dal men and seven Hindus—boycotted the election of President. General Mirza would continue as the provisional President till a new President was elected after the General Elections to be held under the Constitution.

In a broadcast on March 23, President Iskander Mirza said that Pakistan would be "the friends of all and the enemies of none. We cherish our ideals of peace and democracy and the territorial integrity of Pakistan will always remain an invincible article of faith for us."

"Our motto at home will be fair play and generosity towards the minorities and freedom from fear, want and poverty for all."

Referring to Kashmir the President said: "On this day of national rejoicing I cannot help thinking of our unfortunate brethren in Kashmir, who for eight long years have lived under the darkening shadows of suffering and sacrifice."

"These brave people are the torch-bearers of liberty and their struggle is for nothing more than a longing to exercise their birthright of self-determination. This is a basic human right and we shall stand firmly by their noble cause."

"We send our greetings to the people of Jammu and Kashmir with a solemn assurance that their cause is as dear to us as the cause of Pakistan itself. We shall always be with you. You shall never be alone in your sacrifices and struggle for freedom."

Earlier addressing the armed forces as their Commander-in-Chief President Mirza said: "This machine, I declare, is an instrument for peace and for service of not only Pakistan but of the free world."

President Rajendra Prasad, Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Mao Tse-tung were among the world leaders who conveyed their best wishes for the newly-born republic.

There was, however, one regrettable incident, when Mr. Meher Chand Khanna, special Indian envoy, to the Pakistan Republic Day celebrations, rose to address the ceremonial public meeting presided over by Pakistan Premier Chaudhuri Mohammed Ali, the several thousand-strong crowd was instigated to boo him asking him to go back to India. However, Pakistan Premier regretted the incidents and the matter was closed. Replying to questions in the Lok Sabha Premier Nehru

aid that the Pakistani people were quite friendly to India and such regrettable incidents occurred only on account of the instigations of the irresponsible section of the Pakistani Press.

Addressing the first session of the National Assembly of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan President Mirza said on March 25 that war between Pakistan and India would be suicidal. He declared he could not conceive of any aggressive designs against India on the part of Pakistan. He put all responsibility of the recent border incidents on India. "In every one of these instances Indian armed forces were the first to open fire on Pakistan border outposts," he said.

While all Indians naturally welcomed the emergence of Pakistan as a Republic, it was not possible to shut one's eyes to the anti-Indian policies followed by the Pakistan political leaders. On the face of the recurring and increasingly damaging border "incidents" engineered by Pakistani armed forces, for which President Mirza contrary to the evidence of facts put the blame at India's doors, and the continued exodus of minority Hindus from East Pakistan in increasingly large numbers as well as the renewed threat of aggression on the Kashmir front, much of the good things contained in the President's inaugural speech appeared to be rather "phony"

Chinese Buddhist Encyclopaedia

The Chinese Buddhist Association set up a 15-man Committee on February 22 to compile a Chinese Buddhist encyclopaedia in the next two years. The Committee would also help Ceylon to compile the Chinese section of its Buddhist encyclopaedia to commemorate the 2500th anniversary of the Nirvana of Buddha.

The Chinese Buddhist Association further decided, as its part of the commemoration of the anniversary, to open this year the famous cave in Fangshan Country, over 30 miles to the west of Peking, which contained Buddhist Tripitaka carved on stone, dating from the sixth to the eleventh centuries. These hitherto unpublished scriptures would now be printed for circulation. Buddha's images would be made and a collection of prints of Buddha's statues and pictures would also be published.

American H-Bomb Tests

The U. S. Atomic Energy Commission announced on the 1st of March that it would

seal off a "danger area of 375,000 square miles in the Pacific for nuclear weapons test beginning about April 20." The tests which were expected to include both atomic and hydrogen weapons would be held in the area around Eniwetok and Bikini Atolls. The exact dates of the tests were not given but it was stated that most of the area would be released by the end of August next. The area sealed off was rectangular and was many times larger than that used for the first stage of atomic tests series held there in 1954 when a number of Japanese fishermen were wounded by the effects of radiation.

A spokesman of the Japanese Foreign Ministry said on March 2 that the Japanese Government was not satisfied with the guarantees given by the USA in connexion with the proposed tests of nuclear weapons in the Pacific. Later on during the month the Japanese Fishermen Association sent an appeal to President Eisenhower to stop the proposed nuclear tests.

India Government served a notice on March 2 that it proposed to ask the International Court of Justice to give a ruling whether the United States of America had the right to carry out hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific Trust territories. "If the United States embarks on these tests before the next Trusteeship Council meeting, then my Government will submit its own proposals," said Mr. Menon. Those proposals would be put forward for the determination "whether the administering authority is competent to use what is United Nations Trust territory for its own purposes."

"We want the World Court to tell us whether the right to destroy the trust property is vested in the Trusteeship Agreement," said Mr. Menon. "I submit that it is not," he added.

Referring to the ineffectiveness of US assurances, Mr. Menon said that the area in which the tests were projected was a fishing area "and fishermen usually don't read communications of Governments." Moreover, as, in all probability, the times of the explosions would be kept secret "these men would probably take risks." Expressing India's scepticism about the effectiveness of any measures adopted to check radiation effects Mr. Menon referred to the unexpected fall-out from the last United

States hydrogen bomb explosion in the same area two years ago and recalled that the calculations had then been upset by unexpected change of wind.

"The explosion of these weapons can do nothing but damage to the prestige of the United Nations, to the cause of peace, and the welfare of these populations," Mr. Menon said. He urged for the stoppage of these steps and said that India was opposed to such tests whether by the USA, UK or USSR. "The hydrogen powers have now in their possession all the powers of destruction that are necessary to blow this planet to pieces."

A *Reuter* despatch from New York dated 29th March says: "The UN Trusteeship Council today declined to interfere with the planned US nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands. The Council approved by nine votes to four (India, Burma, Syria and the Soviet Union opposing) a resolution noting the declaration by the USA that further nuclear weapons tests were necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security."

During the discussions in the Trusteeship Council India's representative, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon said that India was not trying to cast the USA as the villain in the piece. "We are not saying that if it were exploded by anyone else it would be any better." Mr Menon pointed out that the Government of India was not alone in its anxiety at the result of these tests. The Japanese Parliament had already passed a resolution requesting that explosions be banned by both the USA and the USSR. He said that the Trusteeship Council was not competent to discuss whether or not the tests were necessary in the interests of the world security.

U Than Hla of Burma said that atomic tests should be suspended by the USA, UK and the USSR pending the disarmament negotiations. "The tests are not compatible with the Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement," he said.

President Eisenhower rejected the application of the inhabitants of the Marshall Islands—of which Bikini and Eniwetok testing grounds were parts—for the suspension of the atomic tests. The US Government statement said it was not possible to suspend the tests because it "is the conviction of the USA that it has a responsibility not only to its people

but to all the peoples of the free world to maintain at a maximum its capacity to deter aggression and preserve peace."

Dutch-Indonesian Union Abrogated

The Dutch-Indonesian Union linking the two countries under the Dutch Crown came into effect in 1949 when Indonesia achieved her independence. Indonesian public and government had long wanted to end that union. Recently after the failure of Dutch-Indonesian talks at Geneva the Indonesian Cabinet met in an emergency session and decided on the abrogation of Indonesia's Union agreement with the Netherlands. It was also decided to cancel the financial and economic agreements with Netherlands.

The Indonesian Parliament passed a law on March 1, upholding the Cabinet's decision to abrogate the Union and financial agreements with the Netherlands.

Anak Agung Gde Agung, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, said in Djakarta on February 15 that the Round Table Conference Agreement signed in 1949 with the Dutch did not bind either nation to the RTC for any specific period of time, so that either State could, at any time it chose, free itself of the terms of the Agreement. The abrogation was fully in accord with International Law and fully conformed to the procedure laid down in Clauses 98 and 120 of the Provincial Constitution of Indonesia.

The Foreign Minister added that Indonesia's continued adherence to the RTC (union with Holland) Agreements "had, in fact, hampered constantly all the national efforts and resolves to proceed rapidly with plans of reconstruction aimed at furthering the prosperity of the people as a whole. To put an end to this unwanted obstacle, the first essential was to do away with the RTC 'chain'; with this end in view several attempts had been made in the past to find the proper way out through the process of friendly and amicable discussion with the Dutch. But these attempts at negotiation have always proved futile, thus frustrating the will of the people of Indonesia."

Asia and the U.S.A.

The Christian Science Monitor of Boston wrote this editorial on 17th of February last. It is particularly interesting to read these comments in the light of Secretary Dulles' visit:

"When the historians sit down to write the annals of this decade, one of their most decisive topics will be: What did the United States do about the hundreds of millions of uncommitted, underdeveloped nations of Asia?"

Did the United States have a definite objective? Did the people of the United States understand the stakes involved? Did they take effective action?

Because the Communists do have a program. And their leaders understand the stakes involved. And intelligence surveys show they are intending to take shrewd action.

John Sherman Cooper, United States Ambassador to India, has been alerting members of Congress, the State Department, and President Eisenhower, to the critical danger of 'losing' the uncommitted peoples of Asia, including India. Other American ambassadors on the spot, no longer intimidated by the recent security miasma, are sending back warning signals.

John Cowles, publisher of the Minneapolis Star and Tribune and of Look magazine, is back from a tour of Asia with a sense of mission. Writing for his newspaper, he wonders 'whether we will wait passively until the backward countries begin to accept Moscow's political and economical philosophies as their model.'

The underdeveloped countries such as India, Burma, Indonesia, and the rest are intensely conscious that they missed the industrial revolution. Now they are trying to catch up. They know that the Soviet Union, by ruthless, force-draft methods, made stupendous strides in shoving a backward, illiterate, nation into the forefront of the twentieth century. Red China is embarked on the same course.

Will the underdeveloped neutrals follow the Red example, or the Democratic route? So far they are trying to industrialize by democratic methods.

Consider India, with 370 million people, second most powerful nation of Asia, leader of the neutralist bloc. Premier Nehru is a proud, overly sensitive, complex individual, but a believer in the democratic way. India has an effective civil service, inherited from the British occupation, and has men of thoroughly independent stature in its cabinet. The English common law is practised in its courts. It now has the kind of government which, though neutralist, will certainly not succumb to the Khrushchev-Bulgarian blandishments.

Those who criticize Mr. Nehru for not em-

bracing capitalist principles and for not lining up with the West overlook the fact that the average Indian has an income of about \$55 a year. India is embarked on an impressive five-year plan, run along democratic lines. It needs two billion dollar worth of foreign exchange for acquiring the capital equipment—railroads, port facilities, power plants and the like—which will lay the industrial base for faster economic progress.

It must either obtain foreign loans for this purpose, or extract the wherewithal out of the hides of a populace already on a terrifically low standard of living—as did the Soviet Union. *That route leads to unrest, repression, and eventual communism.*

Ambassador Cooper is known to estimate that if the United States stepped up its annual foreign aid to India from 50 million to 75 million dollars, India could make sufficient headway with its five-year plan. Help would also have to come from unexpended sterling balances, the International Bank, the Colombo Powers, and private investment. Mr. Cowles and others contend this increase in American aid to India won't suffice, and that actually the United States should be prepared to loan and grant India a billion dollars over five years.

But the over-all problem is also psychological—a question of attitudes. Perhaps it would help if President Eisenhower and Mr. Nehru could sit down together and thrash out American-Indian misunderstandings. Such a meeting has been proposed. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is shortly visiting Burma, India, and other Asian nations, and the reception he receives will be interesting to watch, in view of the colossal unpopularity—throughout Asia—of his disastrous statement on Goa.

Americans may think they are paying out vast sums now on foreign economic development, since the 'foreign aid' budget runs to four billion dollars a year. But actually about four-fifths of this goes for the military bulwarking of our allies—Korea, Formosa, Indo-China, Spain, Turkey, and so on.

A less ambiguous State Department attitude, a frank admission in Congress that it is to this country's crucial self-interest that uncommitted Asia merely be kept uncommitted (instead of sliding into the Communist camp), some de-emphasis of military 'pactomania' in Asia, a little more spending and a lot less pique—these ingredients of a new policy would do much to halt the Red tide."

AMERICAN-ASIAN RELATIONS*

By DR. HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR,

Professor of Sociology, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa

WHAT IS THE CONFERENCE ON ASIAN AFFAIRS? OURS is a young organization—a mere four-year-old infant, just entering its fifth year. As organizations go, the Conference on Asian Affairs is not even in its teething stage. But in some ways the precocious infant behaves as an adult, as a wise adult.

Ever since our friend, Dr. Buchanan, Director of the Institute of Asian Affairs at the University of Oklahoma, launched this Conference four years ago, scholars and savants from different fields of knowledge, from different disciplines, and from different campuses, have been gathering together once a year to share the results of their researches and meditations one with another.

While most participants in our deliberations from year to year have been Americans, citizens either by birth or by adoption, the Asian flavour is palpably felt in every direction. To begin with, Dr. Buchanan and his co-workers launched this organization on faith, and without any grandiose plan. Second, disregarding the distinctively American pattern of wherever two or three are gathered together there emerges a written constitution, our organization came into being without a constitution and has managed to get along without one so far. Third, the Asian pattern has become so insidiously pervasive that we as an organization have been living from hand to mouth, depending on the generosity and co-operation of the administrations of our respective institutions to pay our bills. Finally, the Asian character of our organization is evident nowhere better than in the disreputably meager budget on which we have thus far managed to prosper.

This reference to the budget is not meant as a hint to Uncle Sam to put at our disposal a microscopic portion of the huge annual

budget which has been rising to giddy heights ever since the beginning of World War II. But I am sure if some private foundation wishes to take a hint, none of us would object to receiving for our organization a four or five figure amount, to begin with.

With a modest endowment, we could really go to town. First, we could implement the purposes and objectives of our Conference more adequately than at present. Second, our membership, open to all who have a professional and scholarly interest in Asian affairs, could be immediately increased. Third, the papers read at our Conferences could be made available to a larger circle of scholars and laymen. Fourth, we could serve as an effective agency to interpret Asia, its peoples and cultures and problems to the American people on the one hand and to interpret the American people, their culture and problems to the Asians on the other.

Let me assure you that with or without outside aid, our precocious child with the wisdom and maturity of the adult shall carry on in the fifth year and in subsequent years as it has done in the last four years—with energy and with effectiveness.

THE JIGSAW PUZZLE OF ASIA

This evening I have chosen as my topic American-Asian Relations. If Asia were a homogeneous cultural unit, my task would still be difficult, because people's hopes and aspirations, ambitions and problems, refuse to be contained within the neat formula of social scientists. The enormity of the task is increased by the fact that Asia, geographically a unity, represents wide diversity culturally, economically, politically, religiously.

In spite of the vastness and complexity of the situation, it should be possible for us to analyze Asian ambitions and problems with the aid of a few conceptual tools.

To begin with, Asia may be divided into five culture areas: (1) The Arab World in the

* Presidential address delivered by Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, Professor of Sociology, Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa, at the Annual Banquet of the Fourth Conference on Asian Affairs, Hotel Wareham, Manhattan, Kansas, November 18, 1955.

Near East, including Egypt in this context; (2) India and South-east Asia; (3) Monolithic Communist China in process of emergence; (4) Japan with a high degree of industrialization and urbanization; and (5) Totalitarian Communist Asia in what used to be known as Siberia.

Iran with its Islamic culture may be safely put in the Arab World. Pakistan, a blend of Islamic and Hindu cultural influences, belongs both to the Arab world and to the world of India and South-east Asia. Israel, suspiciously eyed by the Arabs as an intruder, serves as a bridgehead of two contradictory cultural forces, American-democratic and Russian-totalitarian. For good or for ill, compatible or incompatible, Israel must be considered a part of the Arab world.

The mere mention of the names of some of these countries brings to our mind a host of problems peculiar to each. Iran, for instance, is oil-rich and economically poor so far as the purchasing power of its people is concerned. The same holds true for Arabia. The Arab nations have internal rivalry for leadership, but all Arab nations are united in wishing Israel out of existence. Pakistan is resources-poor and also economically poor. India has comparatively more resources but her people have as low purchasing power as the people of Pakistan. The Republic of Indonesia is rich in oil, rubber, tin, and good agricultural land, and yet her people suffer from hunger and low purchasing power, with the threat of communism hanging over their head like the sword of Damocles. Japan has the industrial know-how but is poverty-stricken in regard to resources including arable land. The people of China, who through the ages lived according to the golden mean preached by Confucius, Lao-tze and Buddha, are today undergoing a transformation which staggers the imagination. Whether the Confucian Middle Path will ever again be trodden by the people of China is in the lap of the gods. At the moment, China, a slumbering giant, just awakened, is on the march toward a ruthless totalitarian dictatorship which knows nothing of the Confucian canon or Li or propriety; which, indeed, deliberately acts as an outlaw in its international dealings. Korea hangs uneasily between totalitarian China and Russia on the

one hand and capitalist Japan on the march toward democracy on the other.

The mere contemplation of such a jigsaw puzzle involving the destiny of half the population of the world taxes the imagination. And when we are confronted with such a jigsaw puzzle and are called upon not only to fit together the pieces in their proper places but also to create a harmonious picture with the addition of pieces from American foreign policy, the task seems well-nigh hopeless.

AMERICA AND ASIA SINCE WORLD WAR II

Appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, the task of American foreign policy in Asia is not hopeless. Fortunately for us, America has come of age; we have outgrown our isolationist breeches, and our generous impulses and gifts are recognized abroad as symbols of American might—and of American goodwill.

The whole world, and most conspicuously the Asian part of it, has decided to catch up with our Zeitgeist, with the spirit of our times. People everywhere are resolved to give loyalty to the three magnificent principles of the people, the *San Min Chu I*, enunciated by a great Asian—by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of modern China. (1) People's Nationalism, (2) People's Democracy, (3) People's Livelihood—these are the three great principles the Asians have vowed to achieve regardless of the cost in lives or resources.

What is America's role in the unfolding drama of Asians claiming a place in the sun and an umbrella of their own, not an umbrella belonging to England or France, neither to the Netherlands nor to Soviet Russia? I am afraid America's role since World War II has been an unenviable one. Involved in the fortunes of our European friends and allies, we have stultified our position and tended to give an impression to the Asians that we bless and sanction the colonialism and imperialism of our European friends.

With the noble tradition of the American heritage of the right of a people to revolution and to self-government before us, it is passing strange that our State Department should shake in its boots whenever any Asian or African people dare to demand self-government or resort to Revolution when their demand for freedom is not met!

It is because of the betrayal of the American heritage by our namby-pamby policymakers that we are always permitting the dictators of the totalitarian Soviet regime to pose as friends of the oppressed people of Asia and Africa.

In addition to this stultification born of expediency, our State Department has become a prisoner of the policy of timidity verging on loss of self-respect. Instead of developing a positive American foreign policy, by and large our State Department is content to react to Soviet moves and stratagems.

THE CRISIS IN THE NEAR EAST

To cite the most recent example, a barter agreement entered into by Czechoslovakia and Egypt, less than two months ago, to swap arms for cotton upset our State Department. And what did Mr. Dulles do? He served a warning on Mr. Molotov about the unrighteousness of upsetting the power balance in the Near East; and he sent his deputy to Egypt to coax and/or intimidate Premier Nasser.

Instead of reacting to Soviet moves, we need a positive American policy. And that positive policy, happily for us, involves nothing more—nor less—than a re-enunciation, and translation into practice, of the American doctrine of the right of every people to revolution with a view to achieving self-government. Any other policy would smack of expediency; and expediency, in my judgment, leads to worse results than the conditions it professes to cure, as attested by Yalta.

With due respect to Mr. Dulles, I must take exception to his warning to Mr. Molotov regarding arms sales to Egypt by Czechoslovakia. In the first place, can our State Department honestly maintain that we never supplied arms—or permitted supply of arms—to our friends and neighbors when they were in trouble?

If we maintain the right to supply arms to other nations in terms of our conception of the best interests of all concerned, then I believe equity requires that we recognise a similar right for the Soviet Union.

Which is not to say that I am happy about the Soviet Union fishing in the troubled water of the Near East. I deeply grieved over the

dangerous situation developing in that troubled region.

And I am sure the Kremlin dictators are moved not by the desire to help rectify a wrong but by the sinister motive to create confusion, to let loose violence, to create diversionary small wars all over the world.

FOUR STEPS TO PEACE IN THE NEAR EAST

The way to improve this deteriorating situation is not to read a moral lecture to Premier Nasser of Egypt nor to Mr. Molotov. The way to solve the problem is:

(1) To enunciate a policy of fair play as between Arabs and Israelis; (2) to adjudicate the boundary lines between Israel and the Arab nations on the basis of equity and fair play, not on the basis of the brute force either of Israel or of the Arab nations; (3) to provide homes and hearths to the thousands of Arab refugees from Palestine now living in torn tents in the Gaza strip; (4) in short, to show charity and chivalry both to Arab and Israeli.

AMERICAN BELIEFS AND FUNDAMENTAL VALUES

I believe it is time for us to go back to first principles, to the fundamental values to which we owe allegiance.

First, let us recognize the Soviet Union for what it is—an aggressive totalitarian empire.

Second, let us enunciate the general principle that we believe in the right of every captive nation—whether dominated by the new-style Soviet empire or by the old-style British-French empire—to revolution and to self-government.

Third, let us open-handedly help all aggrieved and captive nations to break off their shackles.

Fourth, let us recognize only those governments which permit their citizens the right to vote freely by secret ballot.

Fifth, if such a policy on our part should lead to severance of diplomatic relations between us and the USSR, let it be so. After all, Mahatma Gandhi succeeded in upholding moral values by non-cooperation.

Sixth, let like-minded free nations—free from dictatorship and free from the taint of empire—salvage from the existing United

Nations whatever can be salvaged. Such a policy, I believe, is apt to clear the air and to emancipate the whole world from hypocrisy and from the mockery of self-delusion.

ASIA AND THE AMERICAN HERITAGE

These are the basic principles on which American foreign policy may well be based. As for Asia specially, I should say that the American heritage is made to order to win Asians as our friends and co-workers in the common task of promoting freedom with justice and peace with prosperity.

Through the ages America has stood as a beaconlight of hope to the oppressed peoples of the world. No taxation without representation played as large a part in India's revolution of our times as it did in the American Revolution of a hundred and eighty years ago. The American Constitution, with its Bill of Rights, has been availed of by India and other countries recently launched on their career of freedom and self-government. And, of course, to say that the high American standard of living has been the envy of the world is to utter a truism. The American dollar has taken the place of the gold standard, which since 1933 has joined the ranks of the dodo.

The awe and respect with which America is viewed abroad is well illustrated by the following story told by the natives of the South Pacific: "The Japanese," they used to say, "is a good jungle fighter. The Australian—he, too, a good jungle fighter. Come American, no jungle!" Our technological advances are indeed the wonder of the whole world.

With the American heritage as our resources, how can we fit the jigsaw puzzle of Asia and create a harmonious new picture with the additions of a few American pieces?

To begin with, I would say that our Point Four program to aid the under-developed countries of Asia is a good one and must be conti-

nued—if need be, on an enlarged scale. Second, the community projects sponsored by the Ford Foundation in India and elsewhere are excellent devices to help the Asians to help themselves. Third, we must make available to all Asian countries our technical know-how in helping them to solve their problem. Fourth, in this co-operative venture, let us be sure we respect the values of our Asian neighbors.

I have an uneasy feeling that the American people who are the best salesmen in the world have failed to present our democracy and its values in proper perspective to the Asians. That is a challenge to you and to me.

In conclusion, I may affirm that three great forces are shaping the destiny of Asia—and of the world:

- (1) The craving to realize Nationalism and Self-Government,
- (2) The craving to improve the Standard of Living,
- (3) The craving to be treated and respected as Equals.

The American heritage is in full harmony with these three dominant cravings of Asians. Let us advertise this fact, and let our foreign policy in Asia reflect the values of our American heritage. Then, and not until then, shall we win Asians as our friends and co-workers in the task of bringing peace on earth and goodwill among men.*

* Dr. Muzumdar, friend and biographer of the late Mahatma Gandhi, actively participated in India's struggle for freedom; from 1930 until the end of World War II, he used to be known as "the unofficial ambassador of goodwill from India to America." Dr. Muzumdar became an American citizen in 1947 and has been actively engaged in promoting better understanding between America and Asia. He has been Professor of Sociology at Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, USA, since 1951. His last book *Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary* (New York: Scribner's—Scribner's Twentieth Century Library Series) has been spoken of highly in India, Europe and America.—Ed., M. R.



SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(VIII) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom (Continued)

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I

WE now propose to deal with Articles 20 and 21 of our Constitution. Article 20 which provides for "protection in respect of conviction for offences," runs as follows :

"20.(1) No person shall be convicted of any offence except for violation of a law in force at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offence, nor be subjected to a penalty greater than that which might have been inflicted under the law in force at the time of the commission of the offence.

"(2) No person shall be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once.

"(3) No person accused of any offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself."

It is evident from the above that Clause (1) of Article 20 provides a guarantee against what may be described as *ex post facto* criminal legislation. It is as it should be. Retrospective criminal legislation is not merely objectionable in principle; but it is also exceedingly liable to abuse. Criminal legislation in particular should be prospective, and not retrospective, in its operation.

"It manifestly shocks our sense of justice," says Herbert Broom,¹ "that an act legal at the time when it was done should be made unlawful by a new enactment; and the injustice and impolicy of *ex post facto* or retrospective legislation is most apparent in the case of new criminal laws . . . There is a great difference between making an unlawful act lawful and making an innocent action criminal."

It may perhaps be interesting to note here that the Constitution of the United States has forbidden² any *ex post facto* legislation either by the Federal Government or by any State Government. Originally many persons thought—and very rightly—that "the terms, *ex post facto*, laws in a comprehensive sense, embrace all retrospective laws, or laws governing or controlling past transactions, whether they are of a civil or a criminal nature."³ But as early

as 1798 the Supreme Court of the United States declared in *Calder V. Bull* that the prohibition imposed by the Constitution on Congress and the State legislatures in respect of *ex post facto* laws, applied only to criminal legislation. This declaration "settled the law in the United States" in respect of *ex post facto* legislation and "has been followed ever since." Thus,

"Every law," says an authoritative American official publication,⁴ "which makes criminal an act which was innocent when done, or which inflicts a greater punishment than the law annexed to the crime when committed, is an *ex post facto* law within the prohibition of the Constitution."

But this "limitation has no application to purely civil proceedings though taken under retroactive statutes. Thus, it does not apply to a statute for the commitment and detention of the insane."⁵

Apparently the authors of our Constitution followed the corresponding American constitutional law in framing Clause (1) of Article 20 of the Constitution. But they seem to have omitted, as will appear from what follows one important element of American constitutional law in this connexion. In delivering the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Calder vs. Bull* Mr. Justice Chase observed⁶ :

"I will state what laws I consider *ex post facto* laws, within the words and the intent of the prohibition. 1st. Every law that makes an action done before the passing of the law, and which was innocent when done, criminal; and punishes such action. 2nd. Every law that aggravates a crime, or makes it greater than it was, when committed. 3rd. Every law that changes the punishment, and inflicts a greater punishment than the law annexed to the crime, when committed. 4th. Every law that alters the legal rules of evidence,

1. See his *A Selection of Legal Maxims*, 10 Ed. (Kersley), 1939, pp. 357-58.

2. See Sections 9 and 10 of Article 1 of the Constitution of the United States of America.

3. See Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, Vol. 11, 5th Ed., 1891, Section 1345.

4. See *ibid*; also Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1936, pp. 515-16; also James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, 10th Ed., p. 458.

5. *The Constitution of the United States of America, Analysis and Interpretation*, Corwin, United States Government Printing Office, 1953, p. 316.

6. See Willis, *op. cit.*, pp. 515-16.

7. *Calder vs. Bull*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1798, 3 Dall. 386. See Dodd, *Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1949, pp. 1360-1361.

and receives less or different testimony than the law required at the time of the commission of the offence, in order to convict the offender. All these and similar laws are manifestly unjust and oppressive. In my opinion, the true distinction is between *ex post facto* laws and retrospective laws. Every *ex post facto* law must necessarily be retrospective, but every retrospective law is not an *ex post facto* law; the former only are prohibited. . . . I do not consider any law *ex post facto*, within the prohibition, that mollifies the rigor of the criminal law; but only those that create, or aggravate, the crime; or increase the punishment, or change the rules of evidence, for the purpose of conviction. . . . There is a great and apparent difference between making an unlawful act lawful, and the making an innocent action criminal, and punishing it as a crime."

It is evident from what is quoted above that "a law which alters the rule of evidence to permit a person to be convicted upon less or different evidence than was required when the offence was committed is invalid."⁸ And Professor Willoughby has shown⁹ that by later decisions the definition of *ex post facto* legislation as given by the American Supreme Court in *Calder V. Bull* in 1798, "has been broadened so as to include all laws which in any way operate to the detriment of one accused of a crime committed prior to the enactment of such laws." Apparently there are no such safeguards of the rights of the accused in Clause (1) of Article 20 of our Constitution.¹ There is, therefore, a strong case for the amendment of the Clause so as to make it correspond to American constitutional law in this respect.

Clause (2) of Article 20 which, as shown before, lays down that "no person shall be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once," is comparatively simple. It embodies the "great fundamental rule" of English "criminal law, which forbids that a man should be put in jeopardy twice for one and the same offence." Thus,

"When a criminal charge has been once adjudicated upon by a Court of competent jurisdiction, that adjudication is final, whether it takes the form of an acquittal or a conviction."¹⁰

Obviously, the punishment referred to in the aforesaid Clause means punishment by a competent court of law only, and not by any other authority. The corresponding Clause¹¹ in the *Draft Constitution of India* was that "no person shall be punished for the same offence more than once." This was changed into its present form at the instance of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari who had pointed out in the Constituent Assembly¹² that the Clause as it had stood in the Draft Constitution might create difficulties in its working in the case, for instance, of a Government servant. If the Government servant had committed a criminal offence and had been first dealt with and punished departmentally, he could not under the clause be again prosecuted before, and punished by, a court of law. On the other hand, if a Government servant had once been prosecuted before, and sentenced to imprisonment or fine by, a court of law for a criminal offence, the clause might prevent the Government from taking any disciplinary action against him. These difficulties would not arise under the clause as it stands now.

Another point emerges in this connexion. In his *Treatise on International Law* Professor Hall has observed¹³ that

"The authority possessed by a State community over its members being the result of the personal relation existing between it and the individuals of which it is formed, its laws travel with them wherever they go, both in places within and without the jurisdiction of other powers"; that although "a State cannot enforce its laws within the territory of another State," yet "its subjects remain under an obligation not to disregard them;" that "their social relations for all purposes as within its territory are determined" by these laws; and that "it preserves the power of compelling observance by punishment if a person who has broken them returns within its jurisdiction."

Thus, according to this writer,¹⁴ "the subjects of a State are not freed by absence from their allegiance," and "if they commit crimes they can be arraigned before the tribunals of their country notwithstanding that they may have been already punished elsewhere." It seems to us that, regard being had to the wording of

8. See *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation*, referred to in foot-note 5 above. p. 317.

9. See Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 1929, Vol. II, p. 1135.

10. "Provided that the adjudication be by a Court of competent jurisdiction, it is immaterial whether it be upon a summary proceeding before justices or upon a trial before a jury." See Herbert Broom, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

11. See Clause (2) of Article 14 of the *Draft Constitution of India*.

12. See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 3rd and 6th December, 1948.

13. See Hall, *A Treatise on International Law*, 8th Ed. (Higgins), Oxford, pp. 56-57.

14. See *ibid.*

Clause (2) of Article 20 of our Constitution, such arraignment as has been referred to by Professor Hall, will not be permissible under the Constitution. This point, therefore, needs clarification.

Clause (3) of Article 20 which lays down, as shown before, that "no person accused of any offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself," provides a constitutional protection against self-incrimination. It appears to have been based upon the principle of English law that "no man can be compelled to criminate himself"¹⁵ and also upon the provision in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which declares that "no person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." The source of this American constitutional provision was, according to Professor Corwin,¹⁶ "the maxim that 'no man is bound to accuse himself' . . ., which has brought forward in England late in the sixteenth century in protest against the inquisitorial methods of the ecclesiastical courts." The immunity granted by this provision "has for its object," says Professor Willoughby,¹⁷ "the protection of the individual against criminal prosecution based upon evidence which has been compulsorily obtained from him." And referring to this particular amendment the Supreme Court of the United States declared in *Hale v. Henkel*¹⁸ in 1906 :

"The object of the amendment is to establish in express language and upon a firm basis the general principle of English and American jurisprudence, that no one shall be compelled to give testimony which may expose him to prosecution for crime. . . . The interdiction of the . . . amendment operates only where a witness is asked to incriminate himself,—in other words, to give testimony which may possibly expose him to a criminal charge. But if the criminality has already been taken away, the amendment ceases to apply."

Further, this American constitutional provision has, according to Professors Corwin and Peltason,¹⁹ "been greatly broadened by judicial interpretation. Originally it meant only that a

person under trial might not be forced to testify against himself. Today it means that no person may be compelled by any governmental agency—the House Committee on Un-American Activities, for instance, or the Federal Trade Commission—to answer under oath any question if, according to his own claim, his answer would 'tend to incriminate him'." As compared with this, the scope of Clause (3) of Article 20 of our Constitution is narrower and is restricted only to a "person accused of any offence."²⁰

We may conclude the consideration of Article 20 with extracts† from the judgments of Mr. Justice Mukherjea and Mr. Justice Das of our Supreme Court in *A. K. Gopalan v. The State of Madras*. Mr. Justice Mukherjea has observed :

"A person cannot be convicted or punished under an *ex post facto* law, or a law which compels the accused to incriminate himself in a criminal trial or punishes him for the same offence more than once. These are the protections provided for by Article 20."

And Mr. Justice Das has said :

"Article 20 . . . is concerned with providing protection against what are well known as *ex post facto* laws, double jeopardy and self-incrimination. This article constitutes a limitation on the absolute legislative power which would, but for this article, be exercisable by Parliament or the State Legislatures under Article 246 read with the legislative lists. If the Legislature disobeys this limitation the Court will certainly prevent it."

II

Let us now pass on to Article 21 of our Constitution which lays down :

"No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law."

(Referring to this provision the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India observed²¹ that it was "of opinion that the word 'liberty' (therein) should be qualified by the insertion of the word 'personal' before it, for otherwise it might be construed very widely so as to include even the freedoms already dealt with in Article 13" (of the

* See Herbert Broom, *op. cit.*, p. 660.

15. See Corwin, *The Constitution and What It Means Today*, 1947, p. 166.

16. Willoughby, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1166; also see Cooley, *A Treatise on Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., p. 442.

17. *Hale vs. Henkel*, 201 U.S. 43 (1906). See Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 1375.

18. See Corwin and Peltason, *Understanding the Constitution*, The Dryden Press, New York, 1952, pp. 96-97; also Corwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-68.

19. Also see in this connexion Basu, *A Commentary On the Constitution of India*, 1951, pp. 148-51.

† *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II and III—April and May, 1950, p. 255 and p. 306.

20. See *Draft Constitution of India*, Manager, Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1948, p. 8.

Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 19 of the Constitution of India). Further, the Committee stated that it had also substituted the expression "except according to procedure established by law" for the words "without due process of law" (as originally suggested by the Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights appointed by the Constituent Assembly on 24th January, 1947, and adopted by the Constituent Assembly during its session held in April-May, 1947),²¹ since the former expression was "more specific (cf. Article XXXI of the Japanese Constitution, 1946)."²²

We shall now consider the scope and applicability of Article 21, with special reference to the meanings of the words "law," "procedure established by law," and "personal liberty" in it, as judicially determined. In *A. K. Gopalan v. The State of Madras*,²³ Kania C.J., and Mukherjea and Das JJ. held in 1950 that in Article 21 "the word 'law' has been used in the sense of State-made law and not as an equivalent of law in the abstract or general sense embodying the principles of natural justice"; that the expression "procedure established by law" "means procedure established by law made by the State, that is to say, the Union Parliament or the Legislatures of the States;" and that "it is not proper to construe this expression in the light of the meaning given to the expression 'due process of law' in the American Constitution," by the Supreme Court of America.²⁴ And so far as the meaning of the term "law" was concerned, Patanjali Sastri J. also held:²⁵

"I am unable to agree that the term 'law' in Article 21 means the immutable and universal principles of natural justice. Procedure established by law must be taken to refer to a procedure which has a statutory origin, for no procedure is known or can be said to have been established by such vague and uncertain concepts as 'the immutable and universal

principles of natural justice.' In my opinion, 'law' in Article 21 means 'positive or State-made law'. . . . it is difficult to accept the suggestion that 'law' in Article 21 stands for the *jus naturale* of the civil law, and that the phrase 'according to procedure established by law' is equivalent to due process of law in its procedural aspect, for that would have the effect of introducing into our Constitution those 'subtle and elusive criteria' implied in that phrase which it was the deliberate purpose of the framers of our Constitution to avoid."²⁶

Elaborating his view on Article 21 Kania C. J. observed:²⁷

"Without going to details, I think there is no justification to adopt the meaning of the word 'law' as interpreted by the Supreme Court of (the) U.S.A. in the expression 'due process of law' merely because the word 'law' is used in Article 21. The discussion of the meaning of 'due process of law' found in Willis on Constitutional Law²⁸ and in Cooley's Constitutional Limitations²⁹ shows the diverse meanings given to that expression at different times and under different circumstances by the Supreme Court of (the) U.S.A., so much so that the conclusion reached by these authors is that the expression means reasonable law according to the view of the majority of the judges of the Supreme Court at a particular time holding office. It also shows how the meaning of the expression was widened or abridged in certain decades. Moreover, to control the meaning so given to that expression from time to time the doctrine of police powers was brought into play. That doctrine, shortly put, is that legislation meant for the good of the people generally, and in which the individual has to surrender his freedom to a certain extent because it is for the benefit of the people at large, has not to be tested by the touchstone of the 'due process of law' formula."

Further,³⁰

"A perusal of the report of the drafting committee to which our attention was drawn shows clearly that the Constituent Assembly (of India) had before it the American article, and the expression 'due process of law,' but they deliberately dropped the use of that expression from our Constitution."

21. See *Reports of Committees* (First Series), 1947 (From December, 1946, to July, 1947), the Manager of Publications Delhi, pp. 18-22 and pp. 28-29; also *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 6th December, 1948, pp. 842-57.

22. Article 31 of the Japanese Constitution has laid down: "No person shall be deprived of life or liberty, nor shall any other criminal penalty be imposed, except according to procedure established by law."

23. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950—Vol. I, Parts II and III April and May, 1950, pp. 90-91.

24. Fazl Ali J. dissented from these views.—See *Ibid.*, p. 91.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-201 and also pp. 90-91.

26. With regard to the meaning of the expression "procedure established by law," however, Patanjali Sastri J. did not quite agree with Kania C. J. and Mukherjea and Das JJ. According to him the expression "does not mean . . . any procedure which may be prescribed by a competent legislature," but "the ordinary and well-established criminal procedure, that is to say, those settled usages and normal modes of proceeding sanctioned by the Criminal Procedure Code which is the general law of criminal procedure in the country."—See *Ibid.*, p. 91 and p. 205.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110.

28. I.e., Willis, *Constitutional Law of the United States*.

29. I.e., Cooley, *A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations*.

30. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II and III April and May, 1950, pp. 111-113.

"No extrinsic aid is needed to interpret the words of Article 21, which in my opinion, are not ambiguous. Normally read, and without thinking of other Constitutions, the expression 'procedure established by law' must mean procedure prescribed by the law of the State. If the Indian Constitution wanted to preserve to every person the protection given by the due process clause of the American Constitution there was nothing to prevent the (Constituent) Assembly from adopting this phrase, or if they wanted to limit the same to procedure only, to adopt that expression with only the word 'procedural' prefixed to 'law.' However, the correct question is what is the right given by Article 21? The only right is that no person shall be deprived of his life or liberty except according to procedure established by law. One may like that right to cover a larger area, but to give such a right is not the function of the Court; it is the function of the Constitution. To read the word 'law' as meaning rules of natural justice will land one in difficulties because the rules of natural justice, as regards procedure, are nowhere defined and in my opinion the Constitution cannot be read as laying down a vague standard. This is particularly so when in omitting to adopt 'due process of law' it was considered that the expression 'procedure established by law' made the standard specific. It cannot be specific except by reading the expression as meaning procedure prescribed by the legislature. The word 'law' as used in this Part³¹ has different shades of meaning but in no other article it appears to bear the indefinite meaning of natural justice. If so, there appears no reason why in this article it should receive this peculiar meaning. Article 31 which is also in Part III and relates to the fundamental rights in respect of property runs as follows:

'No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law.'

It is obvious that in that clause 'law' must mean enacted law. The object of dealing with property under a different article appears more to provide the exceptions found in Article 31(2) to (6), rather than to give the word 'law' a different meaning than the one given in Article 21. The word 'established' according to the Oxford Dictionary means 'to fix, settle, institute or ordain by enactment or agreement.' The word 'established' itself suggests an agency which fixes the limits. According to the dictionary this agency can be either the legislature or an agreement between the parties. There is therefore no justification to give the meaning of 'jus' to 'law' in Article 21.

The phrase 'procedure established by law' seems to be borrowed from Article 31 of the Japanese Con-

stitution. . . It is not shown that the word 'law' means 'jus' in the Japanese Constitution . . . The word 'due' in the expression 'due process of law' in the American Constitution is interpreted to mean 'just,' according to the opinion of the Supreme Court of (the) U.S.A. that word imparts jurisdiction to the Courts to pronounce what is 'due' from otherwise, according to law. (The deliberate omission of the word 'due' from Article 21 lends strength to the contention that the justiciable aspect of 'law,' i.e., to consider whether it is reasonable or not by the Court, does not form part of the Indian Constitution.) The omission of the word 'due,' the limitation imposed by the word 'procedure' and the insertion of the word 'established' thus brings out more clearly the idea of legislative prescription in the expression used in Article 21. (By adopting the phrase 'procedure established by law' the Constitution gave the legislature the final word to determine the law.)

As noted before, essentially similar views were expressed by Mr. Justice Mukherjea and Mr. Justice Das of the Supreme Court on Article 21, in the course of their judgments in *A. K. Gopalan v. The State of Madras*. Thus Mr. Justice Mukherjea said:³³

"It is not correct to say . . . that Article 21 is confined to matters of procedure only. There must be a substantive law, under which the State is empowered to deprive a man of his life and personal liberty and such law must be a valid law which the legislature is competent to enact within the limits of the powers assigned to it and which does not transgress any of the fundamental rights that the Constitution lays down."

Again:³⁴

"On a plain reading of the article the meaning seems to be that you cannot deprive a man of his personal liberty, unless you follow and act according to the law which provides for deprivation of such liberty. The expression 'procedure' means the manner and form of enforcing the law. In my opinion, it cannot be disputed that in order that there may be a legally established procedure, the law which establishes it must be a valid and lawful law which the legislature is competent to enact in accordance with article 245 of the Constitution and the particular items in the legislative lists which it relates to. It is also not disputed that such law must not offend against the fundamental rights which are declared in Part III of the Constitution."

Finally:³⁵

"I have no doubt in my mind that if the 'due process' clause which appeared in the original draft

31. I.e., Part III of the Constitution of India.

32. I.e., "law in the abstract sense of the principles of natural justice." See the *Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. I, Parts II & III, April and May, 1950, p. 108.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

35. See *ibid.*, pp. 274-78.

was finally retained by the Constituent Assembly (of India), it could be safely presumed that the framers of the Indian Constitution wanted that expression to bear the same sense as it does in America. But when that form was abandoned and another was deliberately substituted in its place, it is not possible to say that in spite of the difference in the language and expression, they should mean the same thing and convey the same idea . . . it is quite clear that the framers of the Indian Constitution did not desire to introduce into our system the elements of uncertainty, vagueness and changeability that have grown round the 'due process' doctrine in America. They wanted to make the provision clear, definite and precise and deliberately chose the words 'procedure established by law', as in their opinion no doubts would ordinarily arise about the meaning of this expression. The indefiniteness in the application of the 'due process' doctrine in America has nothing to do with the distinction between substantive and procedural law. The uncertainty and elasticity are in the doctrine itself which is a sort of hidden mine, the contents of which nobody knows and is merely revealed from time to time to the judicial conscience of the judges. This theory, the Indian Constitution deliberately discarded and that is why they substituted a different form in its place which, according to them, was more specific. In the second place, it appears to me that when the same words are not used, it will be against the ordinary canons of construction to interpret a provision in our Constitution in accordance with the interpretation put upon a somewhat analogous provision in the Constitution of another country, where not only the language is different, but the entire political conditions and constitutional set-up are dissimilar. (In the Supreme Court of America, stress has been laid uniformly upon the word 'due' which occurs before and qualifies the expression 'process of law.' 'Due' means 'what is just and proper' according to the circumstances of a particular case.) It is this word which introduces the variable element in the application of the doctrine; for what is reasonable in one set of circumstances may not be so in another and a different set. In the Indian Constitution³⁶ the word 'due' has been deliberately omitted and this shows clearly that the Constitution-makers of India had no intention of introducing the American doctrine. The word 'established' ordinarily means 'fixed or laid down' and if 'law' means, as Mr. Nambiar³⁷ contends, not any particular piece of law but the indefinite and indefinite principles of natural justice which underlie positive systems of law, it would not at all be appropriate to use the expression 'established' for natural law or

natural justice cannot establish anything like a definite procedure.

"It does not appear that in any part of the Constitution (of India) the word 'law' has been used in the sense of 'general law' connoting what has been described as the principles of natural justice outside the realm of positive law. On the other hand, the provision³⁸ of Article 31 of the Constitution, which appears in the chapter on Fundamental Rights, makes it clear that the word 'law' is equivalent to State-made law and to deprive a person of his property, the authority or sanction of such law is necessary . . . The provision of article 21 of the Indian Constitution reproduces, save in one particular, the language of article 31 of the Japanese Constitution and it is quite clear from the scheme and provisions of the Japanese Constitution that in speaking of law it refers to law passed or recognised as such by the State. (In the Irish Constitution also, there is provision in almost similar language which conveys the same idea. Article 40(4) (1) provides that 'no citizens shall be deprived of his personal liberty save in accordance with law', and by law is certainly meant the law of the State'. . . In the Constitutions of various other countries, the provisions relating to protection of personal liberty are couched very much in the same language as in Article 21. It is all a question of policy as to whether the legislature or the judiciary would have the final say in such matters and the Constitution-makers of India deliberately decided to place these powers in the hands of the legislature. Article 31 of the Japanese Constitution, upon which Article 21 of our Constitution is modelled, also proceeds upon the same principle . . . (My conclusion, therefore, is that in Article 21 the word 'law' has been used in the sense of State-made law and not as an equivalent of law in the abstract or general sense embodying the principles of natural justice.) The article presupposes that the law is a valid law and binding law under the provisions of the Constitution having regard to the competency of the legislature and the subject it relates to and does not infringe any of the fundamental rights which the Constitution provides for . . . It is enough, in my opinion, if the law is a valid law which the legislature is competent to pass and which does not transgress any of the fundamental rights declared in Part III of the Constitution."

And Mr. Justice Das stated:³⁹

"Article 21, as the marginal note states, guarantees to every person 'protection of life and personal liberty.' As I read it, it defines the substantive funda-

38. Reference is to Clause (1) of Article 31 of our Constitution, which lays down: "No person shall be deprived of his property save by authority of law."

39. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 306-307.

36. In Article 21 thereof.

37. Mr. M. K. Nambiar, Counsel for the petitioner Mr. A. K. Gopalan in the case *A. K. Gopalan vs. The State of Madras*.

mental right to which protection is given and does not purport to prescribe any particular procedure at all. That a person shall not be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law is the substantive fundamental right to which protection is given by the Constitution. The avowed object of the Article, as I apprehend it, is to define the ambit of the right to life and personal liberty which is to be protected as a fundamental right. The right to life and personal liberty protected by Article 21 is not an absolute right but is a qualified right—a right circumscribed by the possibility or risk of being lost according to procedure established by law. Liability to deprivation according to procedure established by law is in the nature of words of limitation. (The article delimits the right by a reference to its liability to deprivation according to procedure established by law and by this very definition throws a corresponding obligation on the State to follow a procedure before depriving a man of his life and personal liberty.) What that procedure is to be is not within the purpose or purview of this article to prescribe or indicate."

Further :⁴⁰

"The question then arises as to what is the meaning of the expression 'procedure established by law.' (The word 'procedure' in Article 21 must be taken to signify some step or method or manner of proceeding leading up to the deprivation of life or personal liberty.) According to the language used in the Article, this procedure has to be 'established by law.' The word 'establish' according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Vol. III, p. 297, means, amongst other things, 'to render stable or firm; to strengthen by material support; to fix, settle, institute or ordain permanently by enactment or agreement.' According to Dr. Annandale's edition of the *New Gresham Dictionary*, the word 'establish,' means, amongst other things, 'to found permanently; to institute; to enact or decree; to ordain; to ratify; to make firm.' It follows that the word 'established' in its ordinary natural sense means, amongst other things, 'enacted.' 'Established by law' will, therefore, mean 'enacted by law.' If this sense of the word 'established' is accepted, then the word 'law' must mean State-made law and cannot possibly mean the principles of natural justice, for no procedure can be said to have ever been 'enacted' by those principles. When Section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code speaks of 'Government established by law,' surely it does not mean 'Government set up by natural justice.' Therefore, procedure established by law must, I apprehend, be procedure enacted by the State which, by its definition in Article 12, includes Parliament. There is no escape from this position if the cardinal rule of construction, namely, to give the words used in a statute their

ordinary natural meaning, is applied . . . I find it difficult to let in principles of natural justice as being within the meaning of the word 'law,' having regard to the obvious meaning of that word in the other articles (of the Constitution) . . . There can be no doubt that the words 'in accordance with law' in Article 17 have reference to State law. Likewise, the word 'law' in Article 20(1) can mean nothing but law made by the State . . . If this be the correct meaning of the word 'law,' then there is no scope for introducing the principles of natural justice in Article 21 and 'procedure established by law' must mean procedure established by law made by the State which, as defined, includes Parliament and the Legislatures of the States."

Mr. Justice Das added :⁴¹

"We have been referred to a number of text-books and decisions showing the development of the American doctrine of 'due process of law' and we have been urged to adopt those principles in our Constitution. . . . The expression 'due process of law' has been interpreted by the American Courts in different ways at different times . . . Whenever a substantive law or some procedure laid down in any law did not find favour with the majority of the learned Judges of the Supreme Court it was not reasonable and, therefore, it was not 'due.' The very large and nebulous import of the word 'due' was bound to result in anomalies, for what was not 'due' on one day according to the Judges then constituting the Supreme Court became 'due,' say, 20 years later according to the new Judges who then came to occupy the Bench, for the Court had to adapt the Constitution to the needs of the society which were continually changing and growing . . . On serious reflection I find several insuperable objections to the introduction of the American doctrine of procedural due process of law into our Constitution. That doctrine can only thrive and work where the legislature is subordinate to the judiciary in the sense that the latter can sit in judgment over and review all acts of the legislature. Such a doctrine can have no application to a field where the legislature is supreme. That is why the doctrine of 'due process of law' is quite different in England where Parliament is supreme . . . Although our Constitution has imposed some limitations on the legislative authorities, yet subject to and outside such limitations our Constitution has left our Parliament and the State Legislatures supreme in their respective legislative fields. In the main, subject to the limitations I have mentioned, our Constitution has preferred the supremacy of the Legislature to that of the Judiciary. The English principle of due process of law is, therefore, more in accord with our Constitution than the American doctrine which has been evolved for serving quite a different system . . . In the next

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 307-309.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 309-323.

place, it is common knowledge that our Constitution-makers deliberately declined to adopt the uncertain and shifting American doctrine of due process of law and substituted the words 'except in due process of law'¹² that were in the original draft by the more specific expression 'except in accordance with procedure established by law.' To try to bring in the American doctrine, in spite of this fact, will be to stultify the intention of the Constitution as expressed in Article 21. In the third place, in view of the plain meaning of the language of that article as construed and explained above it is impossible to let in what have been called the principles of natural justice as adopted in the procedural due process of law by the American Supreme Court. Again, (even) the all-pervading little word 'due' does not find a place in Article 21 so as to qualify the procedure. (It speaks of procedure and not 'due' procedure and, therefore, the 'intellectual yardstick' of the Court is definitely ruled out.) Finally, it will be incongruous to import the doctrine of due process of law without its palliative, the doctrine of police powers. It is impossible to read the last-mentioned doctrine into Article 21 . . . Article 21, in my judgment, only formulates a substantive fundamental right to life and personal liberty which in its content is not an absolute right but is a limited right having its ambit circumscribed by the risk of its being taken away by following a procedure established by law made by the appropriate legislative authority and the proximate purpose of Article 21 is not to prescribe any particular procedure . . . (A procedure laid down by the legislature may offend against the Court's sense of justice and fair play and a sentence provided by the legislature may outrage the Court's notions of penology, but that is wholly irrelevant consideration. The Court may construe and interpret the Constitution and ascertain its true meaning but once that is done the Court cannot question its wisdom or policy. The Constitution is supreme. (The Court must take the Constitution as it finds it, even if it does not accord with its preconceived notions of what an ideal Constitution should be.) Our protection against legislative tyranny, if any, lies in ultimate analysis in a free and intelligent public opinion which must eventually assert itself . . . I am not convinced that there is any scope for the introduction into Article 21 of our Constitution of the doctrine of due process of law as regards procedure. I may or may not like it, but that is the result of our Constitution as I understand it."

(It is evident from what has been shown above that, according to the majority¹³ of the

Judges of our Supreme Court including Mr. Justice Patanjali Sastri, the word "law" in Article 21 of our Constitution has been used in the sense of "positive or State-made law," and "not as an equivalent of law in the abstract or general sense embodying the (immutable and universal) principles of natural justice." Of course, the law must be duly made and valid under the provisions of the Constitution.) We may also note in this connexion what Mukherjea J. of the Supreme Court stated in 1952 in the course of his judgment in *The State of West Bengal v. Anwar Ali Sarkar*:

"It cannot be disputed," he observed,¹⁴ "that a competent legislature is entitled to alter the procedure in criminal trials in such way as it considers proper. Article 21 of the Constitution only guarantees that 'no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except in accordance with the procedure established by law.' The word 'law' in the Article means a State-made law, but it must be a valid and binding law having regard not merely to the competency of the legislature and the subject it relates to, but it must not also infringe any of the fundamental rights guaranteed under Part III of the Constitution."

In our next article we propose to deal, among other things, with the comparative merits and defects of the American expression "without due process of law" and our expression in Article 21 "except according to procedure established by law." In the meanwhile, we shall, before concluding this article, indicate here the meaning of the expression "personal liberty" in Article 21, as judicially determined.

Liberty, it is generally held, has three forms or aspects—the personal or civil "liberty of the individual person, 'in mind, body and estate'; the political liberty of the citizen; and the economic liberty of the worker, whether with hand or brain," "engaged in some gainful occupation or service."¹⁵ We are concerned here with the first form of liberty, namely, the personal or civil liberty¹⁶ "the liberty of a man in the capacity of an individual person."

"To Blackstone," says Professor Ernest Barker,¹⁷ "this civil liberty consisted in three articles—personal security, not only of life and health, but also of repu-

12. As shown before, the exact words were: "without due process of law."

13. For the views of Fazl Ali J. on the question, reference may be made to *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950. Mahajan J. did not express any opinion on the question. See *ibid.*, p. 244.

14. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1952, Vol. 3, Part III, March, 1952, p. 322.

15. See Ernest Barker, *Principles of Social and Political Theory*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 146-49.

16. "Private liberty," according to Professor Harold Laski (*A Grammar of Politics*, p. 146).

17. See Ernest Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-47.

tation; personal freedom, especially of movement; and personal property, or the free use, enjoyment, and disposal of all acquisitions. Today we might prefer to say that civil liberty consists in three somewhat differently expressed articles—physical freedom from injury or threat to the life, health, and movement of the body; intellectual freedom for the expression of thought and belief; and practical freedom for the play of will and the exercise of choice in the general field of contractual action and relations with other persons."

And Lord Justice Denning of the Court of Appeal in England has said,⁴⁸ "By personal freedom I mean the freedom of every law-abiding citizen to think what he will, to say what he will, and to go where he will on his lawful occasions without let or hindrance from any other persons . . . It must be matched, of course, with social security, by which I mean the peace and good order of the community in which we live." Now whatever might be the views of men like Professor Ernest Barker and Lord Justice Denning on the concept of personal liberty or personal freedom—and they mean in essence the same thing—our Supreme Court appears to have put a rather narrow interpretation on the expression "personal liberty" in Article 21 of our Constitution. Thus, according to the majority⁴⁹ of the Judges of the Supreme Court in *A. K. Gopalan v. The State of Madras*, "the concept of the right 'to move freely throughout the territory of India' referred to in Article 19(1) (d) of the Constitution is entirely different from the concept of the right to 'personal liberty' referred to in Article 21, and Article 19 should not, therefore, be read as controlled by the provisions of Article 21."⁵⁰ And Mukherjea J. observed:

"In ordinary language 'personal liberty' means liberty relating to or concerning the person or body of the individual; and 'personal liberty' in this sense is the antithesis of *physical restraint* or *coercion*. According to Dicey,⁵¹ who is an acknowledged authority on the subject, 'personal liberty' means a personal right not to be subjected to imprisonment, arrest or other physical coercion in any manner that does not admit of legal justification. It is, in my opinion, this negative right of not being subjected to any form of physical restraint or coercion that constitutes the

essence of personal liberty and not mere freedom to move to any part of the Indian territory.

"In this connection, it may not be irrelevant to point out that it was in accordance with the recommendation of the Drafting Committee (of the Indian Constituent Assembly) that the word 'personal' was inserted before 'liberty' in Article 15 of the (Draft) Constitution (of India) which now stands as Article 21. In the report of the Drafting Committee it is stated that the word 'liberty' should be qualified by the insertion of the word 'personal' before it; otherwise, it might be construed very widely so as to include even the freedoms already dealt with in Article 13 (of the Draft Constitution). Article 13, it should be noted, is the present Article 19. If the views of the Drafting Committee were accepted by the Constituent Assembly, the intention obviously was to exclude the contents of Article 19 from the concept of 'personal liberty' as used in Article 21 . . . If the report of the Drafting Committee is an appropriate material upon which the interpretation of the words of the Constitution could be based, it certainly . . . shows that the words used in Article 19(1) (d) of the Constitution do not mean the same thing as the expression 'personal liberty' in Article 21 does. It is well known that the word 'liberty' standing by itself has been given a very wide meaning by the Supreme Court of the United States of America. It includes not only personal freedom from physical restraint but the right to the free use of one's own property and to enter into free contractual relations. In the Indian Constitution, on the other hand, the expression 'personal liberty' has been deliberately used to restrict it to freedom from physical restraint of persons by incarceration or otherwise. Apart from the report of the Drafting Committee, that is the plain grammatical meaning of the expression as I have already explained."

Essentially similar views were expressed on the question by Kania C.J., and Patanjali Sastri and Das JJ., in the course of their judgments in *A. K. Gopalan v. The State of Madras*.⁵² Kania C. J. added:

"Article 19(1) does not purport to cover all aspects of liberty or of personal liberty. In that article only certain phases of liberty are dealt with. ('Personal liberty' would primarily mean liberty of the physical body.) The rights given under Article 19(1) do not directly come under that description. They

51. What Dicey has exactly said is as follows:

"The right to personal liberty as understood in England means in substance a person's right not to be subjected to imprisonment, arrest, or other physical coercion in any manner that does not admit legal justification." See his *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., pp. 207-208.

52. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, pp. 105-107, 190-96 and 295-306.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-107.

48. See Denning, *Freedom Under the Law*, 1949, p. 5.

* Kania C. J., Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea and Das, JJ. (Fazl Ali J. dissenting). *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Parts II and III, April and May, 1950, p. 89.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 89.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63.

are rights which accompany the freedom or liberty of the person. By their very nature they are freedoms of a person assumed to be in full possession of his personal liberty. If Article 19 is considered to be the only article safeguarding personal liberty, several well-recognised rights, as for instance, the right to eat and drink, the right to work, play, swim and numerous other rights and activities and even the right to life will not be deemed protected under the Constitution. I do not think that is the intention. It seems to me improper to read Article 19 as dealing with the same subject as Article 21. Article 19 gives the rights specified therein only to the citizens of India while Article 21 is applicable to all persons . . . In my opinion, therefore, Article 19 should be read as a separate complete article."

It may be noted here that Fazl Ali J. did not agree with the interpretation which the majority of the Judges had put on the expression "personal liberty" in Article 21.⁵⁴ He stated:⁵⁵

"The contention put forward on behalf of the petitioner (A. K. Gopalan) is that freedom of movement is the essence of personal liberty and any restraint on freedom of movement must be held to amount to abridgment or deprivation of personal

liberty, as the case may be, according to the nature of the restraint. After very careful consideration, I have come to the conclusion that this contention is well-founded in law."

Further:⁵⁶

"I am confirmed in my view that the juristic conception that personal liberty and freedom of movement connote the same thing is the correct and true conception, and the words used in Article 19(1)(d) must be construed according to this universally accepted legal conception."

Finally:⁵⁷

"I am strongly of the view that Article 19(1)(d) guarantees the right of freedom of movement in its widest sense, that freedom of movement being the essence of personal liberty, the right guaranteed under the article is really a right to personal liberty and that preventive detention is a deprivation of that right."

Whatever one might feel about this view, the interpretation put upon the expression "personal liberty" by the majority of its Judges is to be deemed, however, as the decision of the Supreme Court, and is, under Article 141 of our Constitution, "binding on all courts within the territory of India."

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-57.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

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THE REVISION OF THE U. N. CHARTER

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"DETERMINED to save succeeding generations from the scourge of War, which twice in our life-time has brought untold sorrow to mankind," the people of the United Nations resolved at San Francisco in 1945 to unite their strength, to maintain international peace and security. Ten years back, at a time even when the Second World War was going on, the present International Organisation, known as the United Nations, was established—

"to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to re-affirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women, and of nations large and small and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social

progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, etc."

Yet, the goal—peace and security—is still as far off as the distant Mars. And according to President Truman,¹ "the peoples of the United Nations" are still "haunted by the constant fear of aggression and burdened by the cost of preparing against attack." Within a short time after the end of hostilities, in the midst of which the institution was born, fissures and cracks began to develop in the Organisation. Today we find the world divided into two Power blocs engaged in a constant cold war. The very name 'United Nations' has come to be a misnomer and a mockery, for it may more appropriately be called today a 'Disunited

1. Leonard : *International Organisation*, p. 4.

Nations.' What was designed to be "an instrument of world peace, has proved to be a forum of world conflict." It is feared, if every care and precaution is not taken to remove its defects, it would also go the way of its predecessor, the League of Nations. Day by day people are losing faith in the efficacy of this international organisation, and voices are being raised for the revision of the U.N. Charter to make it a better instrument for the promotion of world peace, prosperity and security.

There are certain inherent defects, and certain other factors which are proving to be the antithesis of the pacific settlement of disputes or the maintenance of security. Firstly, the Security Council is vested with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security. But it has no authority to settle a dispute, it can only make 'recommendations' for the same. It cannot even refer a legal dispute to the International Court of Justice. Secondly, the authority and functions of the U. N. are hedged by the domestic jurisdiction clause² of the Charter and the Veto³ provision for the Big Five Nations (U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K., China and France). Thirdly, the Charter is, in the words of Vollet, "over-simplified in some respects and unnecessarily complex in others. It is a document that defies interpretation according to normal legal canons of construction." (There is no provision for its authoritative interpretation, with the result that each member-State, and each organ of the U. N. interprets the Charter for itself. Fourthly, United Nations, although a world forum, an international deliberative body, has no power of legislation. It can only recommend or suggest ways and means "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character." Fifthly, Article 27 of the Charter refers to voting so as to secure decisions of the Security Council on 'procedural matters' and 'on all other matters.' But there is no clear definition of the procedural and non-procedural matters. Moreover, in the sixth place, the possession of the atomic weapons has completely changed the whole

set-up of international politics and diplomacy. The seventh factor responsible for complicating the situation in the Organisation is the emergence of New China on the liquidation of the Nationalist K. M. T. The China problem has become chronic due to the persistent refusal of the U.S.A. and her satellites to face the reality and accept the *fait accompli* by recognizing the Communist Government as the *De Jure* Government of China and giving a rightful place to it in the U.N.O. This is in clear violation of the third principle of the Atlantic Charter which states: "They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live . . ." It is only hatred and suspicion of Communism that has blinded the U.S.A. on this moral issue. It has very much accelerated the East-West tension within the Organisation. "It appears as a clear case of forcible bolstering up, for political reasons, by the U.S.A., in whose hands she is now virtually a tool, and thus doubling the weight of the U.S.A. in the U.N. by bypassing the Charter. This arrangement, obviously devoid of all logic and justice, has dealt a mortal blow to the prestige of the Organization." Eighthly, during the last ten years various regional organizations have cropped up under several treaties among a group of nations, e.g., the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, August 30, 1947; the Brussels Pact, March 17, 1948; the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, April 14, 1949; the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the U.S.A., September 1, 1951; the Mutual Defence Assistance Pact between Pakistan and U.S.A., May 19, 1954; the Balkan Pact, August 9, 1954; the South-East Asia Defence Treaty Organization, September 8, 1954; and the M.E.D.O., etc. The States participating in most of these treaties have declared that if one of them is attacked, the other parties to the treaty concerned, will rush to her defence in accordance with the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized in Art. 51 of the U.N. Charter. But this growing trend towards nationalistic policies of regional arrangements and mutual assistance pacts, is not easily reconcilable with Art. 54 of the Charter. Woodrow Wilson had rightly remarked that "there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understand-

2. Bentwich and Martin : *Charter of the United Nations* (Preface).

3. Art. 2, para. 7 of the U. N. Charter.

4. Art. 27, para. 3 of the U. N. Charter.

ings within the general and common family of the League of Nations." Such arrangements divert the attention from the international organization and may in time, according to Armstrong,⁵ "overshadow the organization's universal character and aim." Such arrangements lead to the formation of blocs and aggravate power-politics.

All these facts make an early revision of the Charter imperative. According to Mr. John Foster Dulles, the present U.N. Charter is a pre-atomic charter and hence it was obsolete before it came into force. It was inadequate in that it had been prepared before the Atom Bomb.

Art. 108 of the Charter permits the amendment of the Charter by a 2/3 majority vote of the members of the General Assembly, and ratified by a 2/3 majority vote of the members of the United Nations, including all the five permanent members of the Security Council. But as things stand in the U.N., and taking into account the tension between the two Power blocs, a proposal for an amendment has no chance of being passed. A proposal sponsored by the U.S.A., may be passed in the General Assembly, but has no chance of being ratified, because it would be rejected by the Soviet Union by the application of the veto. While any amendment sponsored by the U.S.S.R. has no chance of being adopted in the General Assembly even, as they are not expected to command a 2/3 majority either in the General Assembly or in any conference. If, therefore, revision of the Charter is not to be blocked permanently, the amending procedure of the Charter has itself to be amended first. The extreme rigidity of the amending process should be relaxed.

The Charter would need certain drastic changes, rather complete overhauling, to bring it into accord with the altered situation arising from the split of the wartime alliance into two power-blocks engaged in a constant cold war. There are persons like Mr. Arthur Moore, who are convinced that the U.N. "will go the way of the League, and that the tempo of events is now faster than after the first World War, it will end much more quickly." He does not "ex-

pect the charter to be revised. What is more probable is that the Organization, confronted by the recurring difficulty of the Veto, will break up, and that a new organization will be formed without the Veto." Well, "breaking up of an organization is a form of its revision through violence. No one can halt the march of political events or chain the great historical forces, pushing them from behind, and the U.N. Charter (if not revised earlier through peaceful and constitutional methods) may be revised by them through a third World War in much the same way as the covenant of the League of Nations was revised ultimately."

That in the present-day world—a world rendered physically one through progress of science and technology, but divided psychologically and ideologically—some sort of a better and improved international organization is needed with the aims and purposes of the U.N.O. I suggest the present organization to be remodelled on the following lines:

(1) Subject to certain formalities, the membership of such a world organization should be open to all independent States without any restriction whatsoever. The admission of a member should be made a non-votable item. This will ensure the dignity and the universal character of the organization. Then alone, it can claim to be called a truly world organization. In the present U.N.O. admission of new members can be possible only on a concurrent vote of all the Big Five States. But the power-politics has prevented membership from being made universal. Each group insists on admission of 'like-minded' countries and has opposed the admission of States of the opposite Camp.

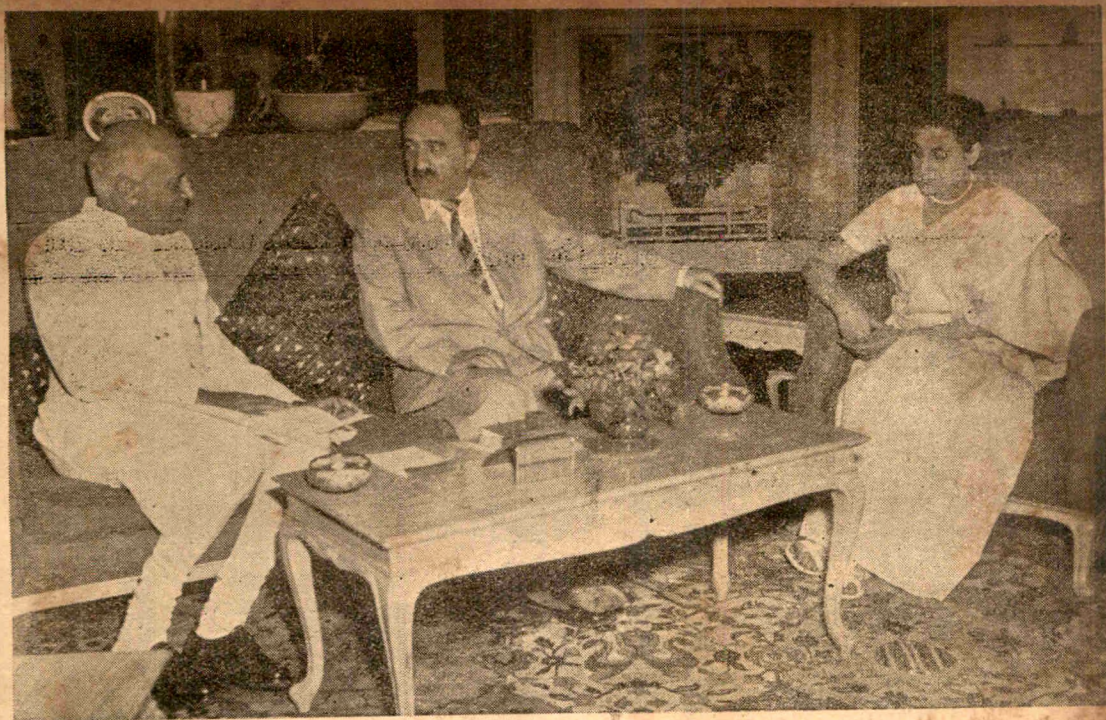
(2) The Veto power of the Big Five States, in the Security Council should be abolished, to establish equality among all member-states in the Organization. The use of the word 'five great powers or Big Five' is an insult to other nations. To give these five States a privileged position makes the position of other States subservient in the Organization. This is against the principles of the U.N. Charter which is based on the basic "principle of the sovereign equality of all its members."⁶ The Veto today instead of a symbol of concord

5. H. F. Armstrong: "Coalition for Peace," *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1948, p. 1.

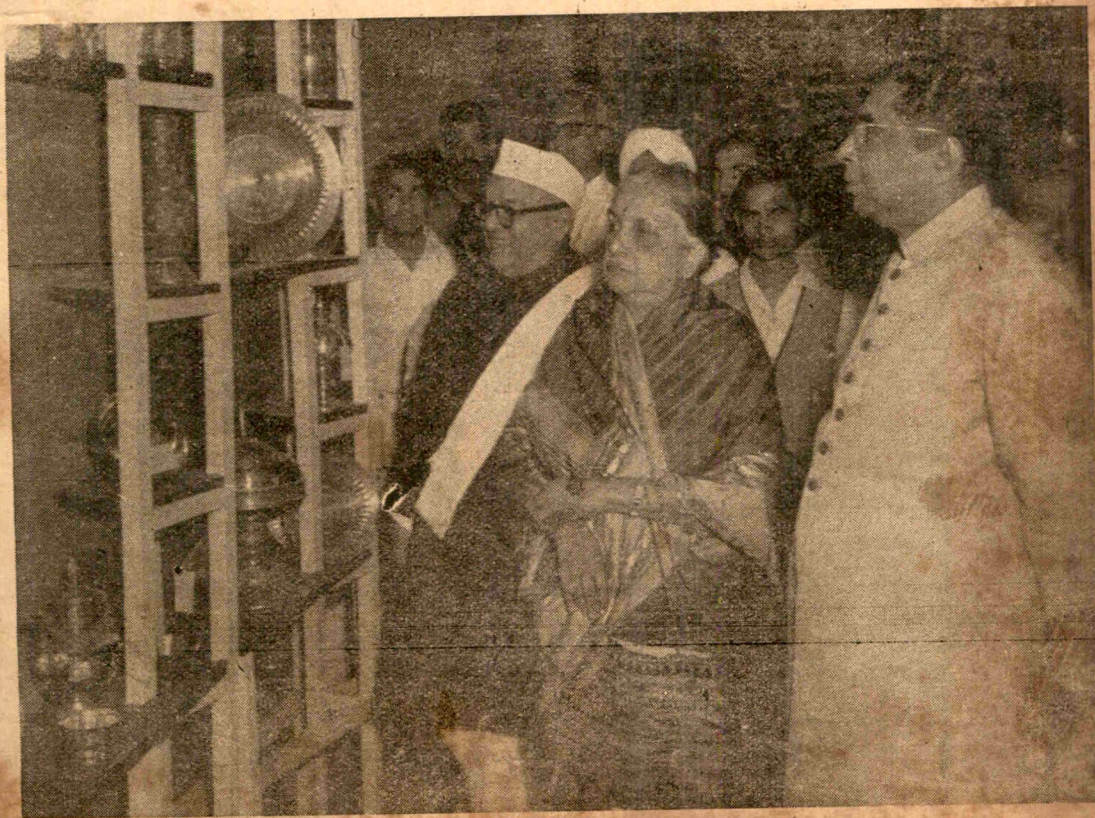
6. *India Quarterly*, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 124.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

8. U. N. Charter: Art. 2.



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. A. I. Mikoyan, First Deputy Premier of U.S.S.R. and Srimati Indira Gandhi



An Exhibition of metalware was inaugurated by Sri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Speaker, Lok Sabha at the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society in New Delhi on March 23. With him are seen Sm. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Chairman of the Board, and Sri Rajamannar, Chief Justice of Madras



Admiral Earl Mountbatten called on the Union Defence Minister, Dr. K. N. Katju, at his office in New Delhi on March 15. There he met Sri Mahabir Tyagi, Minister of Defence Organisation, Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia, Deputy Defence Minister, Sri M. K. Vellodi, Defence Secretary and General S. M. Srinagesh, Vice Admiral S. H. Carlill and Air Marshal S. Mukherji



Countess Mountbatten is conducted round the operation theatre in the Extension Building of the Mehrauli T. B. Hospital in Delhi (March 16). With her appears Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Union Health Minister

has proved to be a symbol of discord. Both Soviet Union and Anglo-American Powers have misused it by their thoughtless course of action. And, as M. Alvarez, in his dissenting opinion in the 'Competence of the General Assembly for the admission of a State to the U.N.,' said :

"To decide that the right of veto may be freely exercised in every case in which the Security Council may take action, would mean deciding what the will of a single great power could frustrate the will of the other members of the Council and of the General Assembly, even in matters other than the maintenance of peace and security and that would reduce the U.N.O. to impotence."

3. There should be no provision of permanent membership in the Security Council. All the members of the Security Council should be elected by the General Assembly for a fixed term of 3 to 5 years. This would provide to all the member-States an equal opportunity to hold its membership without any grudge left in their hearts towards any State. Today U.N.O. has become a monopoly of the Five Big Powers. They have almost become the directors of the Organization. Other States suffer inferiority complex before them.

4. There also exists some vagueness in the different provisions of the Charter. The powers of the Security Council and the General Assembly are not very definite or clear, and as the Chief Justice of India remarked at the International Legal Conference, New Delhi, in December, 1953 :

"After one read the whole Charter even casually, one is left rather with a vague impression that here is a body that by reason of certain votes being exercised in one way rather than another, might hurt national interests, viewed solely from the point of view of particular national groups. Therefore, I was going to suggest a clear declaration of the powers which the member-nations are willing to grant to the United Nations."

5. The revised Charter should openly declare that there should be absolutely no racial discrimination. Discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, creed, colour, caste, language or nationality will divide the world into a number of antagonistic groups. This will hamper the unity among nations and men. A sound World Organization which can run smoothly, can be established only with the basic idea of universal brotherhood.

6. The laws of Extradition should be made more clear. We have experienced a number of Indian criminals taking shelter in Pakistan, which refuses to hand them over to the Government of India. If laws of Extradition are more clear and universal; and if there is made no distinction between political and non-political crime, protection of crime by countries would automatically come to an end, and disloyal elements would be eliminated.

7. All countries which are under the U.N. Trusteeship at present should be declared as sovereign and be made the members of the U.N.O.

8. For the violation of the principles of the Charter no member should be expelled but it should be rather influenced and impressed to have faith in the Charter and observe those principles.

9. The General Assembly of the new World Organization should be bi-cameral. The Upper House—to be elected on the basis of population of each State, *i.e.*, on the basis of proportional representation—should be called the House of Humanity. The Lower House should be formed on equality basis of each member-State, having five representatives from each member-State big or small, to be known as the House of Nations. All decisions should be taken by a concurrence of both the Houses of General Assembly. Decisions on vital matters concerning peace and security must be taken by a two-third majority of the Lower House, the House of Nations. And disputes whether a matter is vitally concerned with peace and security or not, should be referred to the Chief Justice of the International Court of Justice, whose decision should be final. In case of disagreement between the two Houses, a resolution would be taken to have been passed by the General Assembly if the House of Humanity passes such a resolution again, *i.e.*, for the second time, within a period of 6 months by a three-fourth majority vote. The General Assembly should be given the power of legislation also on certain agreed matters.

10. The judges of the International Court of Justice should not be elected by the General Assembly. They should better be elected by an "Electoral College," consisting of the Chief Justices of all the member-nations, by a two-third majority by means of single transferable

vote, from among eminent jurists of international repute. Only the International Court should have the power to interpret the U.N. Charter. The Court should be given compulsory jurisdiction. Jurisdiction may also be conferred on the court to hear appeals from judgement of Municipal courts adjudicating upon maritime captures during the war. Further, the statute of the court might be amended so as to empower it to exercise criminal jurisdiction over individuals accused of crimes against International Law.

11. Cases may be decided with the help of a jury. One representative judge from each member-nation should form the jury. If the jury is of unanimous opinion on a point of law or fact its opinion should prevail, otherwise it should remain an advisory body.

12. Disputes among nations which have not been settled through negotiations and have been referred to the U.N. should immediately without exception, be sent to the International Court of Justice, and its decisions should be final. And it should be made plain to all nations that judgements by the I.C. J. would not only be final but also binding and sanctions would be used if their implementation is violated.

13. For the enhancement of the prestige of the U.N. and for the proper execution of the decisions taken by the General Assembly of the C.I. J., it is not only desirable but also necessary to establish an international armed force. This force should consist of contributions from all the member-nations on a proportional basis. This force should be under the direct command of the Security Council, which shall be responsible for the execution of all decisions and shall stay at the headquarters of the U.N.O.

14. In order to create a sense of security among all the nations of the world and to restrain the physically big nations of the world from following the course of natural justice and the principle of 'might is right,' there should be an international control over all the Atomic and nuclear weapons as well as other dangerous weapons which can affect the life of humanity. These weapons may be used against a nation only when both the Houses of the General Assembly pass separately a resolution to this

effect by at least a three-fourth majority vote after one month's notice.

15. Any amendment to the Charter must also envisage the complete, simultaneous, universal and enforceable disarmament. The mad armament race must be stopped forthwith, and the production of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction must be prohibited or controlled. Atomic energy may be placed under the supervision and control of the U.N.

16. The sessions of the General Assembly should not necessarily be held in one country only. If other nations invite the session to be held in their countries and provide full facilities the sessions may be held in other countries also.

17. For the promotion of international peace and brotherhood, it is desirable that an international language be decided upon and member-States be requested to include that language in their curriculum of educational institutions and to provide full facilities for the expansion and popularity of such a *lingua franca* of the world. Such a decision over the international language may be taken by a three-fourth majority vote of both the Houses of General Assembly, i.e., House of Humanity and the House of Nations.

18. In order to adjust the purposes and principles of the U.N. with the changing times and needs, it is essential to be agreed upon that after every seven years consideration regarding the amendments of the Charter itself should be taken up by the General Assembly and decided upon by at least a two-third majority of the total membership of the Houses and of a three-fourth majority of the members present and voting.

But in the end it may be pointed out that the effecting of amendments in the Charter or completely overhauling it would not set everything right in the Organization, as the malady lies much deeper. It is more psychological than structural or procedural. What is, therefore, needed is not so much amendment of the Charter, as the creation of an international mind or world outlook, the creation of the appropriate atmosphere and climate which would secure international collaboration. "The root of the trouble that besets the organization is a 'fear psychosis' leading to cumulative mutual distrust, suspicion, hatred and ill-will

between the two power-blocs into which most of the member-States are divided." What is required, therefore, is, that we should first wash our hearts, should strive our utmost to remove this mutual distrust, fear and hatred among the member-nations and persuade them to believe actively in the philosophy of 'co-existence,' live and let live. Every nation should try to accommodate, have respect for, those nations also who have opposing ideologies. In the words of Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the present Secretary-General of the U.N. :

"The United Nations is a symbol of faith and I personally believe that it is a realistic faith, that peace is possible and within reach, given goodwill."¹⁰

What is needed, is a change, not merely

in the Charter but primarily in our attitude towards others.

"The United Nations is suffering from 'double-thinking' and 'political anaemia', and to cure it, a change in popular attitude and political climate is needed. The world is ridden by imperialism, colonialism and racialism; it is torn and tortured by ideological conflicts."¹¹

It is only by the purification of our hearts and our faith in the 'Panch Shila' that the ideal of 'one world' and Tennyson's dream of "the parliament of men, the federation of the world" can be realised.

10. Dag Hammarskjöld. In his address to the Indian Council of World Affairs on February 3, 1956. Published in *Amrita Bazar Patrika* daily, dated 5.2.56.

11. S. A. H. Haggi : *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 4, 1954, p. 342.

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PRODUCTIVITY STUDIES FOR STEPPING UP PRODUCTION IN THE NEXT PLAN

By R. N. BOSE, I.A.S.

INCREASED productivity and increased opportunity for work are now accepted as the main objectives in our planning. Though it was early realised that the principal problem is to secure a continuous increase in production by all possible means and though as early as the 6th April, 1948, the industrial policy statement of the Government of India stressed the need of a dynamic national policy directed towards increased productivity, it was early foreseen that more than any other peril which might develop from time to time, the ultimate peril was the chance of a slow drying up of the productive capacity of the nation as a result of the chequered past with its legacy of frustration. The question of greater production is therefore bound up with the success of the next Five-Year Plan and more so because ugly symptoms of a go-slow mentality have been noticed in some sectors of our industrial society. Not only it is necessary to realise that increased production and provision for increased opportunities for all kinds of work must be the framework within which a solution of our many problems may be possible but to this end it is equally necessary to appreciate the need of productivity studies for stimulating production.

Productivity has often been defined technically as the "ratio of output to the corresponding input of labour." But this definition of productivity is really an over-simplification. Productivity is not simply a measure of the specific contribution of labour or of capital or

any other factor of productivity. It reflects the cumulative influence of the operation of a large number of separate though inter-related factors, such as, technological improvement, rate of operation, degree of efficiency achieved in different processes, availability of supplies and the flow of materials and components as well as employer-employee relations, skill and efforts of the worker and efficiency of management. But more than anything else, the problem of productivity is intimately bound up with contentment among workers and their willingness to co-operate.

The broad picture of industrial development in India after independence is one of an initial period of difficulty followed by years of continual rising production. The gross ex-factory value of output increased from 743 crores in 1947 to 1307 crores in 1951. This was also accompanied by a diversification as well as enlargement of the capital base. Another significant factor is that with almost stationary labour for increase of industrial production (1946-100) had moved from 97.2 in 1947 to 108.4 in 1948, to 105.7 in 1949, to 105 in 1950 and to 117 in 1951, in all by nearly 20 per cent. This shows that a process of unnoticed rationalisation and drive for productivity had been going on all the time. The following 2 tables reflect the industrial progress in terms of increases in production as well as in installed capacity in some of the major industries.

INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Year	Index of Genl. index	Industrial Coal	Production Cemnt	Paper and Paper Board
1947	97.2	103.1	93.9	87.8
1948	108.4	101.2	100.7	92.4
1949	105.8	108.9	136.3	97.4
1950	105.0	110.8	169.5	102.7
1951	117.2	118.8	207.2	124.4
1952	128.9	125.4	229.3	129.7
1953	135.1	124.1	245.1	130.4
Cotton cloth	Jute	Chemicals	Steel ingots and metal	Genl. Engg. and Elec. Engg.
96.2	96.6	102.7	97.1	92.2
110.5	100.2	158.5	97.7	136.5
99.9	84.8	194.3	104.6	167.2
93.8	76.8	229.0	112.0	203.1
104.3	80.4	260.2	388.8	265.7
117.7	87.4	112.0	112.0	233.0
125.1	79.8	515.6	116.5	258.6
Year	Production (revalued at constant prices)	Production workers	Manhours	
1946	100.0	100.0	100.0	
1947	110.4	107.2	104.3	
1948	115.1	111.4	108.4	
1949	117.6	109.8	104.0	
1950	122.4	105.9	102.6	

Output Per Worker	Unit labour requirements Per manhour	Production workers	Manhours per unit
100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
103.0	105.8	97.1	94.5
103.3	106.1	96.8	94.2
107.1	113.1	93.4	88.4
115.6	119.3	86.5	83.8

(From census of manufactures—indices of production, employment, man-hour productivity.)

Government of India naturally wanted to step up production more and provide not only financial and administrative framework in which productivity might advance further from the ingenuity of engineers and technicians in devising new innovations and techniques but wanted the imagination, judgment and willingness of the management to accept innovations. At the same time it was agreed that we cannot afford to allow our workers to carry an insufficient workload, specially at a stage when we are rapidly developing the country. Everyone must give a full day's work and should be encouraged to surpass average standards by a comfortable margin. This was the only way "to build up a great State and build up ourselves."

To this end, I.L.O. experts on productivity and systems of payment by results were invited in India in the first week of December, 1952 for a period of six months at the first instance. These experts conducted pilot productivity tests in selected units in the engineering industry in Calcutta, and the textile industry in Bombay and Ahmedabad with the object of demonstrating how productivity and earnings of works can be

improved through the application of modern techniques of plant organisation and work study. The increase in productivity arising as a direct result of the team's work has been assessed at between 6 per cent to 36 per cent in the units in the textile industry and 12.5 per cent to 116 per cent in the engineering industry.

The expert team recommended the establishment of a national productivity centre staffed at the beginning by I.L.O. experts. This had the approval of the Planning Commission and at the Standing Labour Committee held on the 28th July, 1953, the employers welcomed the idea of the Centre and expressed their willingness to share the cost. The workers while welcoming the proposal stressed that the experts should confine their activities to investigations and recommendations.

It was also pointed out that before maximum use can be made of existing equipments, adequate machine-maintenance procedure must be introduced. This calls for the increased use of technically trained men on machine maintenance work. Moreover, greater flexibility in the allocation of duties between different jobs was advocated. It was also stressed that the wage structure of the industries must be studied closely on a scientific basis before satisfactory systems of payment by results can be introduced and maximum labour productivity encouraged.

It is hoped that the national productivity centre which is now an established fact will envisage a number of measures concerning improvement of productivity of industry. Its first object will be to assist in the implementation of the proposals of the coming plan when industrialisation will be considerably stepped up. It will seek to further the application in India of modern techniques for raising productivity especially those which require little or no new capital investment. The central feature is the application of modern engineering and management techniques for the purpose of raising productivity and earnings by making better use of existing plant and equipment and by improving working conditions and human relations.

This would thus be the main task of the proposed centre. This fuller utilisation and this new approach are designed to meet the special needs of India in which capital is bound to be for a long time in short supply in relation to the great and expanding demand for it. As has been well said:

"Fuller utilisation of existing capacity must necessarily be the prime consideration in policy for where such capacity exists increase in production can usually be secured at a diminishing cost per unit. The increase in productivity per unit of resources already employed can make a vital contribution to the increase in total production so urgently needed at the present time."

While it is not necessary to anticipate the line of action to be pursued by the National Productivity Centre, it is perhaps right to state briefly some of the known snags that stand in the way of productivity and

which are likely to engage the attention of the Centre in due course when the data collected by the Central Labour Bureau is critically analysed by it and a systematic study of the beginnings of different productivity schemes be made.

✓ Regarding payment by results for instance it has been suggested as a result of the experience gained so far to create statutory provision, if need be, for the wage fixing machinery to apply the principle of payment by results wherever feasible. A scientific system for this purpose involves time and motion study to determine the proper workload, job evaluation and the proper setting of piece rates. It is obvious of course that this system of payment by results will have to be supplemented by a guarantee of minimum quantum of work and employment. On the other hand, there will be need to ensure that the system does not work to the detriment of the health of the workers. Piece rates would have to be worked out in such a way that they prove disincentive after the worker crosses a safe maximum output. Thus before wages are fixed service of experts may be necessary to evolve a suitable system of payment by results, if one is not already prevalent in the industry. It is necessary in this context to secure in advance a change in the attitudes of certain sections of labour to the introduction of this system. It may also be necessary to provide for bonuses to individual workers if they show proper care in the use of tools and other equipments and also for saving raw materials.

While productivity over the whole field of organised industry has gone up since 1947, the increase in productivity has not been even in all sectors. In some industries like cement and paper there has been a notable increase both in installed capacity and in production. In certain other industries there has been no rise in installed capacity although there has been diversification of production. Though the trend in productivity is unmistakable, industries in which output seems to have increased more than 50 per cent are plywood, tea-chests, wheat flour, cement, paper and paper board and the sewing machinery industries. ✓ But in some sectors productivity has declined and so the First Five-Year Plan recommended that scientific investigation should be held regarding the complaints of declining productivity. As already pointed out the work done by the team of productivity experts in demonstrating the possibility of greater output and the establishment of National Productivity Centre are measures taken in this direction. Now to take a few concrete cases, the productivity in industries is influenced by a variety of technical, economic and institutional factors including the nature of production-process, the capital structure of the industry, the composition of labour force, the availability of materials, the size of markets, the skill of output, scientific research, and exchange of information. The production process at a given stage of technology is generally fixed in advance by certain technical

conditions involving physical agents such as heat, pressure and electrical energy and output cannot ordinarily be changed in a major way by the effort of workers alone. In many branches it is only in such operational stages as packaging and maintenance that workers can exert a substantial influence in the quantitative output of the industry. As a result of the nature of the production process in some industries the amount of capital invested per worker is very high, in fact, the highest being in the manufactures of chemicals and electrical equipment where the labour force is comparatively small and over one half of the working force commonly consists of indirect labour, while unskilled labour comprises less than one-fifth of the labour force. The high productivity in chemical and electrical industries is therefore directly dependent on the maintenance of a high level of scientific research which has revolutionised the entire chemical and electrical industry within the short space of two or three decades.

Though many of the factors are longterm and beyond the control of the individual undertaking in the short term, even here there is great scope for improving productivity through co-operation by management and workers. Certain basic attitudes are required on the part of the management and workers before progress can be made in raising productivity rapidly. For instance in the chemical industry there should be not only a willingness to accept change but also a capacity to initiate changes which will improve the output achieved in a given input. In short, there is need for a basic stock-taking of attitudes, methods and, technique on the part of both management and workers and for the development of a co-operative and creative approach to the problem of production in most industries.

✓ There are two major ways in which management may raise productivity in most factories: by improving methods of organisation and operation of the existing plant and equipment, and by increasing the effectiveness of available man power resources. Greater utilisation of existing plant and equipment can be achieved by improved plant layout, better materials handling, a planned maintenance programme, effective use of standard cost accounting and standardisation and simplification. Management may achieve the most effective utilisation of available man power resources through the adoption of measures which will take into account the basic motivations of workers, minimise labour discontent and provide for a clear definition of responsibility, and a proper delegation of authority and a recognition of the importance of technical competence in supervisory functions.

Where management has created a favourable environment for increase in productivity, workers and trade unions may contribute to higher productivity in a number of ways, such as, assistance in improving the technical efficiency of the plant, suggestion for developing new methods and techniques of production, the introduction of greater flexibility in apprenticeship sys-

tem, careful observance of safety-precautions and in general by care and attention to detail in carrying out their often exacting duties.

The training of management and workers to carry out their proper roles in increasing productivity is exceedingly important. As already indicated, careful attention is needed for on-the-job vocational training and a training of supervisors. Better training for members of the management can be achieved by improved facilities as contemplated in the Institute of Business Management and management conferences, and more easily by distribution of reading lists and management bulletins, group meetings, job rotation, committee assignments and multiple management plans.

There is growing interest in the possibilities of utilising the technique of work-study to raise productivity. The purpose of work-study is to analyse work-method in such a way as to stop any waste of materials, power, machine, time or human effort and to design work-method and procedures which will eliminate such waste. It is useful to divide work-study into two main stages, method-study and work-measurement. Method-study comprises selecting the work to be studied; recording in adequate detail the relevant facts of the existing method; examining each element of the operation critically, and in sequence, developing the best and most economical method in the prevailing circumstances; installing the new method as agreed standard practice, and maintaining the new standard practice by proper control procedure.

Work measurement is the determination by suitable technique of the proper time to be allowed for the effective performance of a specified task, due allowance being made for fatigue. Work measurement is an invaluable tool in increasing productivity in several ways. It helps to ensure that each factory is efficiently manned. It can provide a sound basis for planning and forward loading the work of both men and machines. It is also an important tool of management control. It can provide the means of carrying out a system of labour cost control. It provides an equitable basis for incentive wage schemes. Of the various techniques of work measurement time-study is the most widely used.

A number of technical, organisational and human problems have been encountered in the application of work-study method. The fact must be faced that the results of work-measurement are, as yet at least, highly variable even when carried out by experts and in many cases involve an element of subjective evaluation. Another problem is that of determining work measurement when there has been a sufficient change in method to justify revision of existing rates. There is also some danger that work simplification based on work study may be carried so far as to defeat its own purpose of raising productivity by depriving the work of all interest or meaning for individual workers. This problem may be dealt with in part by more careful

selection and placement of workers where monotonous repetitive operations are inescapable and in part through changes in work organisation, enlargement of the job content or more mechanization. There is great need for the workers themselves to have more confidence in a work study programme. This will be ensured if a certain number of their own representatives, as well as management officials receive training in work study.

The launching of a work study programme is liable to create certain fears in the mind of the workers as already noted above. Will the increase of productivity through work study method result in unemployment? Will work study involve speeding up which will increase fatigue and may easily be detrimental to workers' health? Management can help to remove the fears of unemployment by assuming responsibility for absorbing as soon as possible any displaced worker by utilising the vacancies created by normal labour turnover and by expansion of capacity. The workers' fear of speeding up can be largely overcome if provision is made to have the checking by trade union representatives of the rates proposed by work-study men. (i.e. whether rates are disincentives after a certain stage.)

Finally, certain administrative problems may be encountered in the relations between work study staff and operational staff. Sound management principles require that work study remain a functional service and that it always be subordinate to operational management. It is particularly important that work study officers respect the foreman's authority and responsibility for the men under his control.

Since the second World War in all the advanced countries an increased interest has been taken in the system of payment by results as a means of increasing productivity. A number of important problems have been encountered in applying such schemes. In the first place, friction has sometimes developed between different categories of workers as a result of the difficulty of determining accurately the work-content of the various jobs. Because of the complexity of direct production processes, it is often difficult to identify the individual worker's contribution to the total output of the plant. The introduction of process instrumentation has however, solved this problem to some extent. Difficulties are also encountered in measuring the output of indirect production of some workers such as the maintenance-men.

Some problems are also encountered because of the frequent changes in basic rates. Many unnecessary changes can be avoided if method study of the work measurement of the job concerned has been completed in advance, if there is a provision for a trial period during which any necessary changes may be agreed upon between the management and workers' representative before the system is finally applied, and if an understanding is reached that modification in rate should occur only for agreed reasons and only in accordance with agreed procedure.

Quality control is important in all industries and if it is not possible to ensure frequent high inspection it is best not to attempt to put certain types of operations on a payment by results basis.

Several important human problems have also been raised as a result of the introduction of payment by results schemes. In some cases trade unions have opposed such schemes on the ground that they may tend to stimulate aggressiveness, competition, a spirit of rivalry and other individualistic quality in the workers which may, in turn, result in friction and ill-feeling in the factory. Removing any dissatisfaction or opposition that may be encountered on this ground is a problem of human relations requiring the assignment to workers and their representatives of a responsible role in the activities of the enterprise, and consultation on all major problems of mutual interest,—as has been advocated in the First Five-Year Plan and as is likely to gain added emphasis in the second Plan.

A problem sometimes arises because workers at an incentive system are earning higher wages than other workers for whom the management has not yet had the time to conduct the necessary work study. To cope with this situation "in lieu bonuses" have sometimes been proposed pending the proper installation of a payment by results scheme. In some industries again where production is the result of a team rather than individual effort, group incentive schemes may be preferable to individual schemes. The incentive value of such schemes is, however, usually greater, the smaller the groups to which they apply.

A major question in the minds of the workers is whether there is a fair distribution of the savings that accrue to the company as a result of work study and payment by results scheme. Benefits resulting from higher productivity should go to the workers in the form of higher wages or shorter hours or better working conditions. The consumers should also share a benefit in the shape of lower prices. Though no single formula can be devised to ensure an equitable and appropriate distribution of the benefits of productivity in all cases and though each case must be decided on its merit the stockholders' interest should also be kept in view. In the final analysis the success of payment by results plan is dependent on the goodwill, physical efficiency and co-operation of the workers, and the trade union representatives. All these key factors postulate an acceptance of the principle of adequate living wage. As Gandhiji said long ago :

"This adequate living wage touches the very existence of labour and its efficiency depends very largely upon the right kind of living; and the greater the efficiency, the greater the possibility of increased production and of enhanced profits." (*Harijan*, 13. 2. 37).

After this living wage is assured goodwill and co-operation will follow, if management take workers into its confidence from the outset, explaining in advance all features, of the proposed scheme and the reasons for introducing it, and making specific provision for participation by representatives of the workers in the setting up and operation of the scheme as recommended by the I.L.O. Meeting of Experts on System of Payment by Results. This has also been advocated by the Planning Commission.

If improvement in working conditions may lead to an increase in productivity, either for physical reasons (for example, a reduction in fatigue) or for psychological reasons, (for example, by leading the workers to identify more closely with the undertaking in which they work), the converse is also true. The history of social progress shows that higher productivity, in its turn, makes possible further improvement in working conditions while go-slow by workers more often lowers not only productivity but also wages by creating conditions in which "the gradual beating down of the rate of remuneration follows as a corollary of the inferiority of the product itself which makes it unsaleable at accepted prices and which compels the payment of progressively lower wage rates." The manner in which the increased wealth yielded by higher productivity is distributed varies under different circumstances, but better working conditions are certainly one of the desirable ways in which workers may share the benefits of higher productivity.

It is not to be forgotten, however, that productivity is only a means and not an end in itself, and a plan that is conceived only in terms of production may be no plan at all. Planning has got to take into consideration, not only increased production but increased consumption by ensuring more plentiful purchasing power through more employment opportunities.

No country need have a monopoly of progress and the recovery of many war-devastated countries and others which were not sufficiently developed before, go to show that our economy may also change for the better with rising productivity and that it may be possible in a socialistic pattern of society to plan a wide and equitable distribution of the fruits of our common endeavour so that our children at least may have a better life than our own.

National Productivity Centre will, therefore, serve national interests, only if social aims of supplying the needs of the people and raising their standard of living are kept in the forefront of the schemes sponsored by it, if there is a balance of social and technological "Know-How" and if the nation can get not only more goods but a good life for each citizen by converting productivity into higher wages, lower prices and greater consumption.

ECONOMICS OF MULTI-PURPOSE RIVER VALLEY PROJECTS IN INDIA

BY PROF. K. S. SHARMA M.A., M.COM.

NATURE, the architect of architects, has been profusely generous to India. Her choicest gifts to Bharat Varsha are enviable to the people of the world. The hoary land of antiquity is girded with the silver ribbons of untamed rivers meandering their ways through the valleys of velvet created by the depressions in the snow-clad mountains. The murmuring fountains, if tamed properly, can quench the thirsty lands of our country.

Our wealth is neither in gold in the safe vault deposits of Kolar nor the bank balances of our millionaires nor the palaces of the princes and the mansions of the rich, but the bountiful land, the spider's web of rivers, the roaring falls, the thundering clouds, the sky-piercing mountains and the silent valleys. Fed by the inexhaustible snows of Indian mountains and swollen by torrential summer monsoons, our rivers represent tremendous untapped resources to bring about prosperity and plenty in the country. The bulk of the waters of these rivers go waste to the sea. For the proper exploitation of the land and the industrialisation of the country, these rivers can be harnessed to the service of the people. What we lack today is not the opportunity to work but the will and power to work. We have not yet accepted the challenge of prosperity thrown by nature in our country. Nevertheless, our National Government have given a start by means of co-ordinated economic planning.

Multipurpose river valley projects are popular in India today and there are good reasons why this should be so. The dawn of political freedom has made the need for speeding up the country's economic progress urgent. The expectation of a higher standard of living on the part of the masses must be fulfilled within a reasonable space of time. We have to banish famine, abolish poverty, modernise agriculture and set up new industries. Fortunately, we have adequate resources to achieve these objects.

We have got land enough not only to make India self-sufficient in food but also to produce a surplus for those countries which are deficient in food production. Of all the factors which have kept India's agriculture backward, irrigation comes first. Therefore, among the measures that may be adopted for increasing the area under cultivation, the first place should be given for the conservation of water. If our river systems are harnessed more land can be irrigated and brought under cultivation.

Our mineral resources are rich and varied and if cheap power is made available to exploit them a rapid industrialisation of the country can be ensured. India can generate power either from coal or water. Our

coal deposits, though immense, are far from commensurate with the country's potential requirements. Moreover, coal is needed for making steel from iron-ore of which we have large deposits. The need, therefore, for husbanding the dwindling coal deposits is obvious. A better and perhaps cheaper alternative is to obtain electric energy from the country's water resources which are inexhaustible.

On taking stock of the water potentiality of India, we find that it is immense. Experts who have made elaborate surveys, would have led us to believe that next to U.S.A. India has the best power resources in the world. Hitherto only a few have been tapped. Although we have more acreage under irrigation than any other country in the world, we utilise only 6 per cent of the flow of our rivers. India produces more energy from water than any other country of Asia, yet we are putting to use no more than $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the water power available in our mighty rivers.

Precious water, which is required to irrigate waste land and work factories, runs to waste in our rivers. In the monsoon season, the rivers overflow, destroy crops, carry away men and cattle, disrupt communication systems and cause soil erosion. At present they do more harm than good. Properly tamed, they can become a source of power and wealth. If dams are built and their flow is regulated, their very vice can become a great virtue. With the course of time and experience, the authorities gradually realised that for the maximum utilisation of our water resources we must frame comprehensive multipurpose projects.

Such multipurpose projects to check the majestic flow of these dragon-like rivers are in the making. They are named as multipurpose because they will serve a number of purposes which in their turn will bring a number of the following benefits :

(1) *Irrigation* : A multipurpose project envisages the construction of a dam across the river to impound the flood supplies for irrigation. The continuous supply of water will encourage the cultivator to use manures and fertilizers on a higher scale than hitherto. His investment in manures and fertilizers will no longer be for him "a gamble in the monsoon." Fertility will increase and also the yield per acre. The famines will become a thing of the past. With good crops assured each year, all forms of enterprises within the region will expand and prosper. The cultivable waste land will be brought under cultivation which will create wealth, not only wealth but stability—stability that is necessary for investment and expansion in all the nations of the world.

(2) *Power-generation* : Indian rivers have latent in them the colossal reserves of energy which can be transformed into electrical energy only when one cares to do it. When we study Russia we find that a few years ago hydro-electric power stations were quite unknown to them. But now Soviet people are building cascades of hydro-electric power stations on the Volga, the Don and various other rivers. The topography of our country is such that artificial waterfalls can be created for the generation of electricity and this point has been given its due importance in the construction of the multi-purpose river valley projects. The Bhakra-Nangal Project will be the largest producer of hydro-electric energy in comparison with any other river valley scheme.

(3) *Flood Control* : There are rivers in India which are seasonal. In the monsoon seasons they overflow their banks as a result of which the water spreads several miles on both the sides of the rivers. The flood water sweeps away men and cattle, destroys crops and damages roads and railway tracts. The rivers in India are thus giants in destruction. The construction of the dams will impound the flood water in the form of reservoirs which will be utilised in giving a perennial supply of water to the dry lands. The Damodar and Kosi Schemes have given first-rate importance to this element.

(4) *Navigation* : Apart from the objectives of irrigation, power-generation or flood control, many projects aim at navigation also. Damodar Valley Scheme Corporation is much anxious to provide this facility, while the element is completely absent in the Bhakra-Nangal Project.

Cheap and bulky commodities that cannot bear the high charges of transport could be transported easily when facilities would be available.

(5) *Afforestation* : Afforestation will receive new impetus under the multipurpose project scheme. Trees will be carefully selected on the basis of their possible economic yields. Quick-growing trees will preferably be desirable for fuel purposes. The rate of felling and replacement will be carefully worked out to avoid haphazard growth. Cattle will be kept away from the young forests and grazing will be properly regulated. Under carefully supervised forests, the subsoil water level will rise gradually and will thus increase the soil fertility. Moreover, they will prevent the fertile top soil from being washed away by fast-flowing water. More and better grazing will be made available and this will go a long way to remove the scarcity of fodder. With the assured fuel supply, cattle dung will no longer be utilised as fuel but will be used as manure.

Many projects have taken up this scheme. Damodar Valley and Bhakra-Nangal Projects have taken the lead

in this respect. The Bhakra-Nangal Scheme has made provision for Rs. 2 lakhs for this purpose. Mulberry trees will be planted on the hill slopes, to prevent denudation, on the banks of canals to prevent the erosion of banks and on the roads to provide shade to the travellers.

(6) *Fish Culture* : Fish culture will also proper side by side with other schemes. The reservoirs, covering vast areas, will be eminently suitable for fish cultivation. Rivers and canals will also provide a great scope for this industry. The deficiency of protein which has greatly undermined the health of Indians will be removed gradually. Nearly all the projects and more particularly the Bhakra-Nangal, Damodar Valley, Hirakud, Tungabhadra and Machkund Projects have adopted fish culture as a part of their schemes.

(7) *Malaria Control* : Provision has been made for controlling the breed of the malarial mosquito in reservoirs, irrigation canals and other places. As a result of this precaution many of the river valleys will become the most salubrious tracts in India.

(8) *Recreation* : The last but not the least is recreation. The reservoirs with their artificial lakes situated in hilly areas of great scenic beauty, are sure to become attractive recreational centres for the people of modern times; in a few years' time some of these sites would be potential centres of building up a remunerative tourist trade. Many of them like Bhakra, where nature seems to have laid bare her breast are sure to attract people to drink her beauty to their heart's content. Some of them will be popular because of their bracing climate and a few of them will provide facilities for camping, fishing, boating, hiking and sightseeing for the people from all parts of the country.

Therefore, the construction of these mighty dams is the Magna Carta of hope and happiness. Some years after when the schemes are completed, the landscapes of the valleys will be changed completely. Instead of the brown bare rugged hills, there will be neatly terraced hill-sides covered with vegetation and young trees. The schemes tell about the shape of things to come in India—these great rivers made to work for the people, transforming wide barren expanses of the countryside into billowing crop lands and smiling gardens laden with grain and luscious fruits, transmuting its sand dunes into gold, turning the mighty wheels of industry and cutting down human drudgery—in short, taking the people from the abyss of despair and despondency, privation and want, to a paradise of sunshine and plenty, and making the life of the common man richer, fuller and happier.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS FROM BERACHAMPA

By PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.,
Assistant Curator, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University

THE locality of Berachampa lies in the Barasat Sub-division of 24-Parganas and its distance from Calcutta is about twenty-three miles. The place with its neighbouring village De-Ganga are not only hallowed with some romantic and pathetic annals of the past, but their extensive mounds also hid most valuable objects of art and archaeology which may excite the imagination of the students of history. The local legends colourfully associate the extensive mounds of Berachampa with the heroic and tragic end of a king named Chandraketu who stood up as a champion of the Hindus against the Islamic wave. There are other legends also which will intimately connect the place with the celebrated astrologer couple Khana and Mibar who are said to have flourished in the Gupta age.

than a decade after when five rectangular cast coins were fortunately recovered from the area and found their place in the Bang'ya Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta. As a result of this discovery some of the ancient



Fig. 1. Terracotta Head of a Yakshi.
Berachampa (c. 2nd cent. B.C.)

Although we are not sure whether these semi-mythical stories have any historical basis, the great archaeological importance of Berachampa is a matter beyond any doubt. The most remarkable feature is this that the place so near to Calcutta has yielded from time to time several valuable and unique antiquities which definitely unfold a forgotten chapter in the ancient history of Bengal.

In 1907, Longhurst first carried out an exploration at Berachampa in response to a petition sent by some local gentlemen including one enthusiastic lover of history named Tarak Nath Ghosh. Although, the foreign explorer noted early pottery examples as well as broad and moulded bricks (15"×11") in the area, he was not fully convinced about the real archaeological importance of the site. Consequently, no other enquiry of this nature about Berachampa was made until more



Fig. 2. Terracotta plaque with *Mithuna* motif
(c. 2nd cent. A.D.)

mounds of the locality came under the protection of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act on November, 1920, and the then superintendent of the Eastern circle arrived at the conclusion that the place was one of the earliest settlements of Lower Bengal.¹

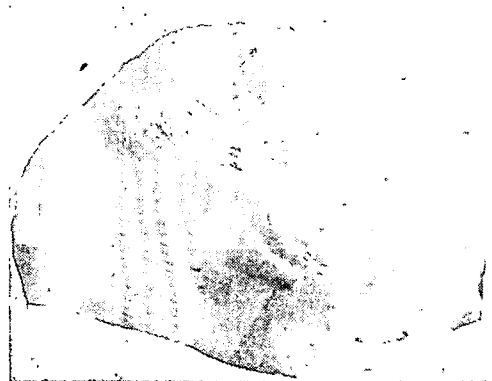


Fig. 3. Terracotta Elephant. Berachampa
(Maurýyan?)

After this, again the importance of Berachampa was long neglected until several years ago when the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University conducted some

1. *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23*, p. 109, R. D. Banerji; *Bangalar Itihas* (in Bengali), Pt. I, p. 33.

preliminary explorations in the area with a view to making a general impression about the site. Finally, the importance of Berachampa was greatly increased only several months ago when a unique terracotta figure of Surya of the Sunga period luckily entered the gallery of the Asutosh Museum as a gift from a local gentleman. Here the Sun-God is standing in his celestial chariot drawn by four horses trampling the brute of nocturnal darkness against whom he has waged a perpetual war. The god is flanked by his two female consorts and behind his head may be seen a halo probably symbolising the solar orb. The turban and jewellery of the figures, as well as the sensitive and almost two dimensional modelling of the figures bear clear traces of the plastic art of the early Sunga period; while it is quite alluring to compare this terracotta with the almost similar depiction of the aerial journey of the Sun among the relief-compositions of Bhaja near Poona.²

After the discovery of the Surya figure the present writer carried out a series of explorations at Berachampa on behalf of the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University, which resulted in the discovery of a number of rare terracotta figures, pottery-fragments and coins.³ The terracotta figurines include some remarkable examples of the art of the Maurya, the Sunga and the Kushan periods. A slightly mutilated figure of an elephant of a toy chariot (Fig. No. 3) displays a massive and vigorous modelling recalling the similar rock-cut elephant of Dhauri in Orissa which seems to be an immortal lithic creation of the Maurya period. The *Yaksha* and *Yakshi* figures of Berachampa belonging to the Sunga period (C. 2nd Cent. B.C.—C. 1st. Cent. B.C.) bear close affinity not only with the relief figures of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodh-Gaya and Bhaja, but also with the similar terracotta sculptures of various other Indian sites like Kausambi, Patna, Tamralipta, Bangarh and others. The jewellery and ornaments of these figures, which are noted for their delicacy, beauty and abundance are typical of the general Sunga art. The fine head of a *Yakshini* (Fig. No. 1) wears a very elaborate coiffure and jewellery consisting of strung beads, necklaces and

earrings with floral motifs. Here the fashion and style of the hair-arrangement are also interesting as some of the hairs are cropped low and arranged in straight lines upon her forehead. The general style and treatment of the terracotta, which is marked with wonderful loveliness, make it comparable with some of the finest examples of northern India, particularly the so-called 'Oxford figurine' of Tamruk in Bengal. The present figure has also a great resemblance with another terracotta female head from Tamruk (Fig. No. 5) collected by the present writer a few years ago. The general treatment and perspective in both the figurines are similar.

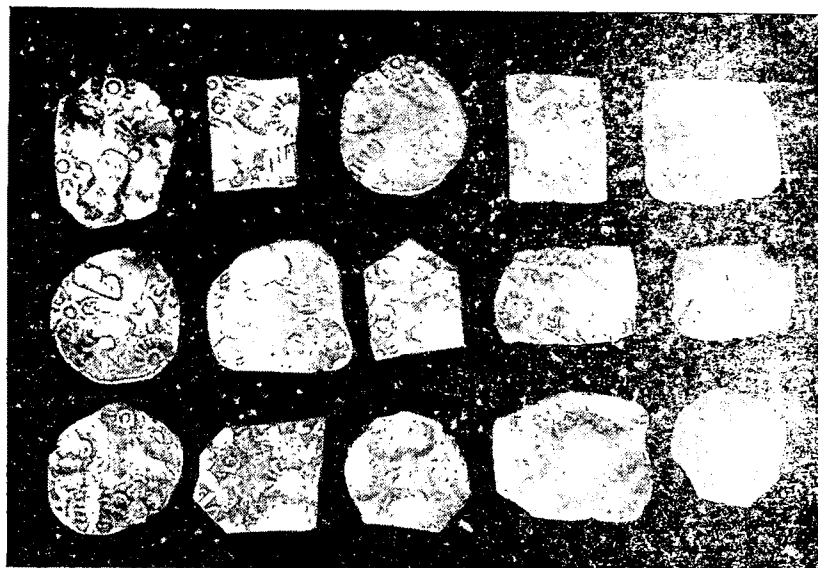


Fig. 4. The Silver Punch-marked Coins from Berachampa

which probably indicates that the Sunga art of Berachampa had a particular link with the contemporary terracotta art of ancient Tamralipta.

The most outstanding example of the present collection from Berachampa is a terracotta rectangular plaque showing the union of a couple (*mihua*), (Fig. No. 2). Stylistically, this unique plaque may be assigned to C. 2nd. Cent. A.D. i.e., in the Kushan period, while the general treatment makes it comparable with some of the plastic examples of Amaravati, as well as with another terracotta plaque with *mithuna* motif discovered during the Indian Archaeological Department's recent excavations at Tamralipti (or Tamralipta).

A mutilated terracotta moulded *Yakshi* shows an increase of depth in the relief, with a heavy girdle contributing to the fleshy character and the voluptuous trend of the figure. Stylistically, the terracotta may be placed in the 1st Cent. A.D.—2nd. Cent. A.D. Similar types of *Yakshis* were discovered before at Tamruk and Bangarh in Bengal.

A fragmentary terracotta plaque shows the front part of a quaint-looking vessel with rigging and the prow

2. Devaprasad Ghosh, Curator of the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta, first drew the attention of scholars to this remarkable similarity.

3. During these brief explorations the present writer received co-operation from the local people, particularly from a gentleman of the place, named Sri Satyen Ray.

resembling an animal with a waving festoon attached to it. The ship may be compared with the well-known ship-motif of Borobudur in Java, as well as with the sea-going vessels shown in one of the cave-paintings of Ajanta, which probably depicts a scene of the *Mahajanaka Jataka*. In this connection, it may not be entirely irrelevant to point out that there is an opinion that the celebrated ancient port of the Ganges, placed by the classical writers in the coastal Bengal, is to be located in the region of the present village De Ganga just in the vicinity of Berachampa⁵. It is quite curious to note that the author of the *Periplus* (C. 1st. Cent. A.D.) mentions a type of sea-going vessels called 'Kolandia' which plied from the commercial emporium of the Ganges. As Ptolemy (C. 2nd. Cent. A.D.) places the city to the east of Tamralipta, her location amid the contiguous sites of Berachampa, Jhikra and De-Ganga⁶ does not seem to be an impossible hypothesis. Being situated in Lower Bengal the region might have some connection with sea in the ancient days. The opinion in favour of

this location of the Ganges in 24-Parganas gains some ground by the discovery of several pottery fragments with rouletted designs at this place which are supposed to be of Roman origin. Thus, Berachampa has become the second site in Bengal after Tamruk yielding Roman-type pottery. In Orissa and South-India rouletted wares have been discovered at Sisupalgad, Arikamedu, Salihundam, Brahmagiri and Chandravalli proving a very intimate trade-relation between India and the Roman world in the first few centuries of the Christian era.

That the region of Berachampa flourished during the age of imperial unity under the Mauryas has also been suggested by the discovery of numerous fragments of highly black-glazed pottery-vases which are generally recognised as Mauryan.

Several pieces of stamped pottery are highly interesting, as the motifs not only consist of leaf-designs or star-like symbols, but also very archaic types of animal figures. A lot of fifteen silver punch-marked coins recovered from the place lend further support to this idea (Fig. No. 4). The present coins recall a find of punch-marked coins from a place in 24-Parganas in the last century⁷, and they show many early symbols some of which seem to be quite rare. A description of these coins is given below:

4. M. Jazdani: *Ajanta*, Vol. I, Plate xix.

5. *De Ganga Bhraman* (written in Bengali): Published by the Eastern Library, Pt. I, p. 46. Sometimes, the port is identified with Tamralipta.

6. The name De Ganga may have some connection with Adi Ganga or the old course of the Ganges. For some important observation about the old course of the Ganges, See *District Gazetteer of 2 Parganas*: By L. S. S. O'Malley; Calcutta, 1914, p. 8.

7. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1879, p. 245.

Size and Shape	Obverse Symbols	Reverse Symbols
1. Square ⁸	Sun, scorpion, hollow cross surrounded by four round pellets, dots and arrow-heads (?) within frame.	Radiating sun, dots and traces of other symbols.
2. Square	Fish, sun, tree (with fruits), six-armed symbol and mountain.	Dots, sun, six-armed symbol etc.
3. Square	Sun, tree, six-armed symbol with alternate fish and taurines, and Rabbit.	Sun (or star), taurine symbol etc.
4. Square	Six-armed symbol with alternate arrow-heads (or <i>chhatras</i> i.e., parasols) and taurines, Sun, elephant etc.	Traces of few symbols.
5. Round	Fish, sun, six-armed symbol, animal, tree (palm tree)	Plain
6. Round	Scorpion (or river), six-armed symbol, sun, rabbit on a mountain.	Fish in a tank (?), Semi-circle.
7. Square	Sun, three circles around an axis, rabbit on a mountain, six-armed symbol.	Plain
8. Round	Sun, tree, bull (or elephant), six-armed symbol and circle with a pellet inside.	Plain
9. Square	Sun, tree, six-armed symbol, rabbit etc.	Two sun-symbols, dots, zigzag design, etc.
10. Square	Sun, elephant, <i>Jayadhvaja</i> , six-armed symbol, bull etc.	Tree
11. Square	Sun, <i>Jayadhvaja</i> , bull on a mountain, elephant and six-armed symbol.	Sun and slight traces of other illegible symbols.
12. Square	Two mountain-symbols of three arches, two fish in a river, sun and six-armed symbol.	Sun.
13. Square	Six-armed symbol, sun, tree, elephant and bull	Traces of a symbol (three fish?)
14. Square	Sun, elephant, tree, six-armed symbol and bull	Plain.
15. Square	Sun, frog, three circles around an axis, rabbit etc.	Dots, and traces of other symbols.

As it has been already pointed out, some of the symbols as enumerated above are quite rare if not completely new on silver punch-marked coins. Thus, the hollow cross, bull on a mountain, and arrow-heads within frame are remarkable in their character and type. When Allan composed his well-known book on the *Indian Coins* in the British Museum, he came to the conclusion that the hollow-cross symbol was completely absent on the silver punch-marked coins. Thus, he remarked :

"A striking feature about the symbols on the silver punch-marked coins is the complete absence of some well-known Indian symbols very common on other series of coins, such as the Swastika and simple triskeles, the so-called Ujjain symbol in its various forms, and the Nandipada so common in more or less elaborate forms elsewhere, the hollow cross common at Taxila."^{9,10}

ECONOMY

Now, a minute study of the silver punch-marked coins from Berachampa will naturally make us revise the conclusion of the famous numismatist regarding the association of hollow cross with the silver punch-marked coins which along with the copper-types undoubtedly constitute the earliest coinage of Bengal.

The buried treasures of Berachampa make a long way to prove that the region with a circular chain of mounds preserves most valuable relics of the past, which once scientifically unearthed will surely unfold a fascinating chapter of the forgotten history of Bengal. The rouletted wares, the black-glazed pottery, the Maurya

and Sunga terracottas, as well as the punch-marked and cast coins evidence the growth and development of a high-grade civilisation in the region of Berachampa which probably made a great contribution to the general culture and prosperity of the ancient *Prachya i.e., eastern India*.



Fig. 5. Terracotta Yakshi, Tamluk (Ancient Tamralipta, C. 1st cent. B.C.)

8. The terms 'square' and 'round' should not be taken too technically.

9. There are various interpretations regarding the true meaning of the symbols of the punch-marked coins. No doubt, many of these symbols have a pre-historic character.

10. J. Allan's *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, Intro. xxii.

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EGYPTIAN COTTON CULTIVATION INDISPENSABLE FOR WEST BENGAL

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABORTY

It is nearly 20 years ago that I began cultivation of Egyptian cotton as Agricultural Officer of the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills Ltd. There had been many difficulties in the beginning, as the climate and soil of the place of its origin, is very different from Bengal. With the kind help of the Calcutta University, who undertook Research work on the subject, the difficulties were removed. Since then, I have been cultivating it every year with success and have succeeded in acclimatizing it. My cultivation and cotton have been acclaimed every year by experts as follows :

(1) "An unprecedented thing in the history of India,"—Bengal Mill Owners Association.

(2) "The cotton has staple length above 1.5|16" and is fit to spin 80s warp."—The Mohini Mills Ltd.

(3) "The cotton is good with staple length of 1.7|16".—The Kesoram Cotton Mills Ltd.

(4) "I could not believe before I saw its cultivation this season 1954-55 in the Bhagirathi Silpasram, Nadia, that such superior cotton can be grown in India. Both from quality and quantity of yield it is commendable."—T. P. Chakrabarty, Mng. Agent, Sri Annapurna Cotton Mills and The Mohini Mills, Member I.C.C.C.

(5) "I had the pleasure to visit the plots under Egyptian cotton for 1955-56 in Shamnagar (24-Parganas). The plants had strong bolls, just beginning to burst. A rapid examination of Karpas in field revealed that the fibre was long, fine, silky and strong, etc." 28-11-55. Sd/- R. S. Sankaran, M.A.

Ph.D. (London), D.L.C., Dy. Secretary, Indian Central Cotton Committee.

The price of this cotton is more than double that of the American cotton. The cost of cultivation is Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 per acre and yield of seed-cotton is 6 to 9 mds. per acre which at Rs. 70 comes to Rs. 420 to Rs. 630 and is always profitable. Owing to the gradual increase in demand for such cotton. The Cotton Mills have to depend entirely on foreign imports for



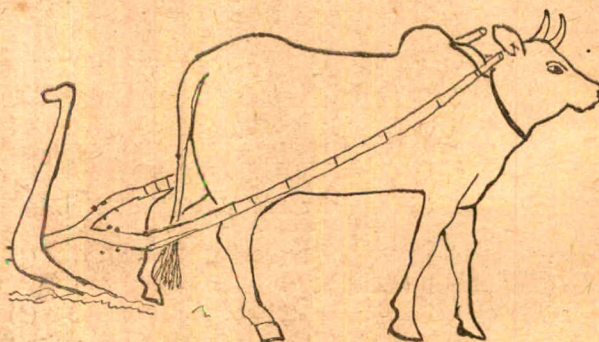
Egyptian cotton showing excellent growth at the Calcutta University Agricultural Field Station at Mandori, Haringhata



Egyptian cotton field at Shamnagar (1955-56) Grower and others to show relative heights of cotton plants

such superior cotton. To stop this heavy drainage of money, the Central Government has been through I.C.C. financing in full for 15 years from February 1954, all schemes to cultivate cotton with staple of $1\frac{1}{8}$ " and above. (Letter No: F-1-14/55 II, dated 15/16 December, 1954 re-iterated on 7-6-55 to the Secretary Indian Central Cotton Committee from the Under-Secretary to Government of India, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, New Delhi).

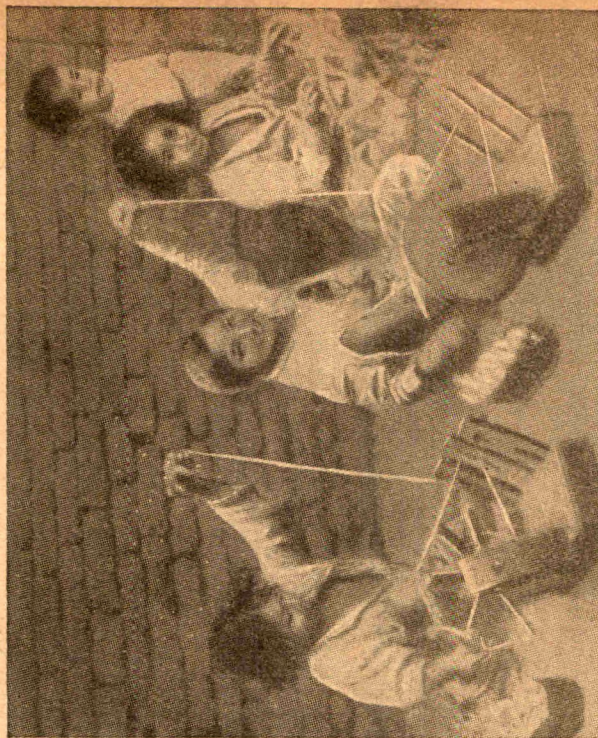
Almost all the States in India as Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Behar, Assam have taken advantage of this help. Considering the great importance of this cultivation I hope West Bengal, though late, which has been producing cotton with staple of $1\frac{5}{16}$ and above for the last few years, may work on such cotton with the above help; further, the recent working of the Government Cotton cultivation scheme for 3 years from 1950 to 1952 has proved that American cotton grows well in this State. So there is no reason why Egyptian cotton, acclimatized here, will not behave similarly. Recent opinions on this cotton, quoted above, are also encouraging. If the Agricultural Department apprehend difficulties, they have a well-equipped Research-Institute staffed by eminent scholars, which they can easily utilize for smooth working of the scheme. Even in Egypt, a heavy amount is being spent to maintain a Research Institute to help them in cultivation and improvement of cotton. It is fortunate that the Calcutta University has taken up its cultivation for 1955-56 in their Haringhata field station at Mandori, 6 miles on the bus route from Kanchrapara (E. Rly.) to Haringhata (Nadia), and I have to supervise the general cultivation. Their object is to



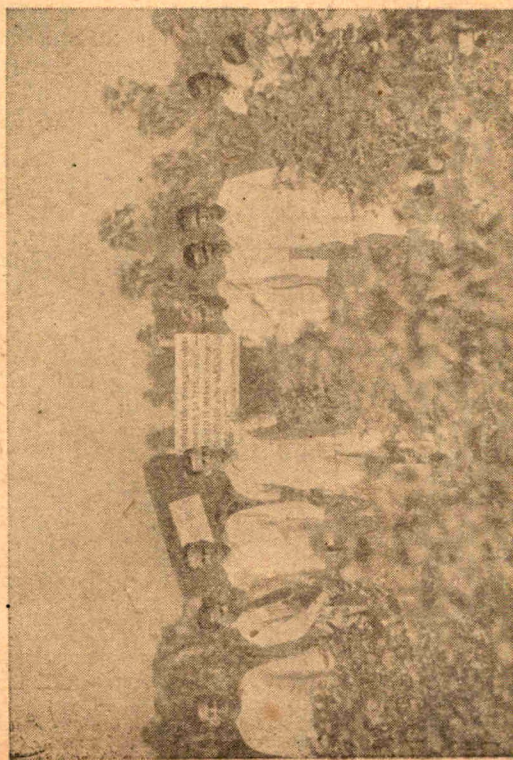
One-bullock-driven plough
Hand-driven plough



study the Botanical, Agronomical and Economic aspect of its cultivation. Cultivation for 1955-56 at Shamnagar (E. Rly.) 24-Parganas is being sponsored by the Annapurna Cotton Mills under my supervision and is



Children spinning



Egyptian cotton grown (1955-56) at Shamnagar, 24-Parganas. Sponsored by Sri T. P. Chakraborty, Member, I.C.C.C. and Managing Agent, Sri Annapurna Cotton Mills and The Mohini Mills, Ltd. Photo taken by Bose & Co., Shamnagar, on 28-11-55 during inspection by Dr. R. Sankaran, Ph.D. (Lond.), D.I.C., Dy. Secretary, I.C.C.C. Left to right : (1) Sri T. P. Chakraborty, (2) Dr. H. Choudhury of the State Agricultural Department, (3) Dr. R. Sankaran, (4) Stand for a Bee Box kept in the field to increase yield, (5) Sri M. Ghosal, (6) Sri Sarada Charan Chakraborty, the grower

only 10 minutes walk from the Railway station near the above Mills. All interested in its cultivation are invited to see them personally. The Dy. Secretary, I.C.C.C., when inspecting the cultivation at Shamnagar, requested me to cultivate at least 5 acres in 1956-57. In case, any one undertakes its cultivation, I am ready to place my long experience and supervision at his disposal. I generally undertake supervision with guarantee about quality of above 1½" staple and yield of at least 6 per acre. Considering its great economic possibilities the Community Development Authorities may will undertake it to benefit cultivators. The advantages of its cultivation are as follows :

—————:O:—————

(1) It can be grown as mixed crop with Aus paddy.

(2) Its high price is bound to make its cultivation profitable and improve the condition of cultivators.

(3) Wide introduction of its cultivation will to a great extent stop the heavy drainage of Indian money spent in importing high quality cotton.

(4) This will further, if widely cultivated in small quantities also, make cotton easily available for ordinary and Ambar Charkha spinning indispensable as one of the means, to solve the present unemployment problem among villagers.

RAJIAH—THE CREATIVE ARTIST

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

THIRTY-ONE-year-old K. Rajiah, a humble Art Teacher, by profession, who hails from Siddipet Taluk in Hyderabad State is a creative artist whose significant accomplishment as a highly original painter of mythological and genre studies in the folk and decorative art styles entitle him to a place of honour among Indian artists, who, without ignoring tradition and technique, have produced outstanding works in the truly Indian style. He belongs to the small, successful and noteworthy group of young Hyderabad artists, the others in the distinguished group being Badri Narayan and D. Doraiswamy,

whose works have deservedly won fame essentially because of their gay and bright colours, fresh and fertile imagination, firm and flowing lines, and intimately Indian patterns and prototypes. It is certain that these three extraordinarily gifted artists will create art history when their works attain maturity of content and expression.

Born in a poor family with no artistic or cultural background, and waging an incessant war against a host of unfavourable environments, Rajiah the boy was determined to become an artist, and so he worked hard and



A Village Belle at Leisure
(water colour painting)



Village Women to a Festival
(tempera painting)



Harvesting (water colour painting)



Steps towards Devotion (water colour painting)

work success. While a student of Fourth Form he gave up his studies and joined the Hyderabad School of Arts in 1943 where he always won the first place in the examinations. The famous artists Syed Ahmed and Sukumar Deushkar taught Rajiah to draw and colour

ranking States and private collections all over the world.

Rajiah paints on mounts, plywood and card-boards, using tempera and water colours in daring contrasts, and adopting modern styles of art expression. The rich and vital folk tradition and convincing decorative idiom have profoundly influenced his art which has the supreme virtues of simplicity of form, pleasing colour harmony, and intense and intimate emotional effect. The vigorous and aesthetically delightful statement of form and the soul-searching expression of the dominant *rasa* render his paintings fascinating and quite extraordinary. In any Art Exhibition, his paintings compel attention by their rhythmic organisation of form and colour, ornate patterning, and disarming *naïvete*. His glamorous magic of sombre colours is obviously pleasing and striking and is reminiscent of the lofty achievements of the famous masters of mural art. Red, green, yellow, blue and terracotta are used with consummate technical virtuosity by Rajiah, the wizard of primary colours. He achieves



Potters (water colour painting)

with meticulous care, to value tradition and technique but not to be their slave. They encouraged him to sketch from life in the villages. The advice of these stalwarts and a careful study of the cave paintings of Ajanta have been the primal inspiration for Rajiah's art which is remarkable for its current vitality notwithstanding its traditional inspiration.

Since 1953 Rajiah has been exhibiting his realistic, imaginative, primitive, and colourful paintings in vibrant style, enlivened with deft dashes of lyrical and romantic flavour, in the leading art shows in India and abroad and winning honours in quick succession. "The young artist of Telengana" soon came to be recognised in art circles as a painter of solid achievement with a resplendent future, and his works began to be acquired for top-



Telengana Festival (water colour painting)



From the Well (Vasantam)
(water colour painting)

solidity, plastic continuity, and coherence through bold composition. In the interpretation of mythological themes Rajiah conceives them with greatness of imagination and construction, laying emphasis on strength and movement, giving the illusion that life is rich and joyous. Areas of colour are definitely and unmistakably separated from one another to create brilliant pictorial effect. His convincing interpretations of common subjects in Indian idiom in a new, original, and progressive technique is of astonishing merit.

infectious immediacy of life itself which envelopes the sensitive artist in its endless variety and complexity of form, texture and colour. He has a spontaneity of expressing his own emotional reactions to life which are so fundamental a part of his racial tradition.

A hardworking artist with a discerning and insatiable appetite for colour, sometimes archaic, Rajiah reduces line and form to absolute simplification and balances his compositions with perfect ease and grace, and makes his studies compelling in vigour, vitality and charm.



A Girl at Garland-making
(water colour painting)

It is refreshing to find that his passionate love of and increasing fascination for folk and decorative idioms have not driven him to resort to cheap, weird, and grotesque exaggerations of form and style, and to play havoc with the grace of line, the harmony of colour, and the balance of composition. His art is a happy yet original blending of folk art, decorative idiom, the lyricism and romanticism of Indian painting, and modern influences in manner and method. But it is not hybrid, not imitative; it is essentially Indian in soul, drawing its abundant charm and strength from the spontaneous reaction to the



K. Rajiah

The beauty of form and design and the spectacular contrast of colours in Rajiah's paintings invest his art with rare grandeur, wonderful pictorial effect, and popular appeal. Whether he paints a bloody *Cockfight*, the favourite pastime of the village folk, or the hard life of the *Veddars*, poor stone-cutters, or a colourful *Telengana Festival*, or a *Koya Couple* belonging to the wandering primitive tribe, or village life such as *Girl at Garland making*, *Finishing the Toilet*, *Harvesting*, *Flower Maiden* and *From the Well (Vasantam)*, or Puranic themes like *Bata ratrasayi* (Sri Krishna on the peepul leaf), *Anna Data* (Balaram and Krishna) and *Humanism* (Sri Rama fondling the helpful squirrel, and *Lakshmana*), Rajiah the creative artist vividly visualises them in a

realistic-cum-idealistic manner and remains first to last true to typically traditional inspiration. In all these paintings the feeling for figures, tackling of space with taste and sensibility, the powerful handling of rich saturated colours, formalised but not rigid contours, and flat yet resplendent colour patterns, extort admiration. His fine pastoral study in tempera, *The Heartless Shepherd* illustrates his evocative dexterity and the delicate handling of animal motifs which renders his compositions tender and touching. His art provides both

all the colour and light, multiple form and movement, rich lyricism and romanticism of humanity and nature around him and in Hindu mythology, who interprets them in his own inimitable way in firm and flowing lines, and warm and pleasing colours, for his own delectation and for imparting joy to others, and who assiduously follows the age-old "Indianism", young Rajiah is one of India's few truly national painters with a great future. Too genuine an Indian artist with vision, Rajiah, the humble art-teacher who has dedicated his life to



Humanism (Sri Rama fondling the helpful squirrel and Sri Lakshmana) (*water colour painting*)
anandam and *vinodam* to the looker-on and helps him to recognise the true, the good and the beautiful in humanity, nature and mythology. Rajiah's art recalls to mind Gauguin's saying that "in the creation of a picture the eye is not to play a more important part than feeling and reason." He has achieved a rare mastery over the language of indigenous Indian painting.

An exceptionally gifted and resolute artist who sees



Flower Maiden (*water colour painting*)

Art, has not fallen a victim to the glamour of fame and name and does not imitate the language of the modern "isms" in Art. His best work is yet to be, for his amazing creative faculty, mastery over lineal expression, and arrangement of form and colour, and abundant love of his great motherland are sure to capture newer ranges of aesthetic expression.



THE AMBAR CHARKHA AND OUR ECONOMY

By P. SRINIVASACHARI,
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THE invention of the Ambar Charkha could not have taken place at a more opportune moment than the present one when the best minds of the country and of those in authority are engaged in formulating a second Five-Year Plan. It is really a strange coincidence that while the plan lays great emphasis on heavy industries and concerted efforts are made to build our economy on solid foundation of large-scale industrial structure, the Ambar Charkha should have made its appearance, holding a great prospect for the de-centralization of the major industry of our country. Those who are well versed with the situation prevailing in the rural areas hail the invention as they find in it a great opportunity to solve the unemployment problem. The Ambar Charkha, it is claimed, will meet the requirements of yarn of handloom weavers and will go a long way to mitigate their sufferings. But some, on the other hand, are sceptic about the place of the Ambar Charkha and the role it can effectively play in the present set-up of an industrial age. Needless to dwell upon, that an invention of this kind should have brought in its wake a bitter controversy by expressing doubts about its potentialities and also on the wisdom of making use of it on as wide a scale as possible in contrast to the centralized method of production now in vogue. The fact that the controversy rages at the ministerial level and sharp differences of opinion are expressed by those in responsible positions denotes that the invention of the Ambar Charkha cannot be brushed aside as of no important significance; and, it has made its claims to be felt even at the highest quarters. But it should be borne in mind that while evaluating its claims we should not be guided by sentiments and that for a correct appraisal of its use in contributing to our economic progress we should take into account the actual conditions existing in our country and should not ignore or underestimate the difficult problems that demand our utmost attention.

The chief criticisms that are levelled against the Ambar Charkha are that (i) it will not be able to meet the yarn requirements of the handloom weavers, especially when the handloom industry is expected to meet the increasing demand of the public for cloth during the second Five-Year Plan and (ii) the production of yarn through the Ambar Charkha will not be economical and can be undertaken only at a great cost to the public or will involve large subsidies from the government.

Let us briefly examine how far the criticisms mentioned above hold good and analyse the place of the Ambar Charkha in the national economy.

YARN REQUIREMENTS OF THE HANDLOOMS

The number of handlooms in the country according to the figures furnished by the All-India Handloom

Board (based on latest census) is 2.8 millions. There are about 2 lakh of handlooms engaged on silk and about 80,000 on wool. Leaving out about 5 lakhs of domestic looms in Assam, Manipur and Tripura, the total number of looms engaged on cotton comes to about 20 lakhs. If we take the average daily production by a handloom weaver as 6 yards, these 2 million handlooms—if they work to their full capacity (300 days in a year)—should be capable of producing at least 3,600 million yards in a year. The production of the 5 lakh domestic handlooms should come to about 900 million yards. But the actual total production by handlooms has been estimated at 1,500 million yards of cloth for the year 1954. This figure shows an improvement when compared to the figures of the previous years thanks to the various ameliorative measures taken by the Government in the interests of the handloom weavers.

The production of 1,500 million yards as against the inherent capacity of the handlooms to produce more than 3,000 million yards clearly indicates that quite a large number of looms, nearly half the number of the total number of looms existing in the country, are remaining idle. Even those looms that are active are not working to their full capacity. The Textile Enquiry Committee has estimated that only 1.2 million handlooms are effectively working. The production of 1,500 million yards by the handlooms points out clearly that even the 1.2 million looms that are active are run only for 200 days in a year. Thus one finds unemployment as well as underemployment prevailing on a large scale in the handloom industry.

The reason for this sad state of affairs cannot be traced to any one particular difficulty facing the industry, as the grave situation threatening it has not arisen all of a sudden but as a result of the cumulative effects of neglect and lack of proper policy of the Government all these years. But it cannot be gainsaid that the chief cause for the acute distress experienced by the industry is due to the utterly inadequate supply of yarn. The weaver is not provided with a regular supply of yarn of uniform quality at economic price. For instance, if all the 2.5 million handlooms are to be active, the total quantity of yarn required will be about 900 million pounds per year. But the supply of yarn available to the handlooms is far below their actual requirements. During the three years ending 1952, the free yarn available to the handlooms was 201 million, 282 million and 343 million pounds, respectively. It can be seen that the handlooms get with great difficulty only a third of their requirements of yarn. It is no wonder that a large number of looms are remaining idle and the present active looms also are not working to their full capacity.

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DEPENDENCE ON MILLS

The handloom industry has to depend completely on the mills for the meagre supply of yarn. It is curious that the weaver has to depend for his primary raw material upon his chief rival. By the time supply of yarn reaches him the cost of yarn is 10 to 20 per cent more than the cost to the mills. This precarious dependence on the mill industry and the high cost of yarn account largely for the present plight of the handloom industry. From the experience of the past many years it has been found that the virtual dependence on the mills for the supply of yarn has not in any way contributed to the progress of the handloom industry. As it will be evidently clear from the following table, in spite of the vast expansion in the production in the mill sector during the last thirty years the total quantity of yarn available to the handlooms has remained more or less constant.

*Yarn available for consumption in India**
(In million lbs.)

Year	Production of yarn by Indian mills	Balance of yarn for sale in India after consumption by Indian mills and export
1922-23	706	335
1930-31	867	339†
1940-41	1,349	451†
1952-53	1,478	472

The production of mill yarn has increased from 700 millions to nearly 1,500 millions but there is no appreciable increase in the supply of yarn available to the handlooms commensurate with the rapid increase in the mill production. The handloom industry, unlike the mill industry is not concentrated mainly in any particular area but is spread out far and wide in the country. The best way of providing relief to the weavers is to take adequate steps that will enable them to get regular supply of yarn of good quality in their own neighbourhood instead of depending on mills in far-off places. If regular supply of yarn is assured, not only will the 1.2 million handlooms that are active for only 200 days in a year be enabled to work to their full capacity but also more than a million handlooms remaining idle can be actively engaged. If we evaluate the immense benefit arising from this measure in terms of employment it will be found that more than a million persons who are now partly employed will be fully employed and in addition to this fresh wholtime employment will be created for nearly 1.5 million persons. It should not be forgotten that the handloom industry has been existing in our country from time immemorial and

today it is the largest single cottage industry in existence, and stands next only to agriculture in providing employment to our people. It is hardly necessary to point out that only such measures that will provide employment on a large scale and also give succour to this languishing industry will be most effective in relieving the distress of the teeming millions and also will be suitable for an underdeveloped economy like ours.

HANDLOOMS AND THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Planning Commission has provisionally laid down the target for the total production of cloth as 8,700 million yards by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan period. This represents an increase of about 2,000 million yards from the present level of cloth production of 6,700 million yards, of which the share of the mills, powerlooms and handlooms comes to 5,000 million yards, 200 million yards and 1,500 million yards respectively. According to the estimate of the Planning Commission the target fixed is to be achieved by increasing the production of handlooms to 3,200 million yards, an increase of 1,700 million yards from the present output. The Karve Committee also, after giving due allowance for the increase in the national income estimated to accrue by the end of the plan period and also for the increase in population during the period, has calculated that the total demand for cloth including for exports of 1,000 million yards may come to about 8,450 million yards.

We have already seen that the handlooms can easily produce more than 3,000 million yards, if the required quantity of yarn was supplied to them.

SUPPLY THROUGH THE MILLS NO SOLUTION

It has been arrived at that the additional requirements of yarn to bring about the increase in production contemplated on a five-year phased programme will be about 400 million pounds. There is no doubt that the additional requirements of yarn can be had from the mills. If proper steps are taken the mills can be made to meet the entire requirements of the handloom industry by installing new spindles. But as experience has shown the increase in mill production will not of its own accord help the handloom industry to tide over the crisis and make further progress. Moreover, the policy of increasing the supply of yarn through the mills will not touch even the fringe of the unemployment problem not to speak of the dire necessity at present to provide immediate gainful employment to the vast labour force that is remaining idle or only partly employed for want of sufficient work. This will be evident from the fact that even after a century of progress of the textile mill industry and in spite of the fact that more than Rs. 110 crores have been invested in it and the mill industry supplying almost the entire requirements of yarn and three-fourths of our total consumption of cloth, the number of hands directly employed in it is only about 7½ lakhs. This is far less than the number

* Figures from the *Eastern Economist Records and Statistics*, January, 1954.

† The actual quantity of yarn available to the handlooms is much less than this figure, as provision has to be made for the consumption of yarn by the power-looms and hosiery industries.

dependent on the handloom industry alone. Hence, from the larger point of view of the all-round economic progress of the nation, the policy of encouraging textile mills will be a negative approach in the task of wiping out unemployment.

THE AMBAR CHARKHA

It is precisely because of its capacity to provide additional supply of yarn to meet the requirements of the handloom industry and also give full-time occupation to millions in the process, the Ambar Charkha has established its claim over the mill industry and demands our utmost consideration while planning for the development of the country. It should be made clear that it is not the blind veneration of the past or attachment to any sentiment but that the pressing problems of the day compel us to understand the vital role the Ambar Charkha can play in our economy.

SUITABILITY OF AMBAR YARN

The Ambar Charkha is a four-spindle, hand-operated wooden spinning wheel. It is simple in structure and mechanism and most of its parts are either locally

available or can be easily made locally. The counts of yarn that can be spun on it are in the range of 12's to 40's even though higher counts can be spun depending on the types of cotton and slivers made therefrom. The output of yarn on it is, on an average, 16 hanks of 20's per day of 8 hours. Intensive field tests and experiments conducted in different parts of the country have shown that the Ambar yarn is as good as the reeled mill yarn and the Charkha is capable of producing yarn of good quality acceptable to the handloom weavers.

The yarn spun on the Ambar Charkha is also suitable for producing such varieties of cloth that are popularly in great demand in our country. The bulk of the production and consumption of cloth in our country consists of coarse and medium varieties. It will be evident from the tables given below, giving the trend of production that almost our entire production of yarn is within 40's and more than 80% of our demand for cloth consists of qualities falling within this range.

TABLE 1*

Production of yarn in various count groups from 1950-51 to 1953-54 (in thousand lbs.)

Year	Upto and including	Per cent of	Above 20s including	Per cent of	Above 40's	Per cent of	Total
April							
March	20's	2 to 8	40's	4 to 8		6 to 8	
1950-51	643,658	54.53	415,460	35.23	119,986	10.18	1,179,104
1951-52	735,734	55.17	470,376	35.27	127,578	9.57	1,333,688
1952-53	908,730	61.53	482,585	32.68	85,456	5.78	1,476,771
1953-54	921,210	60.65	484,076	31.85	114,065	7.50	1,519,351

TABLE 2†

Production of cloth of different varieties from 1950-51 to 1953-54 (in thousand yards)

Year	Total	Per cent of	Per cent of	Per cent of	Per cent of	Per cent of
April	Production	Coarse	3 to 2	Medium	5 to 2	Fine
March						7 to 2
1950-51	3,717,502	401,446	10.8	1,644,401	44.2	1,406,418
1951-52	4,134,123	361,320	8.8	2,332,193	56.9	1,163,482
1952-53	4,757,402	644,141	11.4	2,816,410	59.1	1,183,815
1953-54	4,905,227	591,683	12.1	3,270,302	66.7	717,795

The production of superfine cloth forms only a negligible percentage of the total production. The handlooms, we should not forget, are depending mostly on imported yarn for producing fabrics of finer quality. Taking these facts into consideration it is hardly necessary to emphasize that the yarn manufactured from the Ambar Charkha ranging from 12's to 40's will greatly help in increasing the production of such types of cloth by the handlooms as well readily meet the felt requirements of the people at large.

EMPLOYMENT POTENTIALITIES

It has already been pointed out that in order to

increase the production of handlooms to 3,200 million yards the additional quantities of yarn required will be about 400 million lbs. The increase in the supply of yarn can be brought about, according to the scheme submitted by the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board, by the introduction of 25 lakhs of Ambar Charkhas during the Second Five-Year Plan period. The production of yarn by the Ambar Charkhas to meet the rising demand of the handlooms will provide direct employment, full time, to nearly 50 lakhs of people.

Apart from 50 lakhs of spinners, the provision of regular supply of yarn, as pointed out already, will give enough work to 15 lakhs of handloom weavers and

* Figures from M. P. Gandhi, *Indian Textile Industry Annual*.

† *Ibid*.

also enable the 10 lakhs of weavers who are at present remaining idle for part of the year to be active throughout the year.

We should not overlook the fact that the total number of persons directly employed by all the industrial units in the country coming under the Factories Act comes to about only 3 millions. Hence, the stupendous task of providing gainful employment to the idle labour force would be greatly eased by this single measure of undertaking the production of yarn in a de-centralised manner.

REMUNERATION

The spinners working on the Ambar Charkha can on an average earn about Rs. 12 a day. This is not a low remuneration when we consider the ruling agricultural wages and the enforced idleness of the army of unemployed persons in the country. The income of the spinners compares favourably with the per capita national income (Rs. 275), which represents not the average income of every person but is arrived at after taking into account the income of those who earn many times more than this figure. It is needless to point out that the income of the vast majority of the people is actually less than the figures of the per capita national income. The recent survey conducted by the Government brings to light the plight of the agricultural labourers, i.e., those who are mere casual labourers.

Number of agricultural labourers—350 lakhs.

Scope for work per capita :

Average No. of days in a year—189 days.

Annual income—Rs. 104.

Expenditure—85 per cent on food, 6 per cent on clothing and foot-wear, remaining on miscellaneous items.

Indebtedness—45 per cent indebted, average debt for indebted family Rs. 105.

A vast number of people in rural areas are occupied only for half the period in a year. Their income also is very meagre, and, it is not surprising that nearly half of them are indebted. And whatever little they earn is hardly sufficient just to make both ends meet, and they do not have any other resources to spend on such necessary items like education, medicine, recreation, etc. The survey also points out that the nutritive value of the diet consumed by the agricultural labour families falls short of the normal requirements by about 25 per cent.

SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATION TO AGRICULTURE

The Ambar Charkha, by providing ready employment at a wage that cannot be considered as low under the existing conditions will decrease the pressure of population on land. Nearly 70 per cent of the people depend on land and a moderate estimate points out that our agricultural classes remain idle for 3 to 4 months, in a year. The need for subsidiary employment to agriculture was always felt and it needs no argument

to put forth the claim of Ambar Charkha that apart from giving full-time employment it is also pre-eminently suited to be a supplementary occupation to agriculture.

The Ambar Charkha can be owned individually or by a group of people who can ply it in their leisure hours. The price of it today is estimated at Rs. 40. The price of a complete set with carding and drawing machine besides the Charkha is estimated to be Rs. 100. It should be borne in mind that the Ambar Charkha was invented only very recently and the efforts that are going on now to make improvements on it and the arrangements to manufacture replaceable parts at selected central factories will bring down the cost considerably in due course. The Government, by advancing loans and recovering the amount in instalments, can easily popularize the use of the Ambar Charkha.

We have analysed, in detail, the potentialities of the Ambar Charkha in creating employment opportunities on a large scale. It will be seen that the Ambar Charkha, in creating employment, can be adapted for the relief of all kinds of unemployment, whether, partial, temporary or long-time. It is essentially a domestic equipment and it can be wholly operated at home or elsewhere, singly or in groups. It does not require any specialized training or acquirement of technical skill to operate the Charkha and can be easily learnt by the poor, illiterate rural masses. The organization required is not large, or complex or expensive. To be brief, it offers an immediate and practicable solution for the problem of unemployment that is stunting the progress of our country.

PROBLEM OF COST

There prevails a wrong notion regarding the cost involved in the scheme of producing the additional requirements of yarn through the Ambar Charkha. Often, criticism is heard that the production of yarn in this manner will not be economical as the Ambar Charkha yarn will cost more than the comparable counts of mill yarn. It is pointed out that the higher cost of Ambar yarn will adversely affect the interests of the handloom weavers. If yarn is to be supplied to the weavers at economic price, it can be undertaken only if the Government subsidize the production of Ambar yarn, which will involve a heavy burden on the consumers. It has been estimated that the amount of subsidy that will be required during the Second Five-Year Plan period will come to about Rs. 80 crores. Some consider it as a retrograde step to tax the consumers and the public in order to increase the production of yarn through the Ambar Charkha.

It is true that the cost of Ambar yarn will be more than the mill yarn. According to the calculations made, the difference in prices of medium counts of yarn (16s to 20s) varies between 68 and 85 per cent. It may appear to a casual observer that it will be a sound economic proposition to use the cheap mill yarn when

it can be made readily available. But we will be committing a grave error if we hastily judge the cheapness of a product from its selling price. For, if we base our calculations only on market price ignoring other social considerations that are vitally important for the all-round development of a country the low price of a product may ultimately prove to be only apparent or illusory.

If we take the production cost into consideration, the social cost or cost to society arising from a particular pattern of production should not be ignored. The sum total of these will only give an accurate estimate of the real cost to the consumers since it is they who ultimately bear all the indirect and invisible costs to society due to a particular structure of production. It may appear to be cheaper to produce yarn in the centralized mills, but when we turn our attention to the urgent necessity of providing employment on a vast scale and calculate the cost involved in this gigantic task, the production by the mills is not actually so cheap as the market price of the product. The prospect for additional employment in the textile mill industry, as we have observed earlier, is for all practical considerations negligible. In fact, centralized method of production involves a constant tendency to reduce the labour force as much as possible, adopting labour-saving devices. The following table will bear testimony to this.

TABLE*

Year	No. of registered factories	Fixed capital invested to manufacturing concerns (in crores)	Working capital employed (in crores)	Number of persons employed
1948	6,144	195.64	482.19	17,04,230
1952	7,155	300.94	730.77	16,48,443

It is a curious phenomenon to note that inspite of the increase in the number of factories and also of large increase in the amount of investment (nearly 54%), the total number of persons employed had actually declined, instead of showing an appreciable improvement in the level of employment.† This clearly brings out the fact that we cannot solve our unemployment problem by having recourse to the large-scale method of production. In fine, if we base our calculations on practical grounds in terms of employment and proper utilization of the resources for the overall development of the country, it will be evident that the price of mill yarn or for that matter, the price of the products of the large-scale industries, are not cheap as the centralized method of production leaves

many problems unsolved in the process. On the other hand, the higher cost of Ambar yarn will be more than amply compensated by the large volume of employment created by the use of the Charka. It has been said, that nearly 50 lakhs of persons will find employment by its use, besides the improvement that is bound to follow in the position of the 25 lakhs of weavers. The weavers need not depend on the uncertain supply of mill yarn coming from distant areas but will be able to get almost all their requirements of yarn from their own neighbourhood. The cost of transporting yarn from the place of production to the weavers will also be reduced to the minimum.

We should also bear in mind that the production of yarn in the decentralized way carries the work to the doors of the rural classes and avoids such social evils like uneven growth of cities, concentration of industries in a few places, overcrowding in towns and slums, etc. By providing employment to such a vast number of persons, additional purchasing power will be generated which will give fresh impetus for other economic activities and revival of many industries as the classes possessing new consumptive power had not hitherto enjoyed even elementary necessities of life. We should not also forget that the large volume of employment that can be created through the use of the Ambar Charkha is to meet the requirement of internal demand and unlike the mill industry, this does not depend on the demand for external markets. The employment of the handspINNERS will under no circumstances be affected by the fluctuating demand in the foreign countries. The capital outlay required is also very modest (Rs. 15.5 crores), when compared with the big investment necessary for the erection of new spinning mills, where the possibility of persons employment even to a fraction of 35 lakhs of persons is very remote. No amount will be spent on importing machinery from other countries. Almost all the parts of the Ambar Charkha can be manufactured from the local resources with the available local skill in the countryside. The manufacture of 25 lakhs of Ambar Charkha sets, it has been calculated, will give employment to nearly 75,000 carpenters. If we make provision in our calculation for the cost of undertakings that will create fresh avenues for employment on such a large scale as well over such a vast area as can be achieved by the de-centralization of the spinning industry it will be easily found, that even though the Ambar yarn costs more than the mill yarn the production of yarn through Ambar Charkha on a planned basis will be more economical and beneficial considering the collective welfare of the society at large.

QUESTION OF SUBSIDY

There is also a criticism that as the supply of Ambar yarn at economic price to the weavers will involve a subsidy of Rs. 15 to 20 crores a year, the consumers will be unnecessarily penalised. The cost

* Figures from the *Census of Manufactures, 1952*.

† The same conclusion is reinforced by the results of the survey of unemployment carried out by the Economics and Statistics Department of the Calcutta University. The disquieting feature disclosed by the survey is that there has been a decline in employment between 1951 and 1952 in the organized private sector consisting of 2,200 firms.

of subsidy, it is said, will throw a heavy burden on the community and strain our economy, especially when we are undertaking big development programmes under the Second Five-Year Plan.

We have explained in detail, that considering the benefits that will accrue to the millions, the cost involved in the scheme of producing yarn through the Ambar Charkha is not much. To avoid repetition, it is enough if we mention here, that there is no other alternative way of development which will be more economical and less costly than the Ambar Charkha Scheme for tackling the problem of mass unemployment and widespread poverty in the country. The expansion of spinning mills or big mills of that type is no solution for our problems. In fact, the cost involved in this kind of development to create adequate employment opportunities is many times more than the cost of subsidy.

DOLES NOT POSSIBLE

When we are planning for the decent standard of living of the people, it should be remembered that the question of bringing life to millions of poverty-stricken people who are not able to eke out a living for want of work cannot be measured in terms of cost and gain. People should be provided with work or they should be entitled to get sufficient relief when they are in distress. All our planning should be for achieving this state of prosperity as rapidly as possible. Considering the vastness of our country and the pitifully low standard of living of the teeming millions it is simply not within our capacity to undertake any measures for unemployment relief. The cost of subsidizing Ambar Charkha yarn will be found to be practically negligible if we work out the expenditure involved in such relief measures. Moreover, it is much better to provide the unemployed with work rather than to give them doles. Work instils in a man a sense of self-respect whereas the system of doles breeds indolence and mars the development of the personality of the individual. The cost of subsidy should not stand in our way unless a better method of providing jobs to the unemployed and underemployed is found.

PROTECTION AND CENTRALIZED INDUSTRIES

There is a fallacy in the argument against granting subsidy to the Ambar yarn. This is due to confused thinking regarding the policy of giving help and encouragement to an industry that is considered to be vitally necessary for the progress of the nation. A survey of the economic development of the leading nations of the world will show that they were able to develop their industries only by deliberately creating necessary conditions for the proper growth and progress of the industries and sparing no efforts to protect them against foreign competition. In our own country, the big industries have attained their present position thanks to the various kinds of help they had received

at the hands of the Government and protection granted to them for a number of years.

EXAMPLE OF THE TEXTILE MILL INDUSTRY

It will be evident from the above table that all the big industries owe their present position to the protection given to them against foreign competition. Our leading industries like Iron and Steel, Cotton Textiles and Sugar had enjoyed protection for more than twenty years. To cite the instance of the textile mill industry, the premier industry of our country, it would be well to bear in mind that it would never have made such spectacular progress as one of the leading cloth manufacturing industries in the world, but for the unstinted support given by the people and protection granted to it for a long period. Apart from protection it had also received various kinds of help indirectly, like favourable freight rates, supply of power at concessional rates, sustained research and subsequent efforts to increase the cultivation of long staple cotton, etc. The people bore the brunt of the charges of these undertakings which benefited the mill industry to a great extent. It should not be forgotten that not long before we were meeting nearly half of our requirements from imports.

TABLE

Year	Total imports from all countries	Output by Indian mills	Exports from India of mill piecegoods	Total consumption of mill cloth in country	Percentage of Indian mills in the total consumption
1922-23	1593	1725	152	3166	52.5
1953-54	4858	4878	702	4181	99.9

If the people had not patronized our mill piecegoods and protection was not given on the grounds of criticism that the price of our mill cloth was higher than the imported stuff, the textile mill industry would have collapsed before the onslaught of the severe competition of Japan and U.K. in the thirties. The cost of protection and other kinds of help given to the industry for nearly a quarter of a century would run to a staggering figure. If the textile mill industry, which gives employment to a few lakhs and which is in the hands of a few mill-owners could be nurtured for so long a time at a huge cost to the public, there can be no valid argument against giving subsidy to the Ambar Charkha on account of its capacity to meet the requirements of yarn of the handloom weavers and afford immediate relief to as many as ten times the number of hands employed in the mill industry.

THE ONLY WAY

We have analysed, in detail, the potentialities of the Ambar Charkha and have also examined critically its place in the nation's economy. Those who put forth the view that the need of the hour is increase in production and progress can be achieved only through large-scale production betray their lack of understanding of the actual conditions existing in the country.

TABLE SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF PROTECTED INDUSTRIES*

Name of the industry	Date of protection	Date of de-protection	Unit of production	Production in pre-production/protection year	Production in 1954	Remarks
A. Industries first protected in pre-war years						
1. Cotton Textile Industry						
a. yarn	1927	1947	Mill lbs.	807	1564	
b. piece-goods	1927	1947	Mill yds.	2259	5000	
2. Iron & Steel Industry	1924	1947	Thousand tons	131	1532	
3. Paper Industry	1925	1947	"	27	90	for Jan.-Oct., 1954
4. Sugar Industry	1931	1950	"	158	490	for Jan.-Nov., 1954
5. Match Industry	1928	1950	Thousand cases	214	490	1 case—50 gr. matches
B. Industries first protected in post-war years						
a. Metallurgical Industries:						
Aluminium	15.5.48	..	Tons	1070	4886	Fig. relate to ingots.
Ferro-silicon	10.5.48	31.12.53	"	1166	3811	relates to 1953
b. Chemical and Allied Industries:						
Soda ash	22.2.50	..	"	17918	48293	
Starch	12.4.50	..	"	1350	19562	for 1953
c. Engineering Industries:						
Bicycles	22.3.47	..	Nos.	42984	348666	
Electric Motors	12.4.48	..	"	8913	31288	
Hurricane Lanterns	25.1.47	31.12.54	Thousand Nos.	470	4604	
Sewing Machines	22.3.47	..	Nos.	6871	80299	

It is true that we can bring improvement in the living standards of the people only through industrialization. But in our haste to industrialize the country we should not forget that the expansion of spinning mills and such like big industries producing consumers goods will not take the country on a forward step. On the other hand, the development of such industries will only add to the misery of the people. We should not blindly copy the experience of the highly industrialized countries of the West as our problems are totally different in character and scope from theirs. The unemployment prevailing in our country is a chronic one and not a temporary phenomenon that occurs in countries where full employment had been achieved.

The industrial development that had taken place in the country during the last thirty years, however, haphazard it might be, should be an eye-opener to us. The growth of the large-scale industries has not effectively arrested the deterioration in the living conditions of the people. The widespread unemploy-

ment and the appalling poverty of the people remain the same in spite of the tremendous advancement in the productive capacity of these industries during these years. The pressure of population on land is still as severe as it was prior to the development of the large-scale industries and a great majority of the population even now depend on agriculture for a precarious living. The recent Census Report after making a thorough analysis of the change that had taken place in the occupation of the people and the livelihood of the masses during the period 1931 to 1951 says that "It is reasonably certain that non-earning dependency has not decreased but has, on the other hand, probably increased to some extent in the country as a whole during the twenty years between 1931 and 1951."† The Report points out beyond any doubt the limitations of the large-scale industries to provide adequate employment to a growing population.

In spite of the fact that nearly Rs. 2,000 crores have been invested during the period of the First Five-

* From *Records and Statistics*, Eastern Economist publications, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 27-28.

† *The Census of India, 1951, Part I.B.*, p. 106. A person, who does not secure any income either in cash or in kind, is a non-earning dependent.

Year Plan the unemployment problem has become worse in recent times To quote the *Fourth Annual Report* of the Consultative Committee of the Colombo Plan :

"Employment has increased with an accelerated rate of development but there has also been a simultaneous increase in unemployment. The most optimistic of additional employment directly created by the Plan over the Five-year period would be of the order of five million. But even this rate of increase in new jobs is not sufficient to absorb the normal annual addition to the labour force estimated at two million."

The seriousness of the problem is also being increasingly recognized by our Plan-framers. It is now admitted that large increase in investment in the public sector about Rs. 4,800 crores during the Second Five Year Plan Period will not result in increasing the level of employment in commensurate with the growth in population. The early optimistic hopes of diverting the excess of population from depending on agriculture to other gainful occupations have been abandoned and we are told that it will take another 10 to 15 years to reduce the pressure of population on land.

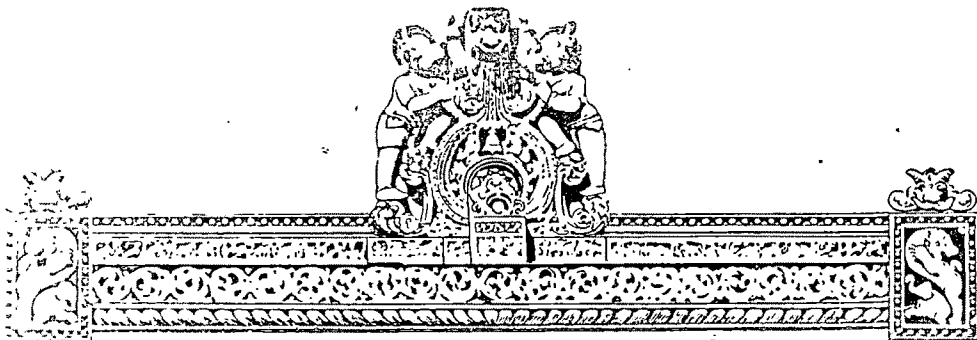
We should evaluate the place of the Ambar Charkha in the nation's economy against this background. We are not against big industries as such. But the unpleasant truth is that we will be sadly mistaken if we place undue reliance on big industries in solving our economic problems. The pattern of our industrialization will have to be different to suit our underdeveloped economy and the rapidly increasing population. Unless we de-centralize the big industries manufacturing articles of consumption, barring a few heavy industries like, iron and steel, chemicals, engineering, etc., which are essential for the development of the country, it will not be possible at all to banish unemployment and promote the economic welfare of the people.

Among the industries producing consumers' goods, the textile industry is the predominant one which can give employment to the largest number of people. Next

to food, cloth is the most important commodity for the people. There is always a ready demand for cloth and hence the demand for yarn is always constant. The products of other village industries, however important or artistic they may be, are not so much desired by all classes of people in the society, as cloth is consumed by us. The de-centralization of the spinning industry alone will afford relief to the maximum number of persons.

While appraising the correct role of the Ambar Charkha in our economy, it should also be made clear that the present Charkha is not the last word on the technique of handspinning. Constant efforts should be made to increase its technical efficiency, consistent with social necessity. It has been suggested that in order to increase the productive capacity of the Charkha we should make use of electric power. While none can be averse to making improvements on the Charkha or use of power, we should not also lose sight of the fact that such a thing is not immediately practicable as conditions exist today. Even if it were planned to electrify the entire country so that each peasant could have an electrically-driven Charkha or other small productive machine in his house, such a scheme would take many years to put into effect under the most favourable conditions. Until such vast changes take place the simple hand-driven Ambar Charkha has got a place in our economy.

In fine, we can conclude, that the healthy relationship between the Ambar Charkha and the handlooms will give great fillip to productive activity in the countryside on a wide scale and pave the way for the further economic progress of the country. We have seen that the cost involved in the scheme of the Ambar Charkha is not in the least burdensome considering the resultant benefit that will be derived by its use. It is needless to emphasize, that in our battle against unemployment and poverty which prevent the material and moral progress of our people, the Ambar Charkha should be given all encouragement and support both by the Government and the public.



NATURE AND NURTURE

By "DEEPAK"

THE adage "Breed is stronger than pasture" by George Eliot has almost always been taken for granted. But, it has, more recently, been contended that whereas the impact of heredity cannot be underestimated, the influence of environment, circumstances of one's upbringing and the atmosphere in which he breathes cannot be overlooked. Opinions differ and people look at things through different coloured glasses. The view that it is nature alone which is the sole factor responsible for the development of human personality and which pre-determines an individual's place in his life has been challenged by those who hold the view that none is by nature incapacitated to achieve anything, which his fellow beings can, provided he is placed in the same environment and circumstances.

Supporters of racial superiority have been harping on the hypothesis that nature decrees inequality among men, and control of the weak by the strong, the stupid by the wise, the timid by the courageous, and the poor by the rich. They emphasize dissimilarities in native capacity among human beings, and contend that the intellectual and moral differences of men are in-born and are not substantially modifiable by training and environment. They support their view by applying principles of genetics and biometrists' records of kinship among distinguished men and the psychologists' measurements of human intelligence, which show that only the germinal structure, not "acquired characteristics", form the source of heredity. In applying these laws to man, they maintain that the most significant differences among men are the hereditary ones, and that the variations in the achievements of men are definitely related to fixed characters in the native germ plasm and not to environment and training.

Regarding the inheritance of superior human capacity and "heredity of genius," Sir Francis Galton's investigations over sixty years ago are worth taking into consideration. He made elaborate biographical summaries to show that eminent judges, statesmen, military commanders, literary men, scientists, artists, divines, and sportsmen had had a relatively large number of eminent relatives in the same fields; he believed, therefore, that his summaries established a "decided law of distribution of genius in families." He attempted to demonstrate that there was a specific inheritance of superiority and it was only the illustrious men in a given field who gave birth to illustrious descendants and ninsmen. He contended that the intellectual and artistic superiority in general is inherited.

Psychologists have also shown, while measuring "general intelligence," that mental differences within the general range of normal individuals are also inherited. Whereas earlier tests were usually limited to measuring specific qualities of perception, such as accuracy of vision and discrimination in taste and smell, or strength

of memory, quickness of response and capacity of attention, the newer tests have been widely regarded as showing that individuals can be differentiated not only as to their specific mental traits but also as to their mental levels, so that they can be classified as of superior, average, or inferior general intelligence. The aim of these men and many of the popular writers has been to show that these differences in the mental levels of normal human beings are congenital.

Another method employed to demonstrate the inheritance of intellectual superiority has been to take some particular group of relatives and show the large number of proficient individuals among them. This method is exemplified in the popular American canvases of the distinguished posterity of a seventeenth century Connecticut couple—Richard Edwards and his talented wife, Elizabeth Tuttle. The descendants of this famous pair include two presidents of the United States and an impressive number of senators, congressmen, judges, college presidents, professors, clergymen, authors, lawyers, and physicians.

Talking about the influence of various factors on the development of human personality, parents' economic position and social status has not been overlooked. Alphonse de Condolle in France and Karl Pearson in England presented statistical tables to show that men of distinction in various fields are generally descended from parents whose superior ability is demonstrated by their economic or social position in the community or by the vocational class to which they belong. Galton indicated that somewhat excessively large number of English scientists were descended from the "noble, wealthy and gentlemanly classes." Havelock Ellis's canvas of over a thousand "British men of genius" showed that over a third came from the professional classes and only a fifth from the far more numerous groups of clerks, mechanics, farmers, and labourers. By showing correlation between the test-ratings of the children with the occupational positions of the parents, Prof. Terman shows that of 1,000 children whom his tests classify as "gifted," 31.4 per cent were descended from parents of the professional class, 50 per cent from parents of the semi-professional and business groups, 11.8 per cent from skilled labourers, 6.6 per cent from semi-skilled and slightly skilled labourers and 0.13 per cent from common labourers.

Prof. Osborn holds that

The modern study of biology "has compelled us to realize the superior force and stability of heredity as being more enduring and potent than "environment;" and Prof. Edward M. East has declared that "no matter what value one may assign to precept and example in moulding the mind of man, his mentality is due fundamentally to his hereditary endowment, to his inborn traits."

"Biology warns us," says A. E. Wiggam, "that nearly all the happiness and nearly all the

miser of the world are due, not to environment, but to heredity; that the differences among men are, in the main, due to differences in the germ cells from which they are born. . . The social classes which you seek to abolish by law, are ordained by nature."

Men of higher native capacities, it is maintained, are found chiefly in the socially, professionally, and economically "upper classes." The general idea is that average intelligence ascends as we ascend the economic and social scale. Wage-earners, small businessmen, farm tenants, small farmers have a generally lower mental capacity and moral stamina than professional men, big businessmen and others of the upper social strata. It has been said that the leaders of today are the only ones who can be depended upon to produce the leaders of the future.

"We have pretty good evidence," says Prof. William McDougall, "that capacity for intellectual growth is inborn, that it is hereditary, and also that it is closely correlated with social status."

It was on this assumption of biological differentiation and congenital differences that the supporters of racial superiority based their conclusions. But though there can be no denying the fact that there are certain definite mental and physical natural inequalities among men, the myth of racial superiority has, in fact, completely exploded in recent years. The antagonists of congenital superiority hold their opponents guilty of over-emphasis on birth, social status and economic position, and under-estimation of the influence of factors such as, environment, upbringing, opportunity, etc., which play a substantial part in the development of human personality.

HUMAN NATURE IS DYNAMIC

The vital role played by environment, training and nurture in moulding human personality is now acknowledged as a truism all over the world. A study of the gradual development of child's habits and faculties proves that human nature is not rigid but easily pliable and flexible. The minds and personalities of adults too are by no means so fossilized as is generally supposed. This is substantiated by various instances of metamorphosis of hardened criminals and evil-doers into gentlemen and saints, under the impact of a sudden mental or emotional impulse or through the inspiring influence of a lofty soul.

The protagonists of the definite influence of training and environment regard as untenable, the arguments of those who over-stress the biologic or blood basis, not only for varieties in intellectual capacity among individuals but also for differences in the levels of culture among the various peoples of the world. They support their view with the newly devised "mental tests" which have been employed in comparing whites and Negroes in the United States. It has been seen that when external environmental influences were completely eliminated and various groups had received generally similar education and lived under generally similar conditions, the results showed some superiority

of the Negroes over the whites in sense of rhythm and in the discrimination of time intervals in music; some superiority of the whites over the Negroes in copying geometric figures, drawing models, and fitting blocks into holes; and an equality between the two groups in the accurate repetition of numerical figures. When the ordinary tests have been used to compare American whites with Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus, no differences in favour of the whites have generally been revealed.

It is contended that no scientific case has been established in support of the claims of a biologic supremacy of some particular racial group, such as the Aryans, Teutons, Nordics, Anglo-Saxons, Celts, or Jews.

It has been held that good and bad characteristics are apparently not, for the most part, unit characteristics; and we do not know what are the elementary characters in the native germ plasm that in combination make one man better than another. Most psychologists and educators appear now to agree that there are numerous traits which, although not revealed by any formal tests are of fundamental importance in determining the quality of human conduct or the ability of individuals to make social adjustments satisfying to themselves and others; they further agree that many such traits are to a significant degree subject to development under the influence of training and environment.

They deny any kinship among eminent men and utilize more recent scientific experiments and facts to disprove the biologic doctrine. Galton's study of English judges showed that, of the one hundred able judges whom he listed as ancestors of able judges, ninety were apparently the sons of fathers of average standing, and only ten had eminent fathers. Scientific geneticists of today express doubts as to the practical implications of the tables set up to demonstrate the inheritance of exceptional ability. Prof. Raymond Pearl shows that, of the eighty-five poets given most extensive mention in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, only three were descended from parents of sufficient distinction to be mentioned separately in the Encyclopaedia; that of the sixty-three prominently mentioned philosophers, most were the sons of obscure clergymen, shopkeepers, peasants, watch-makers, clerks, or petty office-holders and that only five of the eminent philosophers produced any descendants of distinction. Other canvasses have been made of the lowly parentage of great men of the past. We are reminded that Jesus was son of a carpenter and Leonardo da Vinci, the illegitimate son of a domestic servant; that Shakespeare's father was a butcher and glover; Beethoven's, a "confirmed drunkard;" Schubert's, a peasant; Faraday's, a poor blacksmith; Carlyle's, a stone-mason; Lincoln's, a roving carpenter; Pasteur's, a tanner; Browning's, a clerk; and that Socrates' mother was a mid-wife; Beethoven's, the daughter of a cook; and Schubert's, "an ignorant drudge." The author of one of the canvasses, a distinguished geneticist concludes that "most

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Capital Formation in the Underdeveloped Economy"

PROF. K. KRISHNA RAO's comment (February, 1956) on Miss Bose's commendable article on capital formation was read with interest. He attempts to bring out a difference between the implication of capital formation in a highly developed economy and that in an underdeveloped economy. He contends that as in a highly developed economy the natural resources which are limited by quantity are fairly well-exploited (or he might argue due to the operation of the law of diminishing returns) capital can be accumulated only by way of abstention from consumption. Contrariwise, since in an underdeveloped economy there are vast idle resources and a reserve of unexploited "productive capacity" capital formation does not necessarily connote a corresponding curtailment in consumption.

What is wrong with this argument is not the logic as such but the basic premises of it. The above conclusion stems from his failure to conceive of two distinguishing characteristics of an underdeveloped economy. Firstly, an underdeveloped economy is predominantly agrarian in character. Two corollaries immediately suggest themselves; (a) it has a narrow deflationary gap, (b) elasticity of supply of commodities and services is low.

The second fundamental feature that he seems to lose sight of is the "money function" of an underdeveloped economy. Money plays almost a dynamic role in an underdeveloped economy in that it mobilises the idle resources or as Keynes puts "sets the ball rolling" (but this is not to say that money has no significance in a mature economy). The employment of the idle resources calls for monetary incentives. These incentives take the form of deficit financing by which the lacuna between the available resources and the actual requirements is bridged. But though qualitatively money plays a dynamic role, quantitatively it has a restricted scope. Since the deflationary gap is very small and elasticity of supply of commodities and services is low, an exorbitant rate of deficit financing generates serious inflationary pressure and brings devastating consequences in its train. Thus there is a safe limit to which deficit financing can be undertaken.

Let me illustrate this point with a simple instance. Consider a community in which the population consisting entirely of labourers is engaged in the production of consumption goods.

Let q be the average wage-rate and p the total population. Now if we assume that all the wages paid to these labourers are spent upon the consumption goods only and that part of the income is saved, then it is obvious that

$$\begin{aligned} p \cdot q &= \text{total income of the community,} \\ &= \text{total expenditure of the community,} \\ &= \text{total cost of the consumer goods.} \end{aligned}$$

Hence in such a situation if consumer goods are supplied at the average cost, the demand of the community would be fully satisfied.

If, however, we assume that a proportion say,

$\frac{q}{p}$ of the total labour force is engaged in producing capital goods and that the average wage rate in this industry is $\frac{p}{q}$ the above equality between total income and total expenditure of the community will no longer hold good. Income to the wage-earners from the capital goods industry = $\frac{p}{q}$ and income from consumer goods industry = $(p - \frac{q}{p}) \cdot q$ = total

cost of consumer goods. But since the wage-earners from capital goods industry apart from the labourers engaged in consumer goods industry, would

appear on the market with their income, $\frac{p}{q}$

for consumer goods, a paradoxical situation, a relatively greater amount of money chasing a relatively limited quantity of goods, would emerge. Price of the consumer goods would automatically rise to meet the increased effective demand.

Hence, it is obvious that greater is the investment

expenditure, $\frac{p}{q}$ through deficit financing

greater would be the rise in price. An increase in the price of consumption goods would force the community to consume less. There is, however, something to be said in favour of a small rise in prices of consumption goods. This may serve as an incentive to existing idle resources to produce more of such goods. Apart from this, a little rise in price-level as Hicks has pointed out, is the inevitable result of economic progress.

Prof. Rao has also asserts that as more and more idle resources are brought into employment, incomes of the population would increase to a corresponding degree. But, in fact, the effects of the construction schemes on the real income and standard of living are felt only in the long run. Suppose, a person is in possession of the broken parts of an old machine and he resolves to repair it. If he is to pay the cost of repairing, he must either fall back upon his past savings if any, or must pay out of his current income by reducing his daily consumption. His income would only be increased when he utilises the machine in producing commodities. To conclude, therefore, capital in an underdeveloped economy must be taken from the current income-stream for a two-fold reason:

(i) The idle productive resources can be brought into employment only with the mechanism of deficit

financing which has a definite limit; or in other words, the rate of exploitation of the productive capacity, is relatively fixed over a period.

(2) And real income does not increase immediately along with the exploitation. Hence, the in-

crease in investment expenditure and the maintenance of the existing level of consumption cannot go simultaneously.

ARUN KUMAR PODDAR

Delhi College, New Delhi

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FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE BACKWARD AREAS AND DISCRIMINATORY POLICY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

By ADITYA PRASAD SEN GUPTA, M.A.

THE countries in Asia and Africa, which in recent years have succeeded in freeing themselves from the clutches of colonial imperialism naturally expected considerable help from the United Nations for economic reconstruction. But their expectation ultimately resulted in disappointment owing to the discriminatory policy of the United Nations.

At a Press conference held recently in Bangalore different types of questions in respect of the U. N. financial assistance were put to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the United Nations' Secretary-General. It was seriously complained that the backward areas in Asia were not receiving adequate assistance from the United Nations, as a result of which their economic progress was being hindered. Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld treated this complaint as baseless and was also of the opinion that in some cases the failures of the United Nations, though not mentionable, had been exaggerated by the Press. But the reports received so far which we have no reasons to doubt have belied what Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld stated at the Press conference and indicate that the United Nations is not eager to offer assistance for ensuring emergence of Asia as a strong economic unit and has not even considered it essential in some cases to ascertain actual requirements.

Now-a-days we all are familiar with the works of the ECAFE which stands for the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East and is an integral part of the United Nations. Its main object is to collect data in respect of the economic condition of Asia and the Far Eastern region. It has admirably done its allotted duties, though it has not been empowered either to sanction loans or to authorise investment of capital. The data collected by it in respect of Asia and the Far Eastern region give us a clear picture of the economic problems and indicate also the possible ways along which raw materials and other resources available in Asia and the Far Eastern region may be profitably used.

Inaugurating the ECAFE session in Bangalore Mr. Nehru dealt with the economic problems of the backward areas. He told the assembled representatives that there was a marked difference between the backward and industrially developed countries, which ought to be clearly understood. In his opinion as the industrially developed countries are not generally worried

about the bread problem they naturally remain somewhat indifferent regarding other economic questions. But in the backward areas, on the other hand, the bread problem always assumes greatest importance. Unless this problem is solved it will be difficult for men living in the backward areas to be freed from worries and troubles.

Mr. Nehru expressed hope at the ECAFE session in Bangalore that no political strings would be attached to assistance to be given by the United Nations to the backward areas. But it is doubtful whether Mr. Nehru's hope will have any influence on the countries who control the U. N. policies. We have noticed that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has on many occasions sanctioned loans for different sets of purposes. For example, the loans sanctioned by this Bank have been used to augment capital of the government-sponsored Industrial Finance Corporation and to place the shipping industry on a firm footing. At the ECAFE session Mr. Nehru also stressed the need for importing machineries and technical experts from abroad so that the backward areas might be developed. But the volume of such imports should be determined with reference to the actual condition of the areas desirous of having foreign assistance. Moreover, the question as to desirability of laying stress on industry in the backward areas which have agriculture as their mainstay ought to be examined very carefully lest an unwise decision should lead to disastrous economic consequences.

It is quite likely that the assistance from the industrially developed countries to be received by the backward areas may not be proportionate to their requirements and as such determined efforts should be made to make the best use of the internal resources and to develop the spirit of mutual co-operation among the areas adjacent to each other. As Britain and the United States of America hold the largest share of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, they come to control its operations. That's why the Bank adopts more liberal attitude in those cases which involve British and U.S. interests. It is, perhaps, known to all of us that the Bank refused to sanction loans applied for by the Damodar Valley Corporation of India for the first time to finance the

irrigation projects. Similar was the treatment accorded by the Bank to two other applications for loan also submitted on behalf of India. The first application related to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, and the second to the Industrial Finance Corporation which was in need of working capital.

We all possibly know that Egypt requested the World Bank to sanction loans for enabling her to complete the Aswan Dam. The Bank kept silent for two years. But when Egypt-East German negotiations on the issue of the Aswan Dam were in progress and Egypt concluded a pact with Czechoslovakia for

purchase of arms the Bank authorities immediately sent a representative to Cairo who informed the Egyptian Government of the sanction accorded by the Bank to loans applied for. Along with the Bank authorities British and U.S. Governments also gave an assurance to this effect that they were ready to help Egypt in all possible ways. It is, therefore, clear beyond any shadows of doubt that the United Nations is following a discriminatory policy in respect of those areas where the interests of the Powers now controlling U.N. operations are not involved.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

ETHNIC SETTLEMENTS IN ANCIENT INDIA (A Study on the Pauranic lists of the peoples of Bharatavarsa, Part I—Northern India): By Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta. January, 1955. Pp. xviii + 212. Price Rs. 10.

The rich material of the Puranas and the astronomical works relating to the distribution of Ancient Indian tribes and races after the recognised regional divisions of our great sub-continent has been utilised in past years by a number of foreign and Indian scholars like Fleet, Pargiter, Kirfel and Dr. B. C. Law. The most thorough and systematic examination of this material so far has been done by the author of the present work. The author's aim as he tells us in his Preface (pp. xvi—xviii) has been firstly "to present a corrected and revised list of ethnic and geographical names of the different regions of India as furnished by tradition," secondly, to assess the authenticity of this tradition to its widest possible extent with the help of inscriptions and foreign evidence, thirdly and lastly, to present in the light of the above a general survey of the activities, habitats and geographical environment of the peoples and races of Ancient India with the exception of those of the South. These aims have largely been fulfilled in the present work. In the course of his first seven chapters the author gives us a general survey of the regional divisions of Ancient India, a bird's-eye view of the geographical data of the Puranas and associated works and a detailed critical account of the data relating to the Central, the Northern, the North-Western as well as the North-Eastern, the Western and the Eastern divisions respectively. Summing up his estimate of the above in the concluding chapter the author observes that "the geographical traditions of ancient ethnic settlements, as embodied in the Puranas and astronomical works, present us with a stage intermediate

between the conventional notions of the past, and an intimate acquaintance with the far-flung and numerous tribal (*sic.*) establishments of a later age" (p. 201), that the settlements in Ancient India were "not a simple unitary process" but were "carried over several broad periods of time from the Vedic times onwards" (p. 205), and that they "certainly led to modification of geographical environments" (p. 206).

The work bears throughout the evidence of the author's complete mastery of the extensive literary and epigraphic material and capacity for sound judgement. High praise is due to him for the great care which he has taken to establish the correct list and identifications of the geographical names. The value of his work is enhanced by the addition of two tables illustrating the regional divisions of India and six charts giving in parallel columns lists of the tribes and peoples living in those regions after the different authorities, and a good index. Altogether this work is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the related topics of the ethnology and geography of Ancient India (Southern India being purposely excluded from its scope) during the early centuries of the Christian era.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CIVIL DISTURBANCES DURING THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA (1765-1857): By Sashi Bhusan Chaudhuri. Introduction by Prof. S. C. Sarkar. The World Press, Ltd., 37, College Street, Calcutta-12. Pp. xxiii + 231. Price Rs. 8-8.

The book, as the name indicates, deals with various civil disturbances in India during the rule of the John Company. By the term 'civil disturbances,' the author means mainly 'every species of rebellion and insurrection against the ruling authority started by large bodies of people or by their chiefs or by both jointly, as also the revolt of the ryots against their landed chiefs protected by British arms, and depreda-

tions committed upon persons and property on either side.' He does not except 'purely political combinations as also 'communal struggles' from his study. The book consists of six chapters. A political map of India as well as an Index is given in the book. Chapters I and III contain 'Historical Background' and 'Concluding Remarks' respectively. The actual narrative appears in Chapters II to V, and this covers the 'civil disturbances' in Bengal and Upper India, Madras and Southern India, Bombay and Western India and Ceylon, Burma and Malacca. The book, written in a lucid style, is a sad commentary of the early period of British rule in India. The Britishers never sought to understand the people, to respect the local leaders, and to honour things held in reverence by those whom they were destined to rule. There was much in the local system of government, to be retained and improved upon. But the Company, in the exuberance of their newly-owned power, totally neglected and overlooked it. Some people meekly submitted to the foreign yoke, but there were others who were strong enough to resist and revolt. They had, however, to submit to the stronger arms of the Britishers. The author has done well in bringing to the forefront this aspect of the early British rule in India. His narrative is well-documented. We expect with the author that this maiden attempt may stimulate further research on this subject.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

CEN YOGA (I) : *The Synthesis of Yoga* by Sri Aurobindo. Published by Sri Aurobindo International University Centre, Pondicherry (1955). Pp. 1034. D.C. 1/16. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 15.

This is the fourth volume of the collected works of Sri Aurobindo, being published under the auspices of Sri Aurobindo International University Centre, Pondicherry. The previous Volumes being (1) Sri Aurobindo on Himself and the Mother. (2) Savitri (and a few letters and poems). (3) The Life Divine. The Synthesis of Yoga—an well-known work of Sri Aurobindo—delineates the actual spiritual discipline and the laws of dependent causation revealed to him.

It is a fitting publication on the eve of the *Buddha Jayanti Celebrations*. For about a century various Yoga expositions have been given by master minds like Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen, (vide *Brahmagita-panishat*), Swami Vivekananda (vide *Raj Yoga*, *Jnan Yoga*, *Bhakti Yoga*, *Karma Yoga*) and others. Sri Aurobindo's Yoga is a cult by itself, revealed in the process of his *Sadhana*. It differs from the Yoga of the Gita. It also differs from the Vedantic and Patanjali Yoga system which depend entirely on the *Puru-shakara*. Here is a Yoga which is an inflow of the life of the Divine from above. It is not getting away from life, to the Divine, but envisages a Synthesis; it reaches the Divine and brings the fulness of what is gained into life for the transformation of humanity.

We congratulate the Publishers on this grand publication and draw the attention of Philosophers and *Sadhakas* to the study of the book and to put it into practice.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

TOWARDS INTEGRATION : *By Rohit Mehta*. Published by Indian Book Shop, Banaras-1. Pp. 166. Price Rs. 3.

Sri Rohit Mehta, General Secretary of the Theosophical Society in India, has already several interesting books to his credit. The present book is a collection of his nineteen essays and addresses. Most of

the essays originally appeared in the *Indian Theosophist* as leading articles and are herein reproduced in a slightly revised form. The addresses were delivered as principal lectures at the annual conventions of the Theosophical Society and subsequently published in the *Theosophist*.

The central theme of the essays and addresses as collected in this book according to the author is that the present world-crisis is rooted in fundamentally psychological disintegration and results from modern technological civilisation. Man can transcend this stage of chaos and confusion only when he rises to the level of intuition. None can solve mental problems as long as he lives in the realm of mind. In the intuitive plane alone the psychological conflicts are resolved and a unifying factor of the inner life is discovered. Integration is, therefore, the best antidote to the present crisis that has distraught and distracted the world of ours. Integrated individuals are the spiritual men par excellence and are sorely needed today to save us from the impending destruction.

DIVINE DISCOURSES AND POEMS : *By Minocher K. Spencer*. Published by the Spiritual Healing Centre, R. S. Param Post, Coimbatore, South India. Pp. 145. Price not mentioned.

Sri Minocher Spencer is the distinguished author of eight more books excepting the one under review. This book is divided into two parts—the first part containing 22 short discourses and the second part having 24 poems. Swami Sivananda of Rishikesh in a foreward observes that this book bears the stamp of revelation and has been aptly christened 'divine.' He is further of opinion that the discourses are illuminating and the poems are inspired.

I am, however, led to think that this book will prove interesting and instructive to almost all sections of the reading public. For instance, the seventh discourse entitled the 'mystic seven' shows how seven is considered a sacred figure in many lands and ages. It is said in this chapter that the beautiful rainbow is made of seven colours, in the spinal chord there are seven yogic chakras, the eternal city of Rome was built on seven hills, the Great Bear is a constellation of seven stars, in Zoroastrianism there are seven celestial beings, there are seven deadly sins according to medieval Christian theologians and so on. Both the discourses and poems comprising this handy volume are above the ordinary and somewhat original.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SONGS ON THE HILLS : *By Lakshminarayan Sahu, M.A.* To be had of the author, Deul-sahi, Cuttack-1. Price Rs. 3.

Sri Lakshminarayan Sahu is a reputed poet and a veteran social worker. He has been taking keen interest in the cultural life of the aboriginal tribes for more than a decade. His enthusiasm in collecting folk songs of the aborigines is also praiseworthy. The book *Songs on the Hills* contains translations of a good number of songs of Oraons, Santals, Mundas, Hos, Kondhas and some other aboriginal peoples inhabiting the different parts of Orissa and Chhotanagpur. Sri Sahu's translation seems to be faithful renderings of the original songs which are really the spontaneous outflow of poetic souls. The reader may not find literary embellishment in the songs composed orally by these simple folk, but he will certainly feel that most of the songs are vibrating with life. The simplicity of expression, the realistic touch which enlivens most of the songs, the similes used

by unknown aboriginal poets will certainly be a revelation to the reader. The note of sincerity which rings through these songs has given them enormous vitality and it is due to this vitality that they have stood the test of time and have, orally, been transmitted from generation to generation.

Sri Sahu has not only collected and translated folk songs of various types, but also he has, in his charming style, written introductory notes on some of the festivals, such as, Maghe Durang of the Hos, Karma festival of the Mundas, etc. These introductions are an additional attraction of the book under review. On the whole the author has spared no pains to make the book a representative one.

"Cradle Songs" and some other songs included in the book confirm the theory of oneness of human mind and though our language and manners and customs are totally different from those of the aboriginal tribes we feel a sort of mental affinity with them when we go into the inner spirit of those songs. *Songs on the Hills* will thus be immensely helpful in getting an insight into the psychology and sentiment of our neglected neighbours who like ourselves are the sharers of the cultural heritage of India. Sri Sahu by collecting and translating the folk songs of the aboriginal tribes is rendering valuable services in establishing cultural link between them and us. Some of the songs touch our hearts deeply and stir the innermost in our consciousness profoundly. *Songs on the Hills* has undoubtedly enriched the folk-literature of our country.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

A MODERN ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND INDIA (Part II, Economic History of India): By T. Srinivasaraghavan, M.A. (*Econ. and Phil.*). Macmillan and Co., Ltd., Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and London, 1955. Price Rs. 5-8.

The book is a comprehensive study of the history of economic development in India from the Mogul era to the modern times. The importance of the British period is marked by elaborate discussion. The trend in agriculture, industry, trade, transport, currency, banking, national finance, labour movement, co-operative movement, population, etc., in India has thoroughly been dealt with in this volume. The students of Indian Economics will get much benefit and references in these studies. At the end of each chapter a short summary is given which will help the readers to grasp the outline of the subject discussed. At the end a statistical appendix is also attached. The volume would have been more interesting and thorough if the author had discussed the trend of planning in India and devoted a separate chapter on the recent planning policy of the government, although the Five-Year Plan is often discussed whenever it has become necessary in relation to the topics concerned.

B. K. SEAL

TOWARDS WORLD PEACE: By Prof. N. G. Ranga. Published by the Indian Foreign Affairs Association, 1, Jiwanti Buildings, Queensway, New Delhi. Pp. 198 + viii. Price Rs. 2-8.

The author of this book is an internationalist but he is no less a nationalist. A former peasants' leader, now a Congressman, Prof Ranga holds an important position among members of the Parliament.

The book under review consists of eighteen chapters dealing with various subjects, such as, India's Foreign Policy, Redistribution of Wealth, World

Peasant Problems, Rival Imperialisms, World Parliamentary Democracy, Achievements of World Democracy, One World Ideal, the Bogor Conference, etc. The author believes that 'Democracy shall never die' in spite of progress of Totalitarianism in certain countries. Some of the chapters are the speeches the author delivered, in world gatherings and in the Parliament. While supporting the one world idea, the author advocates peaceful co-existence of nations and races as a condition of world peace. Colonialism and exploitation of weaker races must cease and economic emancipation of under-developed countries must be undertaken in right earnest by progressive nations if world peace is to be attained and preserved.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

ACHARANGA SUTRA (Prathama Sruta Skandha): Translated by Sri Hira Kumari, Vyakarana-Samkhya-Vedantatirtha. Published by Sri Jaina Svetambara Terapanthi Mahasabha, 3, Portuguese Church Street, Calcutta. Price not mentioned.

For the first time this important work of Jaina scriptures appears in Bengali. The tenets of Jainism, a very important branch of Hinduism, are described herein. They ought to be known to all Indians because they at once reveal to us the essential unity underlying the teachings of all our spiritual leaders.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

MARKINE CHARI MASH: By Bepin Chandra Pal. Published by Yugajatri Prakash Ltd., 41-A, Buldeo Para Road, Calcutta-6. Pp. 109. Price Rs. 2.

As one of the very early leaders of Indian nationalism the name of Bepin Chandra Pal has found a place in our history. Besides being an orator in English, as well as in Bengali he was a powerful writer in both these languages. The present book on travels in U.S.A. is written in Bengali and was published in *Bangabani* in 1329 B.S., i.e., 33 years back. Mr. Pal was invited by the National Temperance Society of New York in 1900 to deliver a course of lectures and he was in U.S.A. for four months only. He had also occasions to address meetings held under the auspices of the Unitarian Church. It was here that he came in touch for the first time with Mrs. Ole Buck, who was a great patron of Swami Vivekananda in America and Sister Nivedita (Miss Noble). During his short stay he had the unique opportunity of addressing on Hindu Religion and Philosophy at the Congress of Religions held at Boston.

In these pages will be found a pen-picture of the then American intelligentsia—particularly women with whom the author came into contact. He is all praise for American women, who were very kind towards him. The book is all the more interesting because it gives a portrait of American life 56 years back. Mr. Pal was very much impressed by the freedom-loving people of America. The publishers are to be congratulated for bringing out this and other writings of this great journalist, author and philosopher and making them available at a reasonable price. We wish this interesting publication a wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

PANCHAMRITA: By Balashauri Reddy. Hindi Prachar Sabha, Hyderabad, Deccan. Pp. 228. Price Rs. 4.

Five classics of the Telugu literature: *Andhra Mahabharata* by Poet Tikanna. (1220-1290). *Andhra Mahabharata* by Bhakta Potanna, (1405-1470),

Manucharitra by Allasani Paddenna, (16th century), *Vemanna Padyamulu* by Vemanna (1412-1480), and *Vijay Vilas* by Poet Chemkur Venkata (17th century), have been translated into Hindi by the author with unusual acumen. His illustrating introduction and glossary of Telugu words with their Hindi equivalents are very useful to the Hindi reader. The publishers have, indeed, rendered great service to the Indian literatures by thus presenting one of the principal Southern literatures in the national language. One would await further similar presentations with eagerness.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) SHIKSHA PATRI : By Swami Sahajanand. Price As. 6.

(2) KAVI GANG KAHE, SUN SHAH AKBAR: By Fantilal Shridharani. Price As. 3.

Above books are published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

Swami Sahajanand, the founder of the Swami Narayan cult, has composed in Sanskrit verse several pieces of advice for his followers in order to enable them to lead moral and righteous lives. They have been translated into Gujarati, and a very learned Introduction by K. G. Mashruvala, the follower of

Gandhiji and a follower of the Swami Narayan Sampradaya, as well as a thinker and able writer, sets out the principles enunciated in the *Shikshapatri*. Sahajanand's creed has humanised the lives of many of its devotees who come from the artisan and illiterate class. Kavi Gang's poems in Hindi, supposed to have been recited before Emperor Akbar, are of India-wide reputation. To have made them available at such a cheap price is very creditable to the Society.

(1) KABIRSAHEB : By Manilal T. Mehta. Price As. 6.

(2) SANT MULIDAS : By Morarji C. Thakkar. Price As. 6.

(3) SHANKARACHARYA : By Vawanrao P. Patel. Price As. 10.

(4) MAHAYOGI SHRI ARVIND : By Sundaram. Price As. 4.

Above books are published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

These four biographies of well-known Indian saints and philosophers are so well-written and in such a small compass and easy language that they are sure to find a place in the hands, if not in the Library, of everyone interested in Gujarati literature and in the lives of saints and doers of good to humanity.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Benjamin Franklin

Philosopher For Human Rights

Henry Butler Allen, Executive Vice-President of the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, writes in *The Aryan Path* :

During 1956, hundreds of Societies and Institutions in more than forty countries will unite to honour the memory of Benjamin Franklin on the 250th anniversary of his birth.

It is interesting to study why so much of the civilized world is eager to pay tribute to a man born two and a half centuries ago. Some measure of his status is reflected in the fact that young and old, of diverse religious faiths, of widely differing economic and social backgrounds, and from many nations, are aware of his contributions to civilization. Here is a man born and bred in eighteenth-century America, whose philosophy has appealed to generations of people in many lands, and whose penetrating observations and recommendations on science, economics, social welfare and international relations are still valid after more than two hundred years.

The great Mirabeau, in his famous Eulogy before the French National Assembly in 1790, perhaps explained best why so many people always venerate the memory of Benjamin Franklin. He said:

"Would it not become us gentlemen . . . to bear a part in this homage, rendered, in the face of the world, both to the rights of man and to the philosopher who has most contributed to extend their sway over the whole earth."

Benjamin Franklin's lifelong crusade for Human Rights was his greatest glory. To him, every man and every woman, regardless, of class, caste, colour, creed or race, was entitled to stand straight and tall in dignity—and not have to bow before an accident of birth. He wrote to Joseph Huey on June 6th, 1753: "Mankind are all of one family," and again to David Hartley in 1789, when close to the end of life, in the wisdom of his years:

"God grant that not only the love of Liberty but a thorough knowledge of the Rights of Man may pervade all the nations of the Earth so that a Philosopher may set his feet anywhere and say 'This is my Country'."

Many men have written and spoken of the great objective of equal human rights as the only way to world peace.

Franklin not only stated his Philosophy—he lived it himself. He once wrote: "A good example is the best sermon," and then proceeded to make himself that example.

Born in an age of imperialism, religious intolerance and privilege for only the few, Franklin fought all his life for Freedom of Speech and of the Press; for Freedom of Religion, Education and Opportunity for all

men and women of any class whatsoever. He dared imprisonment for the right to speak and write his beliefs. He helped to build churches of all faiths and even a House "expressly for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion who might desire to say something to the people . . . so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Mohammedism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service."

He was President of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, and he finally signed the American Declaration of Independence because he saw no other way to gain complete freedom for his people.

To Franklin, the great goal of Science and Statesmanship alike was to benefit mankind. "He snatched the lightning from the skies and the sceptre from the tyrants," Turgot said—and explained, in that one line, the dominating philosophy of Benjamin Franklin's life. A brief review of some of the things he did is the best way to know the man.

Born on January 17th, 1706, in Boston, Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin was the youngest son in a family of fourteen children. With but two years of normal schooling, he went to work in his father's candle-making shop at the age of ten and was apprenticed to his brother, James Franklin, at the age of twelve. Seeking larger opportunities, he came to Philadelphia at the age of seventeen, arriving with capital consisting of a Dutch dollar and a shilling.

He exemplified the homely virtues of thrift, honesty and industry so well that he was able to retire from business with a competence at the age of forty-two, and taught the maxims of his "Poor Richard's Almanack" so well that they became household words throughout the land. The introduction to the last "Almanack" was printed in broadsides and posted on walls in England, and translated and distributed by the French clergy among their parishioners. It has been translated into fifteen languages, and reprinted at least four hundred times. A pertinent quotation follows:

"Friends," says he, "the taxes are, indeed very heavy, and, if those laid on by the government were the only ones we had to pay, we might more easily discharge them; but we have many others, and much more grievous to some of us. We are taxed twice as much by our idleness, three times as much by our pride, and four times as much by our folly; and from these taxes the commissioners cannot ease or deliver us, by allowing an abatement."

Aiming at "moral perfection," he made a list of the useful virtues, which turned out to be thirteen—Temperance, Silence, Order, Resolution, Frugality, Industry, Sincerity, Justice, Moderation, Cleanliness, Tranquillity, Chastity and Humility. To each of these, in turn, he gave a week's strict attention, marking down in a book the measure of daily success achieved in the practice of each. Thus he went through "a course complete in thirteen weeks, and four courses a year."

He wrote that he was surprised to find himself so much fuller of faults than he had imagined; but, persisting for some years, he had the satisfaction of seeing them diminish. To propagate these simple doctrines and practices, Franklin designed (1732) to write a book on "The Art of Virtue," and to unite all men of good will in a society for the practice of it.

At the age of twenty-one he organized "The Junto," a club of twelve members, for mutual self-improvement. It existed for forty years, and it was said in that period that "the chief measures of Pennsylvania received usually their first formation in this club."

Self-educated, Franklin became one of the most learned men of his time. He acquired his extensive learning through books, his unusual powers of observation, discussion and correspondence. He taught himself three foreign languages. As a boy he developed his literary style by an intensive study of the writings of Addison in *The Spectator*.

Franklin was the leader in many movements for the benefit of his community. He initiated projects for establishing a city police, and for the paving and better cleaning and lighting of city streets. He was largely instrumental in establishing a circulating library in Philadelphia, the first in America, 1731; in founding in 1743 the American Philosophical Society, incorporated, 1780; a city hospital, 1751; and an Academy for the Education of Youth, opened in 1751 (the origin of the University of Pennsylvania). During his active citizenship in Philadelphia, it was said that it was practically impossible to carry on a drive for funds for a worthy project without soliciting his aid, so accustomed were the people to his leadership in such matters.

He conducted experiments in electricity (1745-1752), making discoveries that "have secured his undisputed rank amongst the most eminent of natural philosophers." He established the identity of lightning and electricity. He was interested in all fields of science, including aeronautics, agriculture, astronomy, botany, chemistry, electricity, geology, hydrostatics, hygiene, mathematics, medicine, meteorology, navigation, oceanography, optics, orthography, paleontology and physics. In many of these fields, he made important investigations and discoveries. He carried on an active correspondence with the leading scientists of Europe and America, and was a member of twenty-six of the great societies and academies of the arts and sciences of his day.

Franklin invented the lightning-rod, bifocal glasses, the first American wood-burning stove, the first draft for a fireplace to prevent smoking, a musical instrument which he called the "Armonica," a letter-copying press, a laundry mangle and other contrivances; but never owned a patent. When offered a monopoly on his stove by the Governor of Pennsylvania he asserted his belief that "as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by an invention of ours, and this we should do freely and generously."

In 1764, there having been two insurrections of the frontier inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania in December of the previous year, in which twenty friendly Indians living under the protection of the government had been murdered, Franklin, to strengthen the hands of the weak government by rendering the proceedings of the rioters odious, wrote his "Narrative of the Late Massacre in Lancaster County of a number of Indians, friends of this Province." In it he appealed to the people to "maintain the honour of the government and protect peaceable citizens, even though they be Indians." Afterwards, when armed rioters started for Philadelphia

with the avowed intention of murdering 140 Indian converts who had been brought by the government for safety to that city, Franklin, at the request of Governor Penn, formed a military association of nearly 1,000 citizens to resist these rioters, the so-called Paxton Boys, who, on reaching Germantown and learning of the measures taken for the defence of the city, desisted from further action.

Franklin was a thorough pragmatist. Once, nearly shipwrecked on a rocky British coast, he wrote to his wife that some men in his position would have wanted to erect a shrine to a divinity on the coast, but such was his nature that he felt more like erecting a lighthouse. In the course of his vast scientific investigations, he was always on the lookout for ideas that would be of practical value to his fellow men. He made American farms more productive by introducing mineral fertilizers into America. He also introduced into America rhubarb, turnips, Scotch kale, Barbary barley and yellow willow for basket making. He advocated enclosing fields with hedges to conserve wood, and wrote "Observations on Mayz, or Indian Corn." He promoted silkworm culture in America.

Franklin rarely solicited public office, but was too public-spirited to avoid such honours. In 1729 he supported the popular demand for paper money. He was clerk of the Pennsylvania Assembly (1736-51) and member for Philadelphia (1751-64), deputy postmaster at Philadelphia (1737-53) and, jointly with William Hunter, deputy postmaster general for the colonies (1753-74). This was one of the few offices he ever solicited. In the latter capacity he made visits of inspection to nearly every colony, and not only increased

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the frequency and efficiency of the mail deliveries, but made the post office a financial success as well. In 1775, he became the first American Postmaster General, upon appointment by the Continental Congress.

For a number of years prior to the Revolutionary War, he was the agent of Pennsylvania and other colonies before the Court of Great Britain, and became the bold defender of the rights of America in general. It is said that the light he threw upon colonial affairs in his memorable examination in the House of Commons relative to the repeal of the American Stamp Tax, probably more than all other causes combined, determined Parliament to repeal the bill.

His last words to the British government at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War included the following statement: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

In signing the Declaration of Independence, he delivered his famous quip: "Yes, we must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

Franklin was a delegate of the Assembly of Pennsylvania to the Second Continental Congress and served on ten important committees. He served on the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. He was President of the Convention which framed a Constitution for the State of Pennsylvania in the same year, 1776. Later in the year he was appointed one of the three Commissioners to the Court of France to secure the aid and co-operation of that country. He was then seventy years old, and in accepting the appointment made his memorable remark: "I am but a fag end and you may have me for what you will." Before leaving for France, he collected all the money he could, amounting to between 3,000 and 4,000 pounds, and loaned it to the Congress, thus encouraging others to lend their money in support of the cause.

Franklin remained in France for eight years. Of his service as a diplomat, an eminent French historian has said:

"His virtues and his renown negotiated for him; and before the second year of his mission had expired, no one conceived it possible to refuse fleets and an army to the compatriots of Franklin."

Although he was in his seventies and a frequent sufferer from gout and "the stone," in addition to his diplomatic duties he was kept busily engaged in purchasing supplies and munitions of war and shipping them to America: in acting as the Judge of Admiralty; in commissioning and equipping privateers (such as John Paul Jones) to operate against British commerce; in negotiating loans and honouring the numerous drafts drawn on him by the Congress: in attending to the needs of American prisoners in Great Britain, and in various other ways.

Upon returning to America, he was chosen President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania and served in that capacity for three years. He wrote to a friend that the public, having devoured his flesh, now wanted to pick his bones.

Franklin was active in promoting the foundation at Lancaster of a college for the education of young Germans, now known as the Franklin and Marshall College, and it is said that in 1787, notwithstanding his physical infirmity, he travelled to Lancaster to lay the cornerstone of its principal building.

In the same year he took an active part in establishing "The Society for Political Enquiries," which had for its object mutual improvement in the knowledge of



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government and the advancement of political science. He was elected its first president.

Franklin was a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Convention to frame the Constitution of the United States and, despite his age and infirmity, attended regularly. Though some of the principles he advocated were defeated in the Convention, he urged the adoption of the Constitution as the best instrument that could be devised at the time, and his great influence was a potent factor in securing its adoption.

One of Franklin's last public activities was in helping to organize the first society formed for the abolition of slavery, and, as its President, writing and signing the first remonstrance against slavery addressed to the American Congress.

Franklin died in Philadelphia on April 17th, 1790, aged eighty-four years and three months. In his will he gave a hundred pounds to the schools of Boston, his native city; and gave a thousand pounds to the city of Philadelphia and a like amount to the city of Boston as trust funds—the income to be let out upon interest to young married artificers under the age of twenty-five years.

It is one of the great tributes to Benjamin Franklin's practical mind that the funds he left in his will are still doing good for mankind after 166 years. So wisely had he planned it that the moneys he bequeathed have grown greatly in size and service.

The Franklin Technical Institute in Boston, founded in part from the funds in Franklin's will, is one of the pioneer schools for giving technical training to young men who cannot afford college. More than 75,000 young people have been enabled, through this one Institute, to take part in the technological improvements for mankind.

The Franklin Institute in Philadelphia also benefited from the thoughtful provisions of Benjamin Franklin. Founded in 1821, it established not only a service for young craftsmen, but also helped to pioneer in the practical education for young women—one of Franklin's great objectives even at a time when women were not given education equal to men.

Through the years, the Franklin Institute has served to continue the ideals and objectives of the Philosopher for equal human rights. More than 300,000 visitors, half of them boys and girls, learn something each year of the wonders of science in its great Museum and Planetarium. Its research laboratories and associated research foundations have contributed, as Franklin wished, to the service of all mankind.

Here was established one of the world's first weather bureaus, based upon Franklin's studies of storms and winds. The standardization of bolt and screw threads was developed here so that peoples of all nations might benefit more easily by the interchange of technical equipment. The problems of steam-boiler explosions, air pollution and the wider use of asphalt have all been constructive projects.

Here, too, were developed the aids for the blind that have brought greater comfort to those so afflicted. The first motion pictures—which have given so much happiness to so many millions of people—were first exhibited at the Franklin Institute.

Thus the influence of a truly great Philosopher continues to bring benefits to men and women through the years.

It is said that all human progress springs from the creative ideas of great minds. Benjamin Franklin made enormous contributions to the development of science for the benefit of mankind—but history will, some day, pay him even larger tribute for his teachings on the equality of all Human Rights.

For humanity's greatest goal is Peace. And Peace, Franklin taught, never could come from any source except full and international respect for the Rights of every Man. No finer tribute could be paid to him during this Anniversary than to emphasize again this greatness Philosophy.

Students in British Universities

Bruce Burton writes in *The Indian Review* :

"You can lead a boy to college, but you can't make him think" so the old adage runs. The recognition of this important truth by the university authorities contributes greatly to a harmonious relationship between teaching staff and students at British universities. "A British University . . . both teaches and researches but is primarily a teaching body, and in teaching it believes that the essential is less that the pupil should be trained to know than that he should be trained to judge." These are the words of one of the most celebrated figures ever to participate in British University life—Sir David L. Ker.

To be trained to judge, to learn how to learn, to be encouraged to use one's initiative, these are all regarded as essential ingredients of our university education. Every student at my own university of Oxford has to produce for his tutor at least one original essay a week. On the other hand, attendance at lectures is not compulsory (though it is definitely encouraged). This means that some lectures are poorly attended. A Glasgow University Professor of Medicine, on an occasion when his lecture was attended by one student sent an attendant to bring in the skeleton, in order that he could begin his address with "Gentlemen."

The life of the British student is not all work. Pliny remarked, "*Studia hilaritate proveniunt*"—"Cheerfulness is the key to success in studies." Students all over the world know that!

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

In all British universities there is a Students' Union, responsible not only for general student welfare, but also for organising facilities for recreational activity. As in India, the officers of these Unions are elected by the students themselves. There is keen competition in the universities in all sports, but especially between Oxford and Cambridge, and their century-old rowing rivalry in the annual Boat Race is well known. There are, of course, other spheres of relaxation besides sport, and at Oxford I remember, there were countless societies and journals

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functioning regularly throughout the term, for the poet, the philosopher, the writer, the musician, the artist, the bridge or jazz enthusiast, and many others.

There are political and religious groups which cater for all views, the political societies mainly confining their activities to the propagation of the policies and ideas of the National Political parties they support.

INDIAN STUDENT MAKES HISTORY

Probably the most famous institution in Oxford is the Oxford Union Society. As in Indian universities, debating is popular among Britain's students and like its Cambridge counterpart, the Oxford Union functions primarily as a debating society. As each of the Oxford's thirty colleges has its own student welfare body, membership of the Union is a purely voluntary affair for the six thousand men students. None of the thousand women students are permitted to join, but they are invited to view 'House' from the gallery of the debating chamber. Occasionally a lady undergraduate is invited to participate in one of the debates. Nearly a year ago I heard a fine speech by an Indian undergraduate, Miss Nardini Mehta (Lady Margaret Hall), who was the first woman ever to address the Oxford Union. The President at that time was Raghavan Iyer, her fiancé, and the third Indian to become President of the Oxford Union. However, although at Oxford women are rarely allowed to participate in the Union debates, as in all other British universities they contribute greatly to student social life in other spheres.

INTERNATIONAL FORUM

In most other British universities, the proportion of women students is larger, education for women having steadily developed since the last war. Indeed, there have been a number of silent revolutions in British universities since the war. 'Oxbridge' is no longer the playground for the son of the idle rich. The majority of students at the two older universities are assisted by some kind of scholarship or grant, and the proportion is probably greater in the other universities. Educational democracy has come to stay.

An increasing amount of Britain's total student population is from overseas, perhaps 20-25 per cent of Oxford's students are visitors, particularly from the Commonwealth and the U.S.A. Indian students play an active and often prominent part in university life, and there have been many distinguished Indian cricket Blues.

One of the greatest needs of this generation is for some 'intellectual ivory towers' where young people of all nations can meet and discuss quietly together for a short time and then, refreshed by this intellectual pause, can go forth wiser as a result of the interchange of ideas.

A Scheme, Plot and Plan

J. C. Kumarappa, observes in the *Gram Udyog Patrika*:

The draft of the Second Five-Year Plan is before the public. One has to read it carefully to grasp the full implications put forward therein.

Ours being a poor agricultural country we were looking forward to see the interests of the farmers placed at the centre of things. All other considerations should buttress their uplift and be subordinate to that one consideration. Then alone it could be styled a "Plan." We find that the whole document is coloured by the needs of big, centralised, large-scale industry and the requirements of the rest of the nation are calculated to further the wellbeing of such an economic organization. Such a layout would well be termed a "scheme" or a "plot". Hence we may say that there is more scheming and plotting to expand exports, to raise foreign exchange and industrialise the country.

The little that is put forward as Community Project Schemes or Community Development Programme or National Extension Service are in the form of pacifiers. When the baby demands milk, the rubber nipple, with a bone disc stopper, is placed between its lips to suck. The baby sucks and sucks and gets no nourishment. The country loudly calls for rural reconstruction. It is presented in a few selected areas with these expensive welfare schemes that produce next to nothing. These should be fundamentally linked up with increase in the productive capacity of the villagers by being coupled with agriculture and agro and village industries. Such is not now the case. There should be a wide-spread network of rural development, manned by well-trained village level workers, backed by a high-powered Government body, headed, perhaps, by the Planning Minister. Only then we can expect anything more than mere propaganda to hatch out of these politically impregnated schemes. Tinkering with rural development will, in time, exhaust the patience of the people.

As we have already indicated in the past, the country should be reorganised along riverine valleys so that canals can carry the snow waters of Himalayas to the Cape through parched fields. What we need is that our economic requirements of the farmers should outweigh any political set-up of a party government or their patrons and bosses. Politics should now be satisfied with its subordinate place as a handmaiden of economics. Accordingly our Cabinet portfolios have to be recast to allow of the rebuilding of the nation on predetermined rational lines.

We trust these considerations will be brought to bear on the discussions of draft plan and in the end it will be recast to enable us to go forward with the development of a state devoted to the needs of the people.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Hebrew University

The official opening of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus on April 1, 1925, was an outstanding event in Jewish cultural life. A distinguished company assembled to pay homage to the Jewish people and its efforts for national reconstruction: Lord Belfour, the veteran statesman and author of the historic Declaration, urging the Jewish National Home in Palestine; Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow, then the heads of the Zionist Organisation; Sri Herbert Samuel, the First British High Commissioner; Achad Haam and Chaim Nahman Bialik, Chief Rabbi Kook and Chief Rabbi Hertz of Great Britain; Dr. J. L. Magnes, representing the Provisional Board of Governors of the University, and many other illustrious persons.

The University's first Board of Governors was presided over by Dr. Weizmann and among its members was Prof. Albert Einstein, who later became its Honorary Chairman. Prof. Einstein was also President of the then existing Academic Council, consisting of distinguished Jewish scholars throughout the world.

The work started with only three research institutes: for chemistry, Jewish studies and microbiology, to which soon more branches were added. Expansion followed quickly and steadily, in spite of many vicissitudes. More buildings were added to the site, and the number of teachers and students substantially increased. By 1948 the University consisted of a Faculty of Humanities and a Faculty of Science, a Pre-Faculty of Medicine, Schools of Agriculture and Education, the Jewish National and University Library, and the University Press.

Then came the tragic set-back when during the War of Independence, Mount Scopus became inaccessible. New premises were hired provisionally in Terra Sancta College in the centre of New Jerusalem, and the various faculties and administration were housed in other available quarters, all in 50 buildings. But the immense growth of the Hebrew University made a permanent solution to the problem of accommodation absolutely imperative. It was therefore decided to erect new premises on the western outskirts of the town.

Since the formal dedication of the site on June 2, 1954, construction of the new campus has been proceeding apace, and the first building, Canada Hall (a lecture hall for Botany), a gift of Canadian friends, was inaugurated as early as May, 1955. The adjacent six laboratories are also nearing completion, and the entire Botany Department will be able to occupy the new premises. Moreover, four student hostels are in the course of construction. The hostels are intended to ease the acute shortage of students accommodation in Jerusalem. By 1957, other buildings to arise on the campus will be the Abraham Mazer Memorial Building (Institute of Jewish Studies), the George and Florence Wise Auditorium, and premises for the Law Faculty (also a gift of Canadian friends of the University) and other buildings.

It is expected that the new campus will take six to seven years to complete, and the work of the

University will be transferred to it in stages. The estimated cost is \$30,000,000. It is, however, explicitly understood that the new site is not intended to supersede but to complement the premises on Mt. Scopus; the use of the latter is still being demanded by the Hebrew University.

The financial situation of the Hebrew University has, at all periods of its existence, been a difficult one. Notwithstanding the increased funds received from the Israel Government and its close connection with, and assistance given by, the Jewish Agency, the major share of the budget must still be sought abroad. The Development Budget for the next three years has been fixed at IL. 7,500,000 of which Government has been requested to contribute, as a loan, an amount of IL. 2,900,000, and the Jewish Agency, which contributes IL. 500,000 to the current budget, has been asked to extend her aid also to the Development Budget, and further to make a grant of IL. 1,000,000 for the year 1955-56 to the current budget. The Jewish Agency's contribution so far has been made in recognition of the University's unique role as the cultural centre of the Jewish people.

The office of President of the Hebrew University for the last two years has been occupied by Prof. Benyamin Mazar, an eminent archaeologist and scholar whose subject is the History of the Biblical Period and the Historical Geography of Palestine. He has conducted important archaeological expeditions in Israel and is the author of numerous work.

The teaching staff of 520 includes a number of men eminent in their fields. Of great assistance are the visits of guest professors and lecturers of note who come to Israel under various exchange programmes and grants. A number of Hebrew University teachers are also invited as guest professors to universities abroad.

There are six Faculties: Humanities, Science, Medicine (the University-Hadassah Medical School), Law, Agriculture and Social Sciences (the Eliezer Kaplan School of Economics and Social Sciences). Some of them have been established or expanded only recently, as for instance: the Medical School and the Faculty of Law in 1949; the School of Agriculture was expanded in 1952 into a full-fledged faculty; in 1952 the School of Education was established under the joint auspices of the University and the Ministry of Education and Culture for training teachers, and in 1953 the Faculty of Social Sciences was set up, and the Schools of Dentistry and of Pharmacy inaugurated. Of all the branches of learning, the Institute of Jewish Studies is the one which gives the University its most distinctive character, because it includes the teaching of Judaism in all its aspects.

The Hebrew University students come from about 47 countries and number 3,263. The majority, however, including 53 Arab and Druse students, have received their secondary school education in Israel. Up to the beginning of 1955 the University awarded 2,590 degrees; its graduates fill responsible posts in the Government, national institutions and other public bodies, and occupy

key positions in scientific research institutes and as teachers at colleges, secondary schools and at the University itself.

The Hebrew University, whilst concerned with the general aim of extending knowledge, has made a vital contribution to the development of the Jewish National Home and Israel. This it has done through its researches in the medical, chemical, industrial and agricultural fields. Agriculture has benefited from the researches in many ways. Underground water has been made available for irrigation, thanks to indications for drilling sites given by its geologists. Irrigation has permitted a transition from dry farming to intensive cultivation over large areas, thus increasing yields. The University's bacteriologists and parasitologists help to control malaria. The control of plant diseases and of epidemics, of field mice and locusts is the

special province of its entomologists. Industry in Israel has been aided by the research of the University's geologists and chemists in particular. The former have discovered in Israel essential raw material like phosphates, cement, peat and absorptive clays, while the latter have worked out processes for the commercial utilisation of various local minerals and chemicals. Particular importance attaches to studies in the chemistry of bromides and other Dead Sea minerals. In the fields of public health service intensive studies are made in endemic and epidemic diseases. Diseases investigated include cancer, sandfly, fever, typhus, dysentery, etc. In connection with recent epidemic of poliomyelitis researches are in progress on the relative degrees of immunity of different sections among Israel's population.—*News from Israel*, January 15, 1956.

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Youth Volunteers Across The Face of India

Hans Peter Muller is Secretary of the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps. With the aid of Unesco, he recently spent three months in India to promote the development of international voluntary work camps and to help link local groups with similar organizations in other countries. He presents the reader with the results of his observations in India and his views thereupon in the *The Unesco Courier*, No. 6, 1955, as follows :

The traveller arriving for the first time in Bombay is struck by an impression of lavish luxury side by side with the poorest kind of slums. And he will probably ask himself how many of the people in the well-to-do neighbourhoods know or care about the uprooted masses living nearby. For my part, I thought of the week-end work camps organized in the Paris suburbs by the Service Civil International, and of the many American Friends Service Committee camps in the poorer quarters of New York and Chicago.

But it was not long before I learned that in Bombay, as in other big cities, there are groups of people who do know and who do care. They are doing something about it, too, and on a much larger scale than any work camps in Europe or in the United States. They belong to Rashtra Seva Dal, and their work squads—known as Sane Guruji Seva Patak—go into the slums, in teams some 10 to 30 strong, to launch clean-up campaigns and initiate people into the fundamentals of health, sanitation and child care. Followers of Gandhi, they use drama and music to get their points across and their shows draw thousands on public squares.

But Rashtra Seva Dal's main task is the improvement of conditions in rural areas where 80% of India's population live. I got my first glimpse of this work at Hadapsar, not far from Poona, where 3,000 volunteers (550 of them women), were "banding" on a co-operative farm formed by small land-holders whose plots are too minute to be worked individually.

Banding, I learned, means digging the earth and heaping it into long dikes to protect the crops from the sun and wind. The volunteers in the camp came from all walks of life—students, farmers, engineers, architects, doctors, teachers, craftsmen and shop-keepers.

Not many Indian work camps, however, are as large as this. Usually, they consist of 20 to 30 selected volunteers, as in the case of Taranagar, near Hyderabad. There, I joined a group of students working with the villagers to lay the foundations of a library and to rebuild the local teacher's living quarters. When the students first came to Taranagar, three years ago, the villagers asked them to repair a ruined temple, inhabited by a huge cobra. The students and the peasants cleared the underbrush from the temple, killed the snake and converted the ruined building into a community centre.

Since then, every year, Hyderabad students spend their vacations carrying out projects suggested by the villagers. A school has been opened and a teacher found for it, a market built and a major road repaired. Hyderabad's Health Department helped to spray mud huts with DDT and to distribute anti-malaria pills. Seepage pits, compost heaps and smokeless cholas (stoves) were built. A co-operative was opened in 1954, and this year, Taranagar plans to build an adult education centre.

It is a long trek from Hyderabad to the Service Civil International camp at Matras in the State of Bihar which had suffered terribly during the floods of August 1954. Many villages were still isolated from the outside world and when I left the railway station at Darbanga, I had to wade over paddy fields for nearly three-quarters of an hour, with water up to my knees and a heavy suitcase on my shoulders, heartily wishing I had carried a rucksack instead.

At Matras, a village of 1,100 inhabitants, the project consisted of rebuilding the school which had been washed away, and also of constructing a "Govardham" or earth platform to shelter the villagers and their cattle in the event of another flood. The villagers were giving one day a week of voluntary labour to work with the international team consisting of two Indians, a Pakistani, a Swiss, a Frenchman and a German girl.

After hauling baskets of earth all the morning, we had our lunch of chapaties (India's wheat pancake bread), vegetables, curry and curds in a bamboo hut covered with mats and plastered with mud and cow-dung. During the meal, dozens of villagers on their way to a nearby temple, stopped in and said "hello." They all glanced at our plates and probably were pleased to note that the international cuisine was no different from their own.

Ingrid, the camp housemother, who is a trained nurse, knew many of these people. Their wives often came to look at her kitchen with its stove burning waste wood instead of cow-dung. Any new "home appliance" always drew a crowd. Besides, it was Ingrid who kept the team's first-aid kit and, as time went by, she had to institute visiting hours for her dispensary so as not to be "invaded" at all hours. The international team had become a demonstration in fundamental education.

As we finished our meal, we were startled by an unusual uproar outside the hut. The mud platform at the back was swarming with teen-agers in "dhotis" and shorts. More than two hundred of them had come with their teacher to help.

Soon the schoolboys were digging lumps of earth with whatever they could find and, forming a human chain, passing the big chunks up to the platform. By the end of the afternoon the results of their work were very visible—they had not lost a minute—and they returned to Dharbanga, walking and wading all over again.

This example is a good illustration of the great possibilities of small work camp groups in India. They can induce thousands of young people to work on community service projects—in a country where manual labour is still regarded in many circles as degrading.

In India, a tradition going back to the Vedic age, once made it a duty for every individual to give certain services to his community: "Gyandan"—the gift of knowledge; "Dhandan"—the gift of wealth; and "Shramdan"—the gift of labour. . . very physically-fit man had to make this gift of labour at least once in his lifetime.

Gandhi, who coined the phrase "work is worship," revived these ancient traditions, and, more recently, Vinoba Bhave initiated a new movement—the "Bhoodan" or land gift—which may set off an economic revolution.

Many who have studied these movements believe that Shramdan and Bhoodan herald a renaissance that will not halt at India's borders, but will spread to all South-East Asia. In any event, Shramdan and Bhoodan have become magic words in India.

When on leaving Matras I took the train at

Darbanga, one of my fellow passengers stared at me and said to his neighbour in Hindi: "He's one of the Shramdan-wallahs. I saw him working with the others." A hush came over the carriage, but it was soon broken by questions about the work, the volunteers and the camp. Several youngsters announced that they would go to Matras with their friends to work. A little later, I changed trains, but my new fellow travellers were equally interested, and two men told me: "We want to devote a year to this work."

Last December, the Kosi Area Bharat Seva Samaj (a voluntary service association) wired India's Ministry of Irrigation and Power in Delhi that local citizens had decided to begin work on eight miles of the eastern Kosi embankment.

This telegram may mark the beginning of a new phase of local participation in India's development programme. The Kosi Valley Project is a multi-purpose dam on the lines of Tennessee Valley Authority. It will not only control floods on the wild Kosi river racing from its source in Nepal to the Ganges valley, but will also furnish irrigation water and electric power.

In India, where power machinery is often not

available, the speed with which large-scale projects are completed depends on public co-operation. And this is where work camps have an important part to play. If the millions who live in the valleys of the Kosi and the Ganges can be awakened and encouraged to co-operate, they will do the job of a thousand bull-dozers and they will know that they are working for themselves.

The Kosi project was worked out by the Indian Planning Commission in co-operation with the Nepalese Government. Thus, Indian voluntary work camps will have their first chance of action on an international scale.

In India itself, the scope of their work is ever increasing. Last year, the Co-ordination Committee for International Voluntary Work Camps estimated the total number of camps in India to be nearly 450. In 1955, the number of camps will be at least 1,000 with a total of some 50,000 volunteers. To staff these camps, a training centre for leaders was started near Delhi early in 1955, while other leader-training courses have been organized in Hyderabad and Bangalore.

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Asia as Presented in Western Schoolbooks

Obstacles to western understanding of the east—important because they are often at the bottom of points of disagreement and tension—may well be the result if only partially, of the very curious ideas about Asia that the average western schoolboy gets from his school textbooks.

This is brought out in a survey made by educators in eleven countries at the suggestion of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization which concludes that the image of Asia as presented to school children is badly out of focus in many countries.

As one report puts it, Asian history when seen through Western-coloured glasses too often is "superficial, episodic, fragmentary and distorted."

The survey, covered extensively in the March issue of the *Unesco Courier*, adds up to a near-indictment of the teaching of Asian history in many countries. Typical of most of the reports are the conclusions reached in a survey made by the Belgian Federation of History Teachers:

"From the majority of textbooks in use, it is apparent that, despite their authors' evident attempts at objectivity: (1) little space is devoted to Asian countries in these books; (2) Asian history is seen almost exclusively from the European standpoint; (3) these peoples remain little known, since their dealings with other countries teach us nothing about them; (4) our view of Asia remains fragmentary and biased and (5) though 'modern' Europe may be familiar to us, Asia is not."

Here are some other criticism labelled, not by *Unesco* but by the countries themselves:

Italy: "Certain authors limit Indian history to the period of British rule. In some books, Chinese history begins in 1895 with the Sino-Japanese peace treaty of Shimonoseki, as if the life of the Chinese people had been of little interest until that time."

Germany: "In general, books are silent about cultures other than those of the north of India and China. In the books examined, the whole of the South-East Asian region is almost entirely neglected."

Sweden: "Nowhere is an account given of the part Mohammedanism has played in the foundation of states both in the past and present. Most pupils leave school without having clear ideas of the literature, art and word of ideas of Persia, India, Indonesia and China."

United Kingdom (a limited survey of England and Wales): "In books which cover ancient history, there is frequent omission of the early period, of Asiatic history. There are common references, for example, to Darius and Alexander, to Marco Polo and later voyagers, and then no further references until Western impact upon what are presented as decadent or disorderly states of later times is noted."

Prior to *Unesco's* international survey, a study was made ten years ago of the teaching of Asian history in the United States. Among its conclusions were:

—Backwardness in industrial development is too often left to mean backwardness in every aspect of development.

—The great personages of Asian history are virtually

ignored. Asia's place in contemporary affairs receives insufficient attention.

A new report submitted to *Unesco* early this year, however, notes "encouraging" improvements. The U.S. office of Education comments: "Changes come slowly and pressures for the status quo are strong yet some action and change can be detected."

But no one has a monopoly on the one-sided presentation of history, as the *Unesco Courier* notes in an article which shows how, throughout the ages, nations have seen themselves as the hub of history and "the centre of the map." The ancient Chinese, for example, called themselves the Middle Kingdom because they believed that the Temple of Heaven at Peking was the exact centre of the earth's surface.

The medieval Hindu thought that, in the benighted lands to his east and west, souls were doomed to be born as barbarous Mlecchas and to live unhallowed lives until they earned the right to be born in India.

But his Moslem contemporaries divided the world into seven temperature zones. Writing in Syria or Iran, they explained that, in the hot south, men grew lazy and remained backward while, in the far north (northern Europe, that is), their skins were pallid and their minds sluggish.

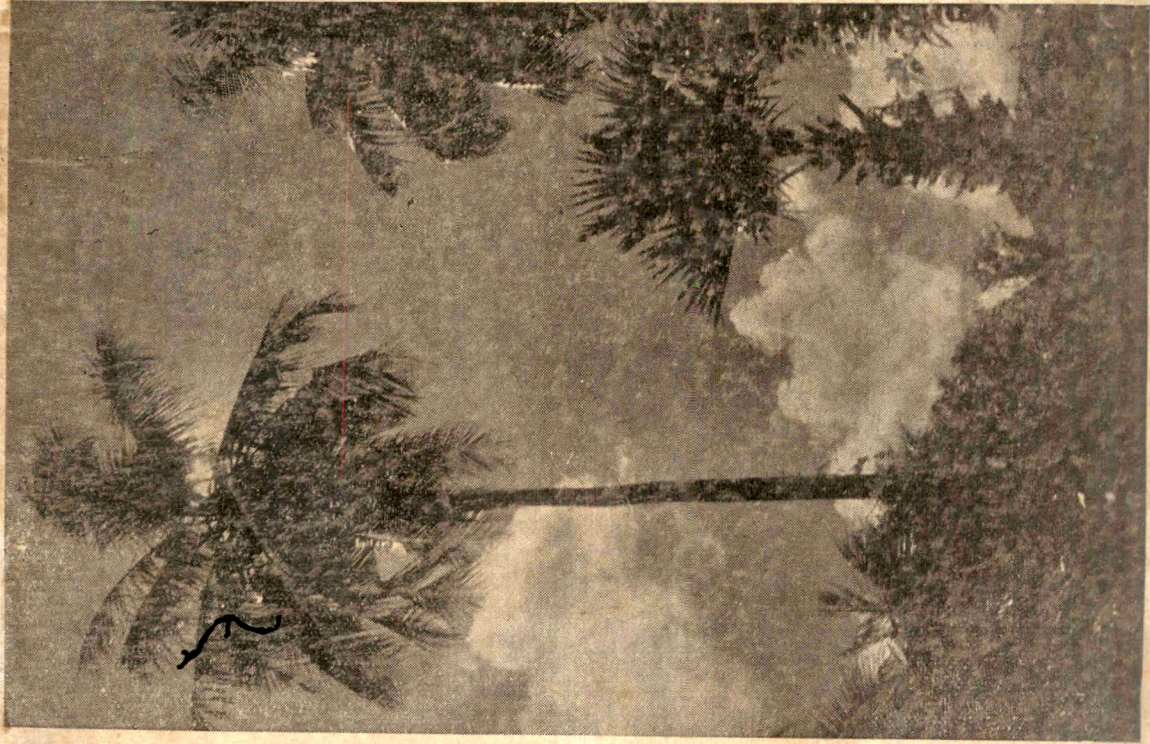
Even modern maps are distorted by old ideas. On the Mercator world map, as the *Unesco Courier* points out, not only is Europe in the upper centre, but it is also represented as much larger than other areas south of the fortieth parallel.

Controversies kept alive by history textbooks are recalled in an article by D. W. Brogan. "An American schoolboy told of the burning of the White House, but not of the burning of the parliament building of Upper Canada in what is now Toronto, was likely to be at cross-purposes with a Canadian who had received a different version of the war of 1812," he writes. "An English schoolboy would be under another disadvantage—he would not know of either."

"At school in Scotland," comments Mr. Brogan, "I was taught a great deal about the wickedness of King Edward I of England. But he died in 1307 and such teaching did not seriously distort the mind, although it may have wasted school time. It was very different when German schoolboys were told more than once of the burning of the castle of Heidelberg by the French, and French schoolboys of the burning of the castle of Saint-Cloud by the Germans."

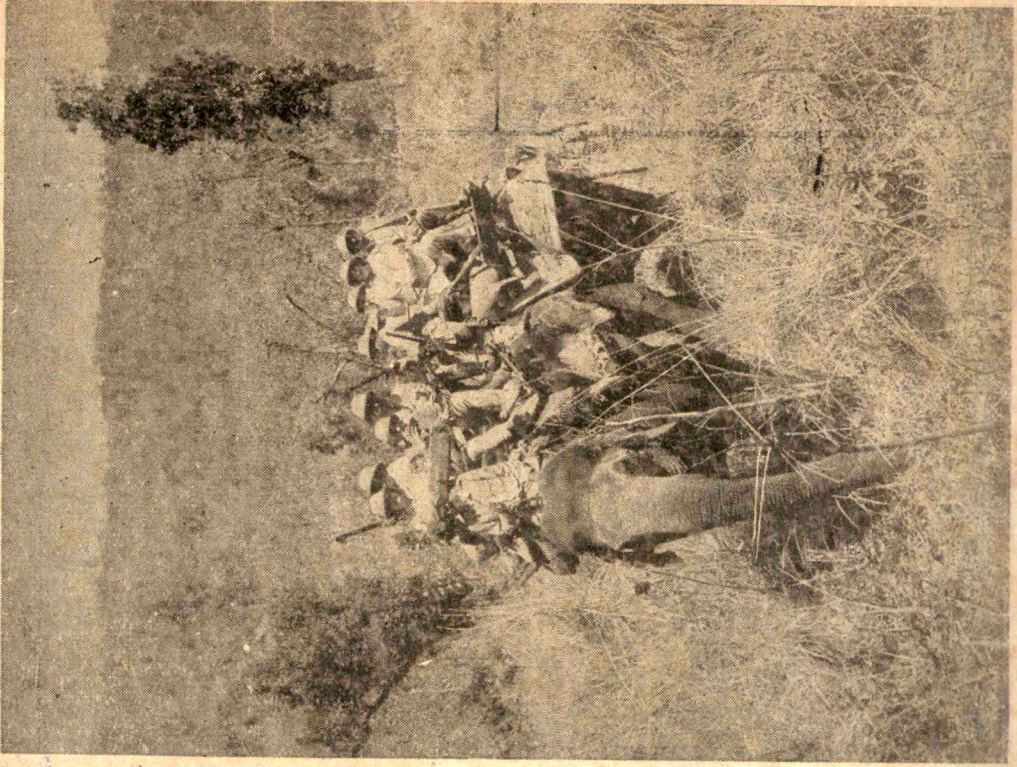
However, warns Mr. Brogan, care must be taken in clearing up these controversies to avoid a "neutral last-common-denominator-history that is hardly worth teaching." He pleads the case of new legends, not merely the elimination of the old ones. "Let the French hear about Florence Nightingale, the North Americans about Bolivar or even the Russian pioneers in Siberia."

Th textbooks that some well-meaning reformers would like to produce have one great weakness, he charges: they would be unreadable. The beginning of wisdom will be when we take to our hearts the heroes of other people, not when we write off heroism, concludes Mr. Brogan.—*Unesco*, March 7, 1956

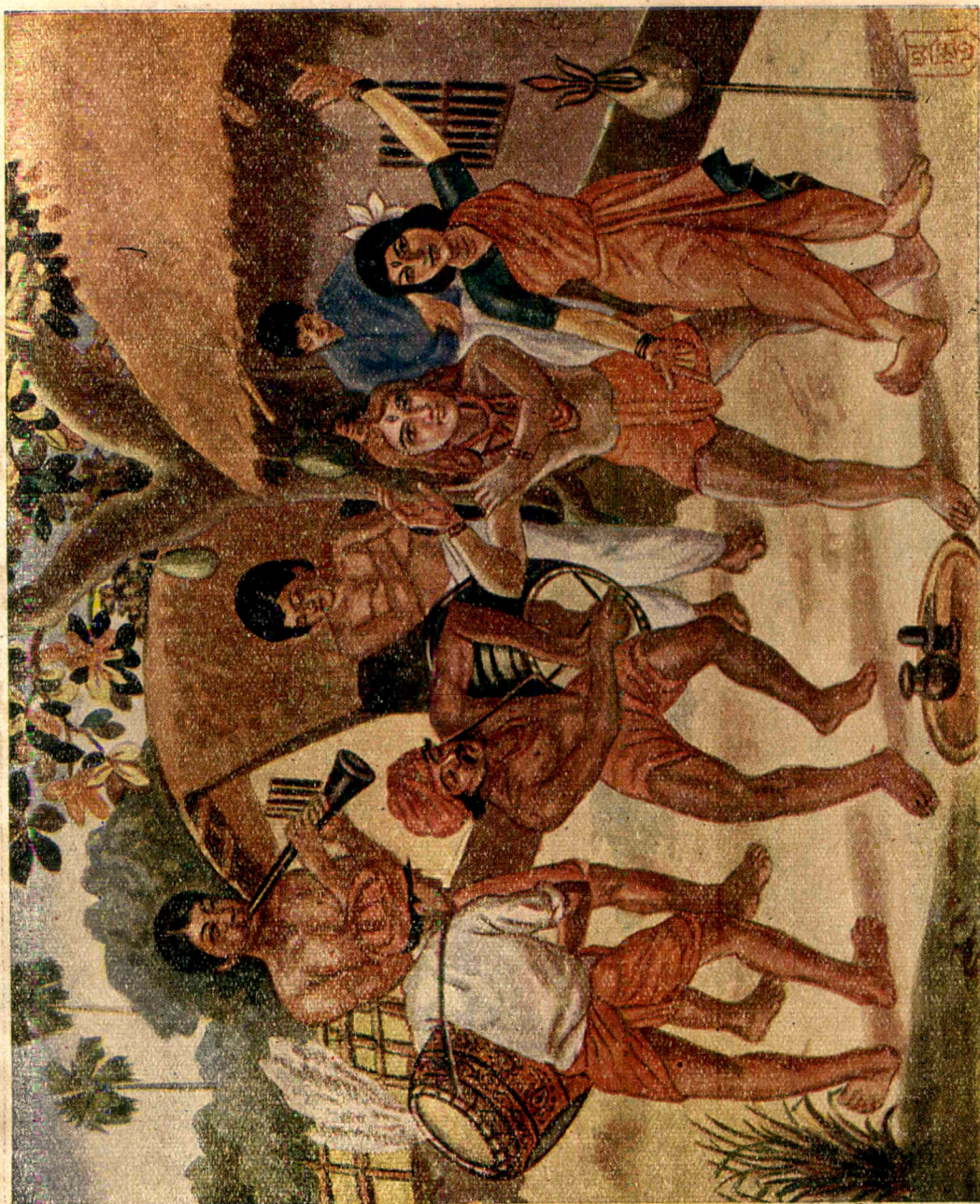


In Summer

Photo by Ananda Mukherjee



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THE MODERN REVIEW

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1956

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NOTES

Political Forebodings

The next elections are not even a year off. This and the Congress defeats in local and Central bye-elections, that have taken place recently all over the country, added to the election results in district board and municipal constituencies, have caused a great deal of uneasiness to the Central and State Governments and the Congress High Command.

Pandit Pant has realised that under the present bureaucratic procedure our tin-gods of the administration have become not only more arbitrary and irresponsible, where the public is concerned, but have become as corrupt—or even more so—as in the glorious *Nokarshahi* days of the *steel-frame*. Even Pandit Nehru has woken up to the fact that the service rules are obsolete and confusing. As a result both the Home Minister and the Prime Minister are out to bring in reforms, one in the service itself, right from the recruitment stage, and the other in the service rules.

But the days of miracles are past—although we admit that it is a minor miracle that Pandit Nehru should have taken notice of affairs at home—and we have to wait and see what these reforms are like. With the somnolent and extremely mediocre composition of the Lok Sabha it is not likely that much will come out of that assemblage of Rip Van Winkles. The Congress members will say “Yes” to everything mooted by the Congress Government, be it good, bad or indifferent, and

the opposition will howl “No,” to all official propositions.

But the fact remains that the administration is now highly inefficient and corrupt to the core. And the long-suffering public might take the only way to express their disapproval to the present set-up, as they did in East Pakistan, to undoing of the Pakistani Moslem League Government.

The administration has become actively oppressive in many areas, due to the total neglect of public considerations by high officials. There is no way to obtain redress unless one has influence with the Party. For it is Party rule that is obtaining all over the country today, from the Centre outwards. In Pandit Nehru's own Cabinet there is rampant parochialism, there is communalism of the most atrocious type in one ministry and efficiency is a matter of jokes. Under these circumstances the reforms under view are most likely to remain on paper, or if at all exercised it would be so in the breach.

Corruption in the Police is attaining a new high in most places, the railways are back to their blackest form. Even the Posts and Telegraphs department, which was the one shining example of efficiency and integrity in the days of British administration has followed suit to the rest of the communications section. Regarding the efficiency the following news-item speaks volumes:

“There has been some delay during the past

few days in the delivery of mail in Calcutta. This, it is stated, is due to the fact that as a result of the high temperature some of the mail vans have gone out of order.

It has also not been possible, because of the heat, to supply some of the post offices with sufficient stamps."

It should be noted that the temperatures reached during the days in question were nothing beyond what is seasonal.

The main trouble today is the immunity of the inefficient, the corrupt and the arrogantly oppressive elements in the services. The public has no means to redress, except by going right through the courts, up to the Supreme Court, at enormous expense of time, energy and money. The guilty officer is immune in every way because if the aggrieved obtains a favourable judgement, it is the government that pays. It is the same in the case of corruption. The loot goes to the corrupt official, damages—if any—that are paid to the looted, have to be borne by the government.

Service rules have to be amended, and if necessary the Constitution also has to be amended. The Constitution, as it stands today, is a safeguard for every evil-doer without being in any way a bulwark for the honest and the poor. Like the proverbial mass of good-intentions, gathered at random, it is heading the nation towards a hell of corruption and inefficiency. It is about time we realised that it was not at all an efficient job, and that it needs substantial amendments and additions in order to protect the good people from the machinations of the evil-doers. Particularly, is there necessity to provide condign punishment for those who use the powers of their office to oppress or mulct the helpless common man.

The Congress, that is Pandit Nehru's Congress, is astir at the prospects of the coming election as we learn from the following news:

"New Delhi, April 16.—The discussions at the Congress Central Election Committee's meeting here today are reported to have proceeded on the assumption that the General Election will be held according to schedule early in 1957."

We dare say the same lot of mediocrities, nonentities and notorieties would be elected. The Congress itself now is a festering pool of corruption, so what hopes of any reforms anywhere unless it starts there?

Administrative Services

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant, Union Home Minister, made an important announcement in the Lok Sabha on April 12 about the recruitment, organisation and the future of the Administrative Services in India. He disclosed that the Union Government proposed to set up a Committee to go into all aspects concerning the Administrative Services and the higher cadres of technical and non-technical posts that would be created in future. He also announced the Government's intention to constitute an Emergency Recruitment Board composed of the Chairman of the Union Public Services Commission or his nominee, another member of the UPSC, a senior official and another officer, to recruit suitable candidates to fill up vacancies in the States and the Centre. Pandit Pant further stated that with a view to effectively deal with the evil of corruption in the Services a Vigilance Division had been set up in the Union Home Ministry and Vigilance officers had been posted in every ministry.

Pandit Pant said that the services had been organised by an alien Government for purposes other than national reconstruction and it was therefore quite remarkable that they had shown such an excellent capacity to adapt themselves to the changed circumstances. Yet there were many points of shortcomings. First there was not the proper realisation on the part of everyone that the services existed for the people and not the people for the services. Members of the public were not always treated with the courtesy they deserved. Then there was bad economy in many places. In olden days service conditions, emoluments, etc., had been determined with an eye to attracting overseas officers. All these things needed change, Pandit Pant said.

Moreover, the Minister added, the services were now facing many new duties which they had not to perform in earlier days. This had given rise to the problem of the reorganisation of the services. The Enquiry Committee would consider these questions and apprise the Government of its recommendations.

Referring to the question of general recruitment to the services Pandit Pant said: "I do not feel quite sure if the system of *viva voce* or oral examinations is essential to such an extent that one should necessarily qualify in it. This

should be a part of the system of recruitment, but all marks should be added up in order to see whether a candidate is fit. Failure in the *viva voce* examination, while one is otherwise qualified, should not come in the way of his entry into the Public Services, because one cannot be too sure about the judgment formed by him (the examiner) about another man's capacity, personality, genius or merits in the course of a few minutes. So it is worth considering whether this change should not be made."

Government Service Rules

Pandit Nehru recently drew attention to the need for changing the Government Service Rules. Presiding over the second annual general meeting of the Indian Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi on April 7, Shri Nehru said that the Government Service Rules had become outdated and required to be revised.

The *Statesman* reports: "He had an occasion, he said, to look at the service rules and was astonished how the Government of India continued to live so long. Apart from complexity of the rules and their amendments, what was worse was that rules framed 20, 40 and even 50 years ago continued to be in force. The rules were not only pre-independence but pre-everything and he could not conceive that they could be applicable today.

"Even in countries like England, Mr. Nehru said, rules had been changed from time to time, but those in force in this country had become static. The whole background of independence required a 'new change' in this matter. If the administrative machinery did not fall in line with the objective of a Socialist pattern of society, it would have to be changed."

Referring to Pandit Nehru's remarks on the need for changing the Government Service Rules the *Statesman* writes that obviously they should have been revised "but it is also pertinent to ask why they have not been changed. Mr. Gorwala wrote in 1951: 'In the last decade, hardly ever have the years passed without some report becoming available at the Centre or in the provinces on the subject of administrative reorganization and reform.' Since then there have been yet more reports

and committees presided over by Indian and foreign experts; the field, it would seem, has been well ploughed and a larger harvest might have been expected."

The newspaper points to the absence of a systematic policy on recruitment and retirement ages, to the complicated nature of the leave rules and to "an excessive tendency to take on 'temporary' officials" often affecting the morale of the administration, and says that other rules were also equally open to criticism.

The newspaper refers to the remarks of Paul Appleby who had written in 1953 that "the rules of business, Secretariat instructions and office manuals seem . . . too didactic and confining, too detailed and unimaginative . . . They seem to assume, and to encourage, that literal-mindedness which damps the spirit, imagination and judgment which are important to good administration. Their basic pattern undoubtedly originated in colonial administration."

"Practice, however, has for many years tended to render the effects worse," the *Statesman* notes. "The complications and delay which at times dog an officer who is transferred or newly joins, or goes over to another department, and which prevent him for many months from drawing any salary are well known. Temporary appointments are too often used to fend off the jurisdiction of the Public Service Commissions and result in officials working for years together, and even retiring without confirmation and pension benefits. Leave facilities, although existent, may be denied, in fact, until accumulated leave 'rots away'."

U.P. Congress Faces Crisis

The Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee meeting in Lucknow on April 28 and 29 would be of great significance, writes the special correspondent of the weekly *People*. According to the correspondent the meeting would discuss many important issues touching on the organisational affairs of the committee and would also discuss on measures for its revitalisation.

The type of subjects which were going to be discussed might be guessed from the resolutions tabled by Shri Mohanlal Gautam, former Minister for Local Self-Government. One resolution tabled by Shri Gautam required the disbanding of the *ad hoc* committees in the

districts which in many instances had been appointed by the PCC in complete disregard to the wishes of the majority members only to boost up sectional interests. The resolution demanded the replacement of such *ad hoc* committees by the elected ones.

Another resolution said that election funds should be collected from as extensive source as possible and that "any member of the U.P. Parliamentary Board who collects money for elections from individuals should issue a receipt for the same and keep full account of the funds so collected."

Referring to affairs of the U.P. Congress the *People* writes in an editorial article that the serious weaknesses of the State Congress had already been evident to the discerning public even during the last General Elections when the Congress had been able to secure only 48 per cent of the total votes polled. But this fact had not appeared so marked because of the large number of seats obtained by the Congress which was possible only because of the popularity of Pandit Nehru, the able organisation by Pandit Pant, and the strife ruling the Opposition. "It is a painful fact, but nevertheless worthy of attention," writes the *People*, "that since then the popularity of the Congress in this State has not increased."

The *People* traces the weakness of the State Congress to three factors: Repeated defeats in the Assembly bye-elections, internecine strife among the top Congress leadership and the "widespread desire of Congressmen controlling the local committees to maintain their hold over them at all costs." Another recent development was the "tendency of certain elements in the organisation to collect money from big businessmen for fighting elections."

The newspaper appeals to the State Congress leaders to abandon mutual hostility and to concentrate on the spirit of work and sacrifice. "Now is the time when the great leaders like Pandit Nehru and Pandit Pant should seriously give more attention to the affairs in this State and help its leaders to put their house in order to meet the challenge," the *People* concludes.

We would quote here the following item from the reports of the last Congress:

"The sixty-first session of the Congress meets at a time when the organisation is facing a powerful challenge to its capacity for states-

manship. The situation created by the S.R.C. Report and its sequel calls for tact as well as firmness on the part of the Government. And the Congress as the Party in power has to see how far it has developed the well-knit cohesion needed to sustain the controversial policies, the acceptance of which by the people can be the only sure guarantee of any democratic Government's authority. Mr. Dhebar in his Presidential address applied himself with sincerity and high-mindedness to an appraisal of the problems that the public reactions to the S.R.C. Report and the Government's decisions thereon had spotlighted, and to the ideology behind the Second Five-Year Plan as a solvent for the emotional fixations that were at the root of the problem."

Resources for the Second Plan

The Second Five-Year Plan has been framed on a larger scale than the first one, the State undertaking to expend a much heavier sum. The Plan has again been revised with an additional expenditure of Rs. 400 crores and the total outlay in the public sector will amount to nearly Rs. 5,200 crores. Main reserves of resources have been tentatively defined and what concerns us is not so much the enumeration of the heads of resources, but the actual realisation from those sources. Already under the original estimate of outlay for Rs. 4,800, there was a gap in resources to the extent of Rs. 400 crores; now under the revised estimate the gap goes up to Rs. 800 crores. The Government is faced with the problem of how to raise the financial resources for the Plan, and reassessment is being made for the resources aspect of the Plan. Several prominent foreign experts on public finance have been engaged by the Government to give an independent opinion on the tax structure of the country and also to suggest ways for increasing the revenue resources of the Government in the coming years. Of these experts, Dr. Nicholas Kaldor of the Cambridge University, has made a number of suggestions. In his opinion, the rate of income-tax should not exceed 50 per cent; there should be the reimposition of capital gains tax, higher death duties supplemented by a gifts tax, an annual tax on wealth, etc. Dr. Kaldor is reported to have suggested that the Government should raise an additional sum of Rs. 40 crores by additional taxation.

Since deficit financing will be an inevitable

way of raising finance for the Second Plan, additional taxation must follow it in order to prevent inflation. Additional taxation to mop up additional purchasing power of the people in the face of deficit financing is a necessary adjunct of deficit financing. During the debate on the Finance Bill, the Finance Minister indicated that his department was considering the feasibility of some newer types of taxations, as for example, an annual tax on wealth and a tax on expenditure. He also hinted that there was still further scope for indirect taxation. In this connection he referred to the findings of the Taxation Enquiry Commission that indirect taxation accounted for some 3.6 per cent of the total expenditure. But this contention is not true for the people as a whole. The incidence of indirect taxation is greater in urban areas than in rural areas and it increases with the total expenditure. The Commission pointed out that the incidence of indirect taxation on an expenditure of less than Rs. 50 per month in rural areas does not exceed 2.2 per cent of the expenditure. For expenditure above Rs. 300 per month in urban areas, the incidence of indirect taxation stood at 8.3 per cent of the expenditure. The Finance Minister therefore thinks that incidence of indirect taxes at present prevailing does not seem to be oppressive. It may, however, be pointed out that statistics always do not prove everything and the incidence of indirect taxation may be statistically moderate, but indirect taxation in India has generally the tendency to give an upward swing to the price level of the commodities so taxed and the result is that the cost of living invariably goes up. The indirect result is that indirect taxation imposes additional burdens on the life of the community, partly by imposts and partly by higher cost of living.

The Finance Minister's problem is to eat the cake and have it too. While financing by created money after a certain period generates inflationary tendencies, indirect taxation of essential commodities further aggravates the situation as has been the case recently with the new budget. The budget for the year 1956-57 has brought about a sharp increase in the cost of living index. This is of course due to the speculative activities of the dealers, but such speculation is to a large extent encouraged by the effect of the taxation measures under the new budget. Indirect tax-

tion of essential commodities and financing by created money seem to be incompatible, at least in the Indian context, in so far as they create inflation by withholding supplies against increasing purchasing power of the community. The position has been further worsened by the shortfall in the supply of staple foodgrains like wheat and rice. It was only the last year when it was announced that India had produced surplus foodstuffs and that the target laid down by the first Five-Year Plan was already exceeded. Following this, the Government of India granted permission for the export of 2 lakh tons of rice and nearly 60,000 tons were exported by the end of 1955. Evidently, this was an inadvertent step, and the export of rice from a country which was in short supply of the commodity for the last 16 years was a hasty measure. It is a pity that the authorities seem to have forgotten that notwithstanding the spectacular progress in river valley projects, India is still a victim of the vagaries of nature in the production of her agricultural crops and during the last season there was widespread crop failures, in some parts on account of drought and in others on account of floods. While making inventory estimates of production such losses in production, which have become a normal feature of our economy, are totally ignored.

We ourselves have advocated higher taxation to neutralise the evil effects of deficit financing. But we always view with dismay the taxation of commodities that are essential to the community. By essential commodities we mean food materials and taxation of such materials always have adverse effect on the cost of living. That the incidence of indirect taxation is low in this country cannot be a ground for taxing food materials. Indirect taxation may be directed towards commodities other than food materials and we think that the Finance Minister has committed an error of judgement in imposing levies on foodstuffs. The result has been what is inevitable—inflationary speculation.

The estate duty in India leaves much scope for enhancement of its rates. The introduction of slab system has been an unwise step and it reduces the incidence considerably. In the United Kingdom, step system has been adopted. In the case of income-tax, slab system may be equitable; but in the case of estate duty, step system brings about the desired result. In the matter of imposition of estate duty in this

country, the Finance Minister has showed much leniency which is not explicable. The rates of estate duty in India are much lower in comparison with those of other neighbouring countries like Pakistan and Ceylon. The maximum limit of 40 per cent of levy on an estate the value of which exceeds Rs. 40 lakhs is much too low. In Britain the maximum limit works out to nearly 90 per cent and that is on an estate the value of which exceeds Rs. 26 lakhs. We fail to understand why the Finance Minister is so much reticent about the low incidence of estate duty in this country. He has said much about indirect taxation and widening the net so as to catch even the poorest in India, but why does he not say anything about enhancing the rate of estate duty? We think that the rate of income-tax may be lowered to 50 per cent, but the rate of estate duty should be considerably raised and higher levies will enlarge Government's revenue resources.

There is a great difference between the effect of estate duty and income-tax. Estate duty does not destroy potential capital and it is the final settlement of income-tax after death. Estate duty does not affect a man's spending power, while income-tax does. Further, the scope of estate duty might also be enlarged by the introduction of legacy duty. In India the State undertakes to prevent the excessive concentration of wealth in the hands of private persons, and to achieve that end, both estate duty and legacy duty are essential. The Finance Minister always quotes the Taxation Enquiry Commission's report wherever it suits his purpose and ignores it whenever it does not support his contention. In this country there is no integrated tax structure, and as a result Union levies are further enhanced in their incidence by States' excise duties and sales tax. Tax evasion is still widespread and to prevent such evasions, taxation of total wealth might be introduced. For the second Five-Year Plan, greater reliance has to be given on taxation and deficit financing.

Small Savings

The savings of the middle and lower strata, economically speaking, have also a good deal of significance in the Second Five-Year Plan. In this connection the resolution at Shaheednagar, as given below, is to be noted:

'Shaheednagar, February 10. Mr. S. K.

Patil (Bombay) moved the official resolution on the call for small savings.

"The resolution called upon the nation in general and Congressmen in particular to help in the campaign for small savings. It indicated that fresh taxation and large-scale borrowings by the Central and State Governments would become necessary in order to find outlay for the allocations proposed under the Second Five-Year Plan.

"Mr. Patil said that in the past loans for Government purposes were subscribed by insurance companies and others. The rich people were being liquidated and somebody had to take their place. The money had now to come from small people.

"Mr. Patil said that the total outlay estimated under the Second Plan was the minimum. They had to find resources for financing the Rs. 4,800 crores Plan. Of this, taking into account the gap of Rs. 400 crores in the Plan, they should make an effort to collect about Rs. 1,000 crores through small savings. The Congressmen would have to devote themselves to this great task of reconstruction.

"Mr. Patil said that at present the small savings were to the tune of Rs. 50 crores which was nearly one and a half per cent of the national income. This was much small as compared with the small savings in the Western nations.

"Mr. Patil said that the process of capital formation in the New India would have to be on different lines. Instead of a handful of rich people who helped in the past for the capital formation millions would now have to come forward with their savings of Re. 1 or Rs. 5. He instanced Germany where, he said, some time back when the economy of the country was tottering a call was given to the German people for two crores manhours. The call had a big response from the people and the economy of the country was resuscitated. Similarly, they would have to take steps to finance their own plans.

"Mr. Patil said that the Small Savings Department was at present a neglected department of the Union Finance Ministry. It would have to be treated as an important subject of the Ministry."

Foreign Aid During the First Plan

The figures recently published by the Government of India about the external assistance

received by India during the first Plan indicate that India has received so far external assistance to the extent of nearly Rs. 300 crores. The USA has been the largest single contributor to this amount. Excluding the Wheat Loan granted to India in 1951, the total United States assistance authorised to India to date under the Indo-US Aid Programme amounts to Rs. 142 crores (\$298 million). If we take into account the Wheat Loan and the assistance rendered by the Ford Foundation, then the total US assistance will rise to the order of Rs. 238 crores (nearly \$500 million). India has also received assistance from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, on a loan basis, and from the commonwealth member countries of the Colombo Plan, namely, Australia, Canada and New Zealand on a grant basis. The aggregate amount of loans sanctioned by the International Bank amounts to nearly Rs. 60 crores (\$125 million). Of these over Rs. 20 crores (\$42 million) were utilised before the first Five-Year Plan was started. Of the balance amount of \$83 million, \$58 million have been sanctioned to the private sector. During the period of the first Plan, the public sector has received only an amount to a little over Rs. 12 crores (\$25 million). The loans sanctioned include the Railway Loan, the Agricultural Machinery Loan, the two D.V.C. loans, the loan for the expansion of IISCO, the loan for the Trombay Power scheme (TATA) and the loan for the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation.

Of the total external assistance authorised to the extent of Rs. 300 crores during the first Plan, utilisation up to the end of 1955-56 is to the extent of Rs. 204 crores. The main reason for this delay in utilising these resources is the inevitable time lag involved between the authorisation of assistance or sanction of a loan and its utilisation on agreed projects by procurement of stores, equipment, etc. The result is that an amount of Rs. 94 crores of external resources authorised during the first Plan will be available for utilisation during the second Plan period.

The Indo-US Aid Programme started in 1949 under the Point Four Technical Assistance Agreement was followed by the General Agreement of 1952. This agreement provides for undertaking of joint projects laying emphasis on agricultural development. The understanding was

that the USA would pay for goods and equipment imported from abroad and a corresponding contribution would be made by India for taking care of the rupee expenditure within the country. The agreement laid stress on joint projects in the fields of Community Development Projects, sinking of tubewells, River Valley Development, fertilizer and steel for agricultural purposes. These were the main activities up to 1953-54 for which external assistance from the USA was utilised.

From 1953-54 the US financial assistance was provided on a separate basis and it was described as Development Assistance. A separate allocation was made for Technical Assistance—, that is, for payment of charges on account of experts from overseas, training facilities abroad for candidates nominated by the Government of India, and for provision of equipment and stores for demonstration, research and training. This extension of the scope of the US aid was utilised in the field of transport and industrial development, including supply of locomotives and railway wagons for the Railway Plan; steel for industrial uses and financing of such major projects as the Rihand Power Project.

The pattern of development assistance underwent a further change in the year 1954-55. A new feature was introduced to the effect that nearly 75 per cent of the Development Assistance was to be on the loan basis. For the first time it was agreed that about 50 per cent of the Development Assistance would have to be taken in the shape of surplus agricultural commodities. Of the 1954-55 allocation, the Government of India took a loan of \$45 million which was to be repaid over a period of 40 years. The payment of the principal and interest may be in dollars or rupees, the rate of interest being 3 per cent or 4 per cent respectively, with waiver of interest for the first 2 or 3 years. The Government of India has decided to pay in rupees. This pattern in assistance has been continued for the loan granted in 1955-56. Of the total allocation of \$50 million for the year 1955-56, the loan component consists of \$37.5 million. The terms of repayment and interest are the same as for the previous year. For this period, India has been asked to take surplus agricultural commodities for \$20 million out of the total allocation.

Assistance from the United Kingdom has been given mainly for the supply of research

and demonstration equipment for the technical institutes. By the end of 1955-56, equipment worth Rs. 33 lakhs would be received. Assistance has also been received from Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Canadian assistance has been directed towards the rehabilitation programme of railways in the form of locomotives and boilers and for the development of power, both through the supply of raw materials and of equipment manufactured in Canada. The total aid authorised by the Government of Canada as capital assistance to India for the first Five-Year Plan amounts to nearly Rs. 36 crores or \$75 million. Australian aid for the first Five-Year Plan comes to approximately Rs. 10 crores and the aid from New Zealand amounts to Rs. 33 lakhs. The New Zealand assistance is being utilised for dairy development schemes. In 1955-56, the New Zealand Government agreed to make available an additional sum of Rs. 53 lakhs to be utilised for additional dairy development schemes.

The Ford Foundation has provided assistance to the extent of \$11 million. The major part of this assistance has been for training men and women for rural development work. India has received aid from Norway in 1953-54 for an amount of Rs. 67 lakhs. Apart from these capital assistance from individual countries, India has been granted a large amount for technical assistance from the United Nations and its specialised agencies. Under the entire range of external assistance, India has so far secured the services of 734 experts and training facilities for 1,360 Indian nationals.

The New Industrial Policy

The declaration of a new Industrial Policy which was long awaited with much interest has evoked little interest. Of course nothing spectacular was expected within acknowledged framework of mixed economy. (Since the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, many changes have taken place, notably among them being the Industrial Development and Regulation Act of 1951, as amended in 1953; the inauguration of the First Five-Year Plan and the amendment of the Indian Constitution.) All these point towards expansion of State activities in the field of industrial development and the passing of the Indian Constitution necessitated some changes in the said Industrial Policy in so far as the Directive Principles of State Policy enjoin upon the Government to follow a pattern a socialistic economy in

this country. (The 1948 Resolution on Industrial Policy was based on mixed economy and the scope of the State activities was limited to the least interference in the domain of private enterprise.) The Avadi Congress Resolution which accepted socialism as the goal of economic development in India received further confirmation in the Amritsar session of the Congress. The de facto position was that imperceptibly, though recognised, there was expansion in the State activities in the sphere of industrial development and the consequential result was the reduction of the sphere of the private sector by implications and legislation.) (The Indian Parliament has also accepted the socialist pattern of society as the objective of social and economic policy.) In order to realize this objective of a socialist pattern of society, the State deems it essential to accelerate the rate of economic growth and to speed up industrialization and in particular to develop heavy industries and machine-making industries, to expand the public sector and to build up a large and growing co-operative sector. These provide the economic foundations for increasing opportunities for gainful employment and improving living standards and working conditions for the mass of the people. Equally, it is urgent to reduce the disparities in income and wealth which exist today and to check private monopolies and the concentration of economic power in different fields in the hands of a few individuals. (The new Policy accordingly lays down that the State will progressively assume a predominant and direct responsibility for setting up new industrial undertakings and for developing transport facilities. The State will also undertake trading on an increasing scale.) At the same time as an agency for national development in the context of the country's developing economy, the private sector will have the opportunity to develop and expand. (The principle of co-operation will be applied wherever possible and a steadily increasing proportion of the activities of the private sector developed along co-operative lines.)

(The new Policy has classified the industries into three categories—State Sector, Mixed Sector and Private Sector.) In the State or public sector are included industries the future development of which will be the exclusive responsibility of the State. The second category will consist of industries which will be progressively State-owned and in which the State will therefore generally take the initiative in establishing new undertakings,

but in which private enterprise will also be expected to supplement the effort of the State. The third category which remains undefined will include all the remaining industries, and their future development will in general be left to the initiative and enterprise of the private sector.

(All new industries in the public sector will be set up only by the State. But where their establishment in the private sector has already been approved, such industries will allowed to be developed by the private enterprise. This does not preclude the expansion of the existing privately owned units, or the possibility of the State securing the co-operation of private enterprise in the establishment of new units when the national interests so require.) Railways and air transport, arms and ammunition and atomic energy will, however, be developed as the monopolies of the Union Government. Whenever co-operation with private enterprise is necessary, the State will ensure, either through majority participation in the capital or otherwise, that it has the requisite powers to guide the policy and control the operations of the undertakings.

(Industries in the mixed category will be joint responsibility of the State and the private enterprise.) In order to accelerate the pace of future development, the State will increasingly establish new undertakings in these industries. At the same time the private enterprise will also have the opportunity to develop in this field, either on its own or with State participation. (All the remaining industries will fall in the third category) and it is expected that their development will be undertaken ordinarily through the initiative and enterprise of the private sector, though it will be open to the State to start any industry even in this category. (It will be the policy of the State to facilitate and encourage the development of these industries in the private sector in accordance with the programme formulated in the successive Five-Year Plans, by ensuring the development of transport, power and other services, and by appropriate fiscal and other measures.) The State will continue to foster institutions to provide financial aid to these industries, and special assistance will be given to enterprises organized on co-operative lines for industrial and agricultural purposes. (In suitable cases, the State may grant financial assistance to the industries in the private sector. Such assistance, particularly when the amount involved is substantial,

will preferably be in the form of participation in equity capital, though it may also be in the form of debenture capital.)

Under the new Industrial Policy, there have been a few notable departures from the old one. The most important of the new features is the absence of any guarantee against nationalisation which was a condition in the Policy Resolution of 1948. Further, the scope of the State initiative has been made wide enough so far so that the State can enter into industrial enterprises falling under private sector. In the 1948 Resolution, only a few industries were left exclusively in the public sector. But in the new Policy, seventeen key industries are included in the public sector and for their development the State will be exclusively responsible. Even in the case of industries falling in the Schedule B, that is, the mixed sphere, twelve industries will be progressively State-owned. The remainder will be left to the private sector, but even in these cases, the State may participate. (The division of industries into separate categories does not imply that they have been placed in watertight compartments.) (There will not only be an area of overlapping but also a great deal of dovetailing between industries in the private and public sectors.) It will be open to the State to start any industry not included in the public or the private sector when the needs of planning so require or there are other important considerations for that. In the case of industries which are the exclusive responsibility of the State (excepting railways, air transport, arms and ammunition and atomic energy), private co-operation may be sought.

(The overall position is that the Industrial Policy is based on mixed economy with bias towards socialism.) The word socialism is to be understood in the Indian context, meaning that the State will control and guide the economic life of the nation with the co-operation of all classes of the people. Ours is a corporate State and there is no scope for class struggle or annihilation. The new Policy puts emphasis on the State control even over private enterprise. The new Policy declares no qualitative change in the economic ideals of the State, it simply makes some quantitative adjustments of the de facto developments. It widens the scope of the public sector, but at the same time allows the private sector to exist. The private sector will function as the trustee of the public sector and not as an inde-

permanent agency. (Industrial undertakings in the private sector have necessarily to fit into a framework of the social and economic policy of the State and will be subject to control and regulation in terms of the Industries Development and Regulation Act and other relevant legislation. The State however recognizes that it would in general be desirable to allow such undertakings to develop with as much freedom as possible, consistent with the targets and objectives of the national plan. When there exist in the same industry both publicly and privately owned units, it would continue to be the policy of the State to give fair and non-discriminatory treatment to both of them. (India's is an endeavour to build democracy from below, as distinguished from those of Russia and China that endeavour to build economy from above. India's economic revolution is no less spectacular than those of Russia and China. The only difference is that what the latter obtained by bloodshed and civil war, India obtained by persuasion and legislation. India's revolution escapes attention, because it does not glow with the flowing bloodshed.)

Five Years of Bhoodan

The inaugural issue of the *Bhoodan*, a weekly journal in English published from Poona by the All-India Sarva Seva Sangh as the official organ of the Bhoodan movement, contains an editorial article summing up the experience of the Bhoodan movement in India during the last five years. In March, 1951, when Vinobaji, a lone, frail Satyagrahi had started on foot from Wardha for Hyderabad to see things for himself in the disturbed and unhappy Telengana, nobody—including Vinobaji himself—could foresee that it was going to be the beginning of a new revolutionary movement in India—the land-gift (*Bhoodan*) movement. The movement—from its modest beginning in the Pochampalli village, where one Ramchandra Reddi responded to the call of Vinobaji with an offer of one hundred acres of land as a free gift for distribution among the landless—had grown into an all-India one in course of these years. By the beginning of April, 1956, 43 lakh acres of land were collected, 370,355 acres distributed, the total land of 1,037 villages were obtained (*Gram Dan*). Besides, hundreds of young men and women came forward to get themselves enlisted as volunteers for the cause

of Bhoodan. The target, as fixed by Vinobaji, was to collect five crore acres of land by the end of 1957. The total collection so far however was much below the target.

The *Bhoodan* writes: "Like all movements the Bhoodan revolution has had its ups and downs. Its progress has not been very even. In some States it may be said to have caught root in the soil, and it has produced spectacular results; but in some others, it is still no more than a beautiful idea preached by a great disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. In the towns, it can hardly be said to have affected the people deeply. They are already talking of the waning popularity of Bhoodan."

Personality Cult in India

"Sri Krishna" writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* that in Delhi, capital city of India, "the personality cult has been developed into a regular science. There is, however, a marked difference between the Russian variety of the cult and the Indian variety of the cult. In Russia, it was the worship of the supreme leader, Stalin. In India, it is the worship of the chair and not of the occupier of the chair."

The writer calls the cult as "Minister-Navazi." It included the "most respectable art of being seen with a Minister. There were men in Delhi, Sri Krishna writes, "who have a schedule of rates for the photographer in which they were seen with a Minister. Others have furnished houses, particularly in the hills, where Ministers are invited to give a rest to their overtaxed nerves . . ."

The Ministers also got undue publicity in the newspapers. In fact, Ministers had become a lead story and columns were regularly devoted to describe even the most routine duties of a Minister.

The writer quotes a letter purported to have been issued by the President of the Committee formed to celebrate the 48th Birthday of Shri Jagjivan Ram, Minister of Communication, inviting friends to contribute to a Rs. 48,000-purse to be presented to the Minister on his birthday. At the same time he notes that no committee had been formed to offer felicitations to the former Works Minister, Mr. N. V. Gadgil, former Labour Minister, Mr. V. V. Giri and former Rehabilitation Minister, Babu Mohonlal Saxena.

Merger of Vindhya Pradesh and U.P.

The Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly passed by voice vote a resolution on April 11 proposing the merger of Vindhya Pradesh with the Uttar Pradesh or in the alternative merger of "those areas of Vindhya Pradesh like Baghelkhand which were adjacent to Uttar Pradesh," the *Hitavada* reports.

This enthusiasm for merger was apparently not shared by the leaders of Vindhya Pradesh some of whom have come out unequivocally against the proposal of any sort of merger or division. Shri Shivanand, Speaker of the Vindhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly, sharply criticised the proposal for the merger of V.P. with the U.P. In a speech before the first proposed Madhya Pradesh Homoeopathic Conference convened at Jabalpur, he said that the merger proposal was the handiwork of certain vested interests.

The *Hitavada* report adds: "Shri Shivananda further observed that it was most deplorable that even the Chief Minister of a neighbouring State (apparently alluding to Dr. Sampurnanand) aligned himself with these elements without paying any heed to the wishes of the people of Vindhya Pradesh who had unequivocally expressed themselves in favour of merger with the new Madhya Pradesh."

Future of Nagpur

The *Hitavada* in its leader on April 15 discusses the problem of finding a capital for the new State Maharashtra which would soon come into being. It writes that if Bombay city was eventually included in the State of Maharashtra then Bombay would naturally become the capital of the new State. But in that case also the claim of Nagpur to be a part-time capital could not be disregarded in view of the provisions of the Nagpur Agreement which stipulated that Nagpur would be the capital for four months if Bombay was the capital of Maharashtra. "That Agreement," the newspaper adds, "cannot be written off as something not worth remembering. The Agreement is the basic minimum recognition of the importance of Nagpur in the future set-up."

If, however, it came to pass that Bombay was eventually left out of Maharashtra, the newspaper would like Nagpur to be made the

capital of Maharashtra instead of Poona. "There are overwhelming reasons for pressing this claim. Nagpur has the layout of a capital, buildings, communications, a well developed Secretariat and is further in the centre of an industrial area. The dollar-earning area of Maharashtra will be Nagpur as the manganese of Nagpur and Bhandara are sold in American markets. It is the head of a network of railways which have heavy responsibilities to discharge in regard to the marketing of the steel products of Bhilai."

The newspaper notes that though Bombay might be considered to possess equal or perhaps more advantages as Nagpur "definitely Poona does not have even these advantages." Further, Poona was already highly developed with the Khadakvasla Academy, the Penicillin Factory, the headquarters of the Southern Command and the office of the Meteorological Department. There would thus be no point in "over-developing one area at the expense of another." Except on the grounds of history, Poona did not have greater claims than Nagpur. But, historical consideration could not be the deciding factor in such matters. If that was so Ujjain instead of New Delhi should have been made the capital of India.

The *Hitavada* concludes: "Large numbers of families have built their hopes on Nagpur being the capital of a State. Nagpur has been the capital for nearly a hundred years, while Poona has not had that distinction. Even our Poona friends, we are sure, would see the wisdom of developing all centres in Maharashtra. The development of Nagpur will be to the advantage of Maharashtra. It is not as if Maharashtra would be developing a city which is outside its area. Nagpur is part of Maharashtra and if Nagpur becomes a big capital, it will not be to the detriment of Maharashtra. These are basic facts which have to be recognised and we trust that Vidarbha leaders would take a firm stand on this issue."

The Problem of Bombay City

Bombay still remains a Gordian Knot for the Union Government. The last report in the Lok Sabha proceedings was as follows:

"New Delhi, April 24.—Reports of Mr. Deshmukh's threatened resignation and the arrest of Maharashtrian demonstrators outside the House

inevitably focussed the Lok Sabha's attention to-day on the disputed future of Bombay City.

"Against this backdrop, the chief spokesmen of the opposing points of view—Mr. N. V. Gadgil and Mr. S. K. Patil—clashed over Bombay's future, fulfilling the expectation of unusually crowded public galleries.

"In spite of the wide scope provided by the motion to refer the States Reorganization Bill to a joint committee, few other issues found prominence. Almost every speaker expressed views on Bombay the majority supporting Maharashtra's claims to the city.

"Despite the contentious atmosphere, the speeches did not reveal the bitterness and frustration of December's debate on the S.R.C. Report. One of the pro-Maharashtrian speakers, Mr. B. H. Khardekar (Ind), began a personal attack on Mr. S. K. Patil but was checked by Mr. Feroze Gandhi (C), who had earlier supported Maharashtra's claims to Bombay with equal, if not better-humoured, force.

"One of the few leading members who devoted attention to another issue was Mr. N. C. Chatterjee (Hindu Mahasabha). He described the proposal to unite West Bengal and Bihar as a deliberate attempt to prevent the transfer of Bengali-speaking border areas from Bihar to West Bengal.

"While supporting Maharashtra's claims to Bombay City, he said the issue should not be allowed to create a crisis in the Central Cabinet. It would be a 'national disaster' if Mr. Deshmukh left the Cabinet in view of his 'pivotal position' in regard to the second Plan.

"The many ties—geographic, cultural and economic—linking Maharashtra and Bombay City were stressed by the many supporters of Maharashtra's claims, who among them represented every party in the House.

"Mr. Gadgil, in a markedly reasonably worded speech, advanced the main argument. This was that Mr. Nehru, Pandit Pant and other leaders had recognized Maharashtra's claims to Bombay City and it was not just to keep them separate because of the admitted misbehaviour of some in the Bombay disturbances.

"He admitted that there was some force in the view that the Government should not give the impression of yielding to pressure, but he appealed to the Prime Minister to give an assurance that Bombay City would ultimately go to Maharashtra."

Ayurvedic Physician Honoured

Kaviraj Probhakar Chatterji, an eminent Ayurvedic physician of Calcutta has been awarded a prize of Rs. 200 by the U. P. Government Ayurvedic and Tibbi Academy for his famous book entitled *Ayurvedic Treatment of Cancer*. He is the first Bengali Kaviraj to receive the prize.

Air Route to Goa

The Government of India has at last made up its mind regarding the air-route into Goa, as the following notification shows:

"New Delhi, April 7.—The Government of India today issued an order prohibiting any aircraft from flying into or over Indian territory (including territorial waters) within ten miles of the border of any of the Portuguese possessions in India except under certain conditions, reports *PTI*.

"The conditions are that every aircraft making such a flight will, immediately after entering India, fly to and land at Bombay (Santa Cruz) or Ahmedabad airport and that it will not take off again without obtaining a clearance certificate from an officer authorized by the Government of India. The ban will be operative for two years. It is understood that this step is intended to prevent Portuguese and other foreign aircraft using Indian territory for free entry into and exit from Goa and the other Portuguese possessions.

"The Government's order is contained in a notification issued by the Communications Ministry and published in today's *Gazette of India Extraordinary*. Our special representative in Delhi learns that this order arises from recent unauthorized flights of aircraft from and to Goa over Indian territory."

Refugees from Pakistan

In view of the impending high level talks at Dacca, regarding refugee influx from East Pakistan, the following news-item, giving Shri Mehr Chand Khanna's opinion regarding Pakistan's attitude, is worthy of note:

New Delhi, April 2.—Although he spoke at length about the rehabilitation measures both in the eastern and western regions, interest in Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna's reply to the rehabilitation debate in the Lok Sabha today centred on his two statements concerning Pakistan.

He plainly stated that he did not wish to raise "high hopes" about the outcome of his forthcoming talks with the Pakistani Foreign Minister on the increasing influx from East Pakistan.

During his last visit to Karachi the Rehabilitation Minister said in a forthright 80-minute speech, he had found the atmosphere "cold and uninviting."

Mr. Khanna described as "untenable and fantastic" Pakistan's accusation that in respect of evacuee property India had taken unilateral action and had resorted to expropriation of the evacuees.

He blamed Pakistan for refusing to agree to a Government-to-Government settlement of the evacuee property issue and for continuing the operation of the evacuee property law, abrogated in India last year.

Giving a detailed account of negotiations on the issue between India and Pakistan, Mr. Khanna said that the reason for Pakistan "feeling shy" of a Government-to-Government settlement was obviously the large difference in the value of urban immovable properties left by refugees in Pakistan and those left in India. He estimated this difference to be nearly Rs. 400 crores in India's favour although he pointed out that India was willing to leave the evaluation of the properties to a mutually accepted international tribunal.

In view of the fact that West Pakistan had been "almost denuded of the Hindu and Sikh population," Mr. Khanna said it was surprising that Pakistan should continue to operate the evacuee property law even now "unless it intends to squeeze out even the few remaining Hindus in Sind and to expropriate their property."

He devoted a major portion of his speech to the problem of refugees in the eastern region and portrayed the differences between the problem in the western region and that in the eastern.

Unlike the western region, the problem in the eastern region was not only fluid and indefinite but there was no "vacuum" in respect of land and property which the refugees could fill. On the contrary, even Muslims who had gone to Pakistan, were returning and were being rehabilitated. This was a matter to be proud of.

Although the problem had been made worse

by the continuing influx, he added, the Government's achievement in the field of rehabilitation was substantial. Nearly 250,000 families had been rehabilitated on land and another 160,000 families in other rural occupations. Employment was provided to 200,000 families and houses to 350,000 families.

Nehru on Kashmir

We give the following report from the *Statesman*, in *extenso* as it is worthy of record:

"April 13.—Addressing a public meeting here today, Mr. Nehru disclosed that he had suggested to the Pakistani leaders to hold discussions to settle the Kashmir issue by demarcating the borders of the State on the basis of the present cease-fire line.

Mr. Nehru also referred to the Praja Parishad trouble in Jammu, the Jan Sangh and the States Reorganization Commission's report. He made it clear that until Pakistan withdrew its forces from Kashmir in accordance with the U.N.C.I.P. resolution, there could be no talk of a plebiscite.

The Prime Minister stated that thousands of people were migrating to India from East Pakistan every month. India did not wish to see the same thing happening in Kashmir. India had learnt a lesson that any wrong step might lead them to big dangers.

Strongly criticizing the Praja Parishad and the Jan Sangh, Mr. Nehru said that they had seen how much harm communal organizations could do to the country. He was of the view that the history of Kashmir during the last seven or eight years would have been much different if the Praja Parishad had not adopted wrong tactics.

Kashmir was important to them in many ways, it was a model of their basic policy. They had never agreed that there were two nations in India even at the time of partition. He declared that in India the number of Muslims was more than the entire population in West Pakistan, but of course in the two Pakistans, the Muslim population was more than in India. In Kashmir, he said, the Hindus and Muslims lived together as brothers and even at the time of the tribal raids they stood up as one man to defend their land.

Mr. Nehru compared the Jan Sangh slogans of Hindu Rashtra with the Muslim League's slogan of "Islamic Republic." Some

of the activities of the Jan Sangh and the Praja Parishad, he added, amounted to "treason." The edifice which they had been able to build in Kashmir was being destroyed by the communal activities of the Praja Parishad with the help of the Jan Sangh. He strongly criticized the activities of the Praja Parishad in Jammu at the time of municipal elections when stones were hurled on the Kashmir Prime Minister.

Explaining why some Jan Sangh people were not allowed to enter Jammu, Mr. Nehru said that there was a permit system in Kashmir and the Government could not allow all sorts of people to enter the State in the interest of security. They did not want to create such conditions in any other part of the country as those prevailing in East Pakistan.

Referring to the proposed hydrogen bomb tests by the U.S.A. near the Marshall Islands, the Prime Minister said that India was against such tests and wanted all such tests to be stopped.

As regards the forthcoming Teheran conference of the Baghdad Pact Council, Mr. Nehru said that India had already stated that the Pact had destroyed the peace of the Arab world and created dissension among them.

P.T.I. adds: Mr. Nehru did not disclose what the reply of the Pakistani leaders to his proposal on Kashmir was but said: "After some days there was a sudden outburst of fury and emotion in Pakistan and Pakistani newspapers began to talk of the sword and *jehad* against India."

Referring to plebiscite, Mr. Nehru said that U.S. military aid to Pakistan and Pakistan's membership of the military pacts like S.E.A.D.O. and Baghdad Pacts had destroyed the entire basis and foundations of plebiscite.

"It will not be a sign of intelligence if I am expected to pursue old things about plebiscite that were decided upon nine years ago without taking into consideration the far-reaching developments that had taken place since then in Pakistan."

The Prime Minister said that he was beginning to realize in his mind that the large-scale exodus of Hindus from East Bengal to India had become inter-related with the Kashmir question.

Mr. Nehru declared that he had not a shadow of a doubt that India had followed the right policy on Kashmir—a policy of decency and restraint and a policy that would do justice to the people of Kashmir, to the people of India, and to the people of Pakistan.

The Prime Minister was loudly cheered when he declared: "We shall not accept any step which seeks to create in the slightest manner any upheaval in Kashmir."

Mr. Nehru said: "I told the Pakistani leaders clearly: I think that you have committed a lot of excesses and *zoolum* in Kashmir. You have no right to sit on a part of Kashmir that is under you. But since my desire is only this that there should be no clash and upheaval, I am willing to accept that the question of the part of Kashmir which is under you should be settled by demarcating the border on the basis of the present cease-fire line. We had no desire to take it by fighting."

During the last three or four years, the Government had changed many times in Pakistan. Nobody could say for how long one particular Government would last in Pakistan as there had been no stability about it. It was, therefore, necessary to be very vigilant lest India should be entangled into any kind of war not as a result of deliberate attempt by Pakistan but by a mere chance.

The Prime Minister traced the background of the Kashmir problem and said that it was very important that the people should remember the basic facts.

The question of plebiscite was dependent on the clear stipulation that the entire Pakistan Army should first withdraw from the territory of Kashmir. Pakistan had failed to fulfil this important stipulation during these last nine years, when the face of Kashmir had been changed. "If now something is done which upsets all that had been achieved in Kashmir, it will be a dangerous thing, dangerous for Kashmir, dangerous for India and dangerous for Pakistan."

"It will be dangerous because any new upheaval is bound to bring in its train a calamity on both India and Pakistan, a calamity that the two countries witnessed and suffered in 1947. In such an eventuality there would be streams of refugees pouring into India, and refugees going to Pakistan. This would spell the ruin

of Kashmir and create great bitterness between India and Pakistan. Instead of the problem being solved and the two countries coming closer together, this would create a dangerous situation between them and make them further apart."

Mr. Nehru said that India wished to avoid this dangerous situation because she wanted to preserve the welfare of the Kashmir people and retain good relations between India and Pakistan. Referring to his talks with the Pakistan leaders a year ago, Mr. Nehru said: "More than a year ago I told the Pakistani leaders very clearly that they should ponder over the basic facts of the Kashmir problem. I told them: 'I am willing to talk to you for as long as you like. We want to find some path by which you and I work together and find a solution to our problems. But when for more than seven years we did not succeed in finding a solution to the small problem of your armies leaving the soil of Kashmir before the holding of a plebiscite, do you hope that this problem will be solved now?'"

Now many new things had happened. The most special thing was the U.S. military aid to Pakistan. The entire face of the problem had been changed by it. "I agree that it is not the intention of the U.S.A. that U.S. military aid to Pakistan should be used against India. But the fact is that this aid increases the strength of Pakistan to attack India."

"We said very clearly that this aid had changed the entire face of the Kashmir problem, because even if the Pakistani armies left Kashmir and entrenched themselves 20 or 30 miles away from the border, their increased strength would give them greater striking power to attack even from there. We had therefore to think and solve this problem in a different way as it had been made very complicated by this military aid and military pacts."

Mr. Nehru again referred to his talks with the Pakistani leaders and said: "I told the Pakistani leaders: 'it is my desire, as certainly it is your desire, that we should solve this problem. But all these new things had happened to which we cannot close our eyes. I am not prepared to take any step which in my opinion will bring ruin to Kashmir, create an upheaval there and cause all kinds of upsets. We want Pakistan and India to work together. But any

kind of upheaval would make that an impossibility. So seeing all these things, there is no use in dragging the problem further. We have to accept these new things and try to solve the problem. It is not that I wish to close the door for further talks on the question. But it will not be a sign of intelligence to expect me to do the old things of nine years ago (regarding plebiscite) without taking into consideration the new developments that had taken place since then'."

Mr. Nehru added: "I told all this to the Pakistani leaders but they did not accept it."

He described the decision which the S.E.A.D.O. Powers took about Kashmir at their recent meeting in Karachi as "not proper" and said that although it did not go very far, it was a wrong thing to express an opinion about Kashmir. These S.E.A.D.O. Powers might not have expressed their opinion about Kashmir openly but even a gesture from them was significant as it was a gesture from strong military powers like America and Britain. This gesture was enough for Pakistani leaders and the Pakistani Press to say all kinds of things. India had protested against this S.E.A.D.O. reference at the time. Mr. Nehru said that he had made this and other things clear in his recent speech on Kashmir in the Lok Sabha as he wanted no one to be under any delusion about them. "My speech in the Lok Sabha created a commotion in Pakistan. There were demonstrations of anger against me and the charge was levelled that I was telling a falsehood and going back on my promises. Some people and some newspapers in America and Britain also indulged in criticism of this kind. But hardly anyone of them perhaps cared to understand the basic facts relating to the Kashmir problem. It was necessary, therefore, that these basic things should be kept before the world again. I want to know which one of the basic facts that I recounted in the Lok Sabha about the Kashmir question is wrong. By merely shouting and creating noise the facts could not be ignored or suppressed."

Referring to the exodus from East Bengal, Mr. Nehru said that a big burden had been thrown on India by this large-scale influx of Hindus from East Bengal. Till now about 3,800,000 refugees had come to India. This clearly showed how dangerous results could be

reached by following wrong politics.

"In my mind this question of the influx of refugees from East Bengal into India is inter-related to the Kashmir question. Although outwardly these two questions are different, to my mind they are inter-linked."

Mr. Nehru asked the people not to get agitated over the Kashmir issue. "I want that you and I should not do those things which are being done by Pakistan. We should not raise the voice of threats or indulge in saying improper things."

The Prime Minister said that he would appeal to the people of India, especially the citizens of Delhi, to hold their voice in check in regard to what was happening in Pakistan. "I do not want our people to indulge in voicing threats, showing fists or brandishing swords. We have to follow the path of decency as no problem can be solved by the language of threats."

Mr. Nehru added amidst cheers: "I want our newspapers and people to understand that our case in regard to Kashmir is quite strong. So relying on this inherent strength of ours, let us not call each other names or criticize each other because ultimately we have to solve this problem and because Pakistan will ever remain our neighbour. "We have no quarrel with the common people of Pakistan I do not make any complaint against the ordinary people of Pakistan. It is none of their fault if they think of certain problems in a particular way because everyday Pakistani newspapers publish wrong things. The common people of Pakistan do not get the right facts. We have to remember always that between the common people of Pakistan and India there is not much difference. Seven or eight years ago we were in one country."

The real difficulty, Mr. Nehru said, was that the leaders of Pakistan were of a different category altogether. While even in Pakistan, the common people had struggled for the freedom of undivided India, the Pakistan leaders had not led this revolutionary life. The common people of Pakistan were moulded through this fire of revolution. But the leaders of Pakistan were not moulded by this revolution. "I do not wish to say anything against the Pakistani leaders or criticize them, but nobody can call them revolutionaries."

The Teheran Conference

Pakistan had tried its best to align all the members of the Baghdad Pact with herself, in accusing India over the Kashmir *impasse*. The latest news show the Britain and the U. S. refused to accept Pakistan's stand. We append the news report below, as it came at the end of the conference:

"Teheran, April 19.—The Baghdad Pact Council stated today at the end of their four-day meeting that 'urgent steps' must be taken to strengthen the pact which links Britain, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey in Middle East defence.

"The Council in its communique also emphasized the need for early settlement of the Palestine and Kashmir disputes.

"The Council agreed to meet again in Karachi next January.

"A British spokesman said, the Council had not discussed the merits of the Kashmir issue. A mere reference to Kashmir became inevitable because of reference to Palestine, he explained.

"It is pointed out that the Baghdad Council has suggested no plebiscite or direct negotiations, as S.E.A.D.O. did by implication when it referred to the U.N. resolutions on Kashmir.

"The final communique had been delayed because of renewed efforts by Pakistan to include a reference to the Kashmir dispute, P.T.I. reported earlier. It is understood that at this morning's secret session Turkey backed the Pakistani delegation but support was lacking from Iran, whilst Britain was lukewarm in its attitude Iraq was said to be undecided.

"Outside the conference also there had been intense lobbying by Pakistan to enlist support for her in the Kashmir case. The Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammad Ali, met the Iranian Premier, Mr. Hossein Ala, yesterday and urged that Iran should support Pakistan in the dispute with India. Iran is a member of the U.N. Security Council.

"The Pakistani delegation had also been having talks with other delegations."

Ceylon Elections

The outcome of the national elections in Ceylon, which were held ostensibly to get the people's verdict on the question of making Ceylonese the only official language of the country, bears some resemblance to that of the last elections in Eastern Pakistan—both in the

rout of the ruling party and the reaction of the Western Powers. A *New York Times* despatch from Ceylon said: "There is no question that Sir John's defeat will be internationally accepted as a heavy blow to the West."

The nature of the outcome would naturally suggest that, so far as the electorate in Ceylon was concerned, the elections were not significant only for the language issue but touched many other points of equal, if not of more, importance. Final figures showed that the Mahajana Eksath Peramura (People's United Front), composed of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, the Viplava Lanka Sama Samaj Party and the Sinhala Basha Peramura, had secured 51 of the 95 elective seats of the House of Representatives (six more seats in the House are to be filled up by nomination by the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister). The M.E.P. had contested 60 seats.

The United National Party which had all along been in power since the achievement of independence was reduced to the fourth position in the House with only eight seats. The U.N.P. had lost 46 seats in the elections. Eleven ministers had sought re-election on the U.N.P. ticket. Of them only two—the Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala and the Education Minister, Mr. M. D. Banda—could get themselves re-elected.

The Trotskyite Nava Lanka Sama Samaj Party, which had nine seats in the dissolved parliament, emerged as the second largest party in the new Parliament winning 14 of 21 seats for which it had set up its candidates.

The Federal Party, influential in the Tamil-speaking Northern and Eastern provinces of Ceylon, gained ten seats as against two it had earlier. The Party favoured the introduction of a Swiss-model constitution with autonomy for Tamil areas.

Independents suffered a heavy loss in the elections. As against eleven independents in the last Parliament there were now seven (virtually six since Mr. R. G. Senanayake had been elected as an independent by two constituencies requiring him to give up one seat for which a by-election would have to be instituted) independent members in the new Parliament. Thirty of the sixty-one independent contestants had lost their security deposits.

The strength of the other parties were:

Communists 3, Tamil Congress 1, Tamil Resistance Front 1.

The leader of the Mahajana Eksath Peramura (M.E.P.) which had swamped the polls in Ceylon much to the surprise of everybody, Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, was sworn in as the Prime Minister of Ceylon on April 12 replacing Sir John Kotelawala. Mr. Bandaranaike's Cabinet consisted of 12 members who were also sworn in on that day. The new ministry had one woman member—Mrs. Vimala Wijewardene—for the first time in Ceylon's history. A week later Mr. R. G. Senanayake, who had been a minister under Sir John Kotelawala but had fought the election as an independent to defeat the former Minister of Agriculture and Food, Mr. J. B. Jayawardene, joined the new Cabinet as Minister of Commerce and Trade.

In an interview with the representative of *U. S. News and World Report*, the new Prime Minister, Mr. Solomon Bandaranaike, said that British forces now in Ceylon would have to go. He added that Ceylon would become a Republic but final decision on the question of the membership of the Commonwealth was yet to be made. He said that he agreed in general with the foreign policies of Pandit Nehru though, as he said "sometimes he (Mr. Nehru) has a tendency to lose sight of the intrinsic essential dynamism of Communism."

He added that Ceylon would shortly exchange diplomatic missions with China, the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries.

Asian's Entry into Kenya Banned

The new immigration policy announced by the British Government in Kenya on April 17 virtually banned all immigration into the colony except from Britain. The announcement, made before the European dominated Kenya Legislative Council, said that henceforth Kenya would look to Great Britain as the "primary source of immigrants of the kind the colony needs." In case, the country needs could not be met in Britain only then would the Kenya Government turn to other lands for immigrants.

Asian residents in Kenya interpreted the new policy as designed primarily to curtail completely immigration of Asians into Kenya. They saw in it Government's total surrender

to the Europeans' demand for a total elimination of Asian immigration.

The new announcement banning Asian immigration, coming as it did after a series of restrictions put on the Asians by the Kenya Government over the past years, "is but a formal seal set on a policy of making Kenya the preserve of the white man," writes the *Hitavada* on April 21. The newspaper further notes that the Europeans' determination to keep the Asians out of the colony was generated mainly by the fear that they (Asians) would bring with them liberal ideas in the matter of racial equality and the right of self-government which would be too dangerous for the continued domination by the Europeans.

"Whereas the future of Kenya depends on the development of harmonious relations between the various racial groups in that colony, racialism has now begun to rear its ugly head and this bodes ill for the progress and prosperity of Kenya," the *Hitavada* concludes.

We agree fully with the *Hitavada*. We would suggest that this matter be brought up in the Commonwealth Relations Committee, with a request to balance matters, failing which restrictions must be put on the British exploitation of Asian countries, particularly those in the Commonwealth.

Cominform Dissolved

The Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties—commonly known as the Cominform—came into being in late 1947 at a conference of nine European Communist Parties held at Warsaw, capital of Poland. The participating parties belonged to the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, France and Italy. The Information Bureau, in which each of the participating parties had two representatives had been entrusted with the task of organizing "interchange of experience among the parties, and, if need be, to co-ordinate their activities on the basis of mutual agreement." The headquarters of the Information Bureau as well as of its organ *For a Lasting Peace For a People's Democracy* had been established in Belgrade—capital city of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau suffered a major shock when during the middle of 1948

Yugoslavia, one of the founding members, left the organisation. Consequent upon this defection the headquarters of the Bureau and of its organ was transferred to Bucharest, capital of Rumania.

The activities of the Cominform came in for sharp criticism in Communist, anti-Communist and neutral quarters as well. The Communist criticism of the Cominform was by its very nature indirect. The Yugoslav Communist Party was the first to put up a direct opposition to the policies proposed by the Cominform. For that "crime" Yugoslav Party was expelled from the organisation and the Yugoslav Party, Government and the leaders were abused in the vilest terms in the weekly organ of the Cominform. Those Communist leaders of Eastern Europe who dared to follow a milder course even while toeing the line were mercilessly liquidated through judicial murder as "Titoites" and American agents. Though the term "judicial murder" might sound a bit too harsh it was still the most correct description of the decapitation of the most veteran Communist leaders of Eastern Europe. The very people who had been killed after having "confessed" that they had been spies were now being restored to honour in the countries of Eastern Europe by the very people who had sent them to the gallows.

The Cominform had published an open criticism of the policies of the Japanese Communist Party which the latter had refused to accept at first. On second thoughts, however, the leadership of the Japanese Party accepted the Cominform criticism and changed their line thereby inviting a disaster on the party. Having realized the folly of accepting the Cominform directions the Japanese Party abandoned that line soon afterwards and accepted a new policy closely resembling its original position.

In Asia, only two Communist parties—those of China and Japan—escaped the rigours of following the Cominform line and thereby they gained greater strength in the national liberation movements.

The anti-Communist criticism of the Cominform activities though they sometimes contained valuable substance, as a rule, were more or less a routine business devoid of much significance.

The most significant and most weighty criticism of the Cominform was made by the neutral political leaders. The justice of much of that criticism found expression in the announcement of the dissolution of the Cominform itself, where the reasons for its dissolution were given.

The dissolution of the Cominform was made known on April 17 in a joint announcement by the Central Committees of the eight Communist parties forming the Cominform. Palmiro Togliatti, Secretary-General of the Italian Communist Party, disclosed that the decision on the dissolution had been taken in Moscow in February at the time of the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party but the actual announcement had been deferred to April for some reasons. In Moscow, the news was broken to the Western press reporters by Anastas Mikoyan, the Soviet Foreign Deputy Premier.

The Announcement on the Dissolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' parties said that the emergence of a number of changes in the international life had rendered the continued existence of the Cominform incongruous. Those changes were: "The emergence of socialism from within the bounds of a single country and the fact that it has become a world system; the formation of a vast 'zone of peace' comprising both the socialist and the non-socialist peace-loving countries of Europe and Asia; the growth and consolidation of many Communist Parties in the capitalist, dependent and colonial countries and their increased activity in the struggle against the war danger and reaction in the struggle for peace, the vital interests of the working people and the national independence of their countries; and, finally, the now particularly pressing tasks connected with overcoming the split in the working-class movement and strengthening the unity of the working class in the interests of a successful struggle for peace and socialism."

The dissolution of the Cominform was hailed in all quarters. *Reuter* reports that diplomatic sources in London labelled the dissolution of the Cominform as a bold opening move in the top level Anglo-Soviet talks. It adds: "The move had been forecast in some quarters here (London) for months past as a

bid for final and complete reconciliation with the Yugoslav Communist Party which it expelled in 1948.

"Dissolution of the Cominform will also please neutral opinion in Asia. India's Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, was reported to have pressed for the move during his visit to the Soviet Union last summer."

The *Economic Weekly* (Bombay) interprets the dissolution as another blow to Stalinism. "Strict control and supervision of the Communist Parties and movements in foreign countries by Moscow was an integral part of Stalinism," writes the magazine. "By dissolving the Cominform, Stalin's successors imply that such 'centralised control' from Moscow is no longer necessary. This does not mean that Moscow has abandoned its faith in World Communism. It implies that Stalin's successors are inclined to the view that the existence of different types of economy in the different countries is no obstacle to the ultimate goal of world communism," it concludes.

Spanish Morocco gets Independence

Spain recognised the independence of Spanish Morocco on April 7. France had already done so earlier. Thus Morocco once again became unified and independent.

The Spanish declaration came after three days of negotiation in Madrid between the representatives of General Franco, head of the Spanish State, and of Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, the Sultan of Morocco.

The first indication of Spain's willingness to accord independence to the Moroccans was given on March 12 this year when Allab el-Fassi, head of the Istiqlal Party, the leading Moroccan nationalist movement, arrived in Madrid for political discussions with the Spanish Government.

The Moroccan Empire had been divided into three zones: Spanish Morocco, French Morocco and Tangier. Spanish and French zones of Morocco have become reunified into an empire under Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef. Tangier is now a permanently neutralized and demilitarized area administered by a committee made up of France, Spain, Britain, Italy, the United States, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden and Portugal.

The official declaration was given as follows: the Spanish zone 'until the Government of the Sultan takes over this function'."

Madrid, April 7.—A unified and finally independent Morocco was created today with a joint Spanish-Moroccan declaration here which ended Spain's 44-year-old protectorate in North Africa.

"The declaration was made after three days of negotiation between delegations representing General Franco, head of the Spanish State, and Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, the Sultan of Morocco.

"Signed this morning, the declaration consists of four clauses with a protocol of an additional six clauses providing for the period of transition needed for the handing over of administration.

"After stating that the Protectorate Agreement for Morocco signed in Madrid in November 1912 is no longer suited to the circumstances, it says that 'the Spanish Government recognizes the independence of Morocco proclaimed by his imperial Majesty Sultan Mohammed the Fifth and its full sovereignty with all the attributes pertaining thereto, including its own diplomatic service and army.'

'Spain binds herself to respect the territorial unity of the Moroccan empire and to lend the Sultan mutually agreed help, especially in questions of foreign relations and defence. The rights and liberty of Spaniards in Morocco and Moroccans in Spain are reciprocally guaranteed.

'The protocol governing the transition period to administrative independence starts off by specifying that 'the legislative power is exercised by the Sultan as Government.'

"The protocol also provides for Spanish assistance in the organization of a Moroccan army and cancels immediately the need for papers or administrative formalities for the movement of people between the Spanish and French zones of Morocco.

"The final clause specifies that the Spanish Government will continue to exercise the protection abroad of Moroccans originating from

The European Alliance

The Soviets' "New look" policy, however ridiculed, seems to have had some effect even in Europe as the following news-item indicates:

"New York, April 21.—Mr. George Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union said tonight: 'Our alliance in Europe is showing signs of going apart.'

"He referred on a television programme here to Iceland's demand for the removal of U.S. bases, to France's 'state of partial paralysis,' and the recent statement of the West German Government that it intended to open direct talks with the Soviet Government on reunification as signs of weakness in the alliance.

"About the German statement, he said: 'This does mark a turning point in the whole development of the German question and a very significant one.'

"Mr. Kennan said American foreign policy since 1949 had suffered from 'over-militarization of our thinking about the cold war' and this had weakened many of the constructive post-war undertakings and estranged the U.S.A. from a part of world opinion.

"He added: 'Unless we change pretty soon and pretty drastically our whole approach to foreign affairs—and by this I mean not the policies of the moment but the attitude of our people generally towards the relationship of foreign policy and other facts of American life—we must expect a continued tendency towards the reduction of our prestige and influence throughout the world generally.'

"He pointed out that the U.S.A. was not the only power confronted with difficulties in the world today and said that 'the Russians are only now beginning to feel the real discomforts and embarrassments of being the successors to Joe Stalin.'

"The Soviet 'new look' he suggested might very well weaken the ties that have cemented the Soviet empire in the past and give it an external appearance of monolithic power."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LAND-GIFT MISSION

By SURESH RAMABHAI

WITH its new and fresh discoveries, science is making life more easy and pleasant. Curiously, however, man is feeling less happy and contented and there is more fear in his eyes than ever. The economic and social disparities widen rather than contract. Revolutions come like a spark of lightning only to pass away. The man in the street remains very much where he was.

The French Revolution stood for fraternity, equality and liberty. But the Guillotine could not secure these for the common man. The Industrial Revolution brought prosperity to England at the cost of millions of Asia and Africa whose markets she could exploit. The Russian Revolution has not yet succeeded in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. While these revolutions did relieve material injustice to a degree, they left the core of human distress unredeemed. Man is treated by these socio-economic revolutions as an animal with sensory needs but they have not paid due regard to his heart and his unique individuality.

Let us take Marx. He was a great genius who delved deep into the working of the economic processes on the eve of the age of technology. He gave that historic and inspiring call: "Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains." Looking back to the history of the last fifty years one can say that workers have also got to lose something positive before they lose their chains. That thing is—their sense of ownership. Both the rich and the poor, the capitalists and the workers, dote upon this sense. In truth, they suffer from the tyranny of possession. Both believe in the same sensate values and aspire for the same material standards of comfort and luxury. As a matter of fact, the rich are those poor who won the race for these values, while the poor are those who lost in this race for more sensual comfort. Yet both have hearts empty of love and they are stupidly striving to fill this void with possessions.

The time has now come when possessiveness should be recognised as a form of illness of the mind. Our possessions possess us. The truly rich man is he who is not a slave of his possessions nor at the mercy of possessiveness. All wealth is a collective product of social well-being. The ownership of wealth should rest not with the individual but with society. Mahatma Gandhi emphasized this point in his theory of Trusteeship. Through Land-gift mission, Acharya Vinoba Bhave has placed a concrete way to give Gandhiji's theory a living shape. Vinoba asks all who possess land, money or property to renounce ownership of what they have and set apart a part of their own possessions for society. The Land-gift movement seeks to make the rich or the poor shed off their ownership rights and share their richness or poverty together.

"Share Together" is, in brief, the essence of Vinoba's mission. So long as we enjoy alone and refuse to share with others, we cannot be true to our neighbour, to ourself or to anybody. Also where would then be the dividing line between man and animal? Both eat and sleep and reproduce. But whereas the characteristic of the animal is that it enjoys its meat by itself alone, that of man is that he wants to share it with others. Which is why man can refuse food even when he is hungry. He obtains peace in fasting too.

In thus voluntarily parting with our possessions we discover the inner richness which loving our neighbour alone can bring to our hearts. This is the echo of all scriptures. All religions of the world bear testimony to this wisdom of the ancient seers. Modern science also drives us to the same conclusion.

Private property is hailed as a sacred right all over the world. It has culminated in the horrible state of affairs in which while the producer is denied the means of production, the non-producing possessor enjoys the products of his labour. Science tells us that if the means of production continue to be owned by indivi-

dual persons or States and if the gulf between intellectual and physical labour persists, the very existence of man is in jeopardy. This lure for possessions and power has contributed to the growth of urbanization, centralisation, industrialization and—as a result—to militarization. In place of developing spontaneous, happy human co-operation, it has exalted materialism and warped man's vision. Scientists are keenly aware of this development. They have sounded the alarm. J. B. S. Haldane, the great biologist said :

"Materialism, once a scientific theory, is now the fatalistic creed of thousands. But materialism is nothing better than a superstition on the same level as belief in witches and devils."

Sir Arthur Eddington, the renowned physicist, held:

"We are no longer tempted to characterize the spiritual aspects of nature as illusory. Rather, the physical world borders everywhere on the spiritual and its factual existence is due solely to this connection."

Above all, Einstein, the scientific wizard of this age, declared :

"The fate of the human race was more than ever dependent on its moral strength today. The way to a joyful and happy state is through renunciation and self-limitation everywhere."

Vinoba's Land-gift mission is just the programme of collective sharing of the good things of this earth. Vinoba calls upon man to mark, both as a religious duty and scientific necessity, a halt in his present drive, share all land and skills and power among all, and thus turn towards building a non-possessing social order, standing on the pillars of common ownership, voluntary co-operation and productive labour. In this manner, Vinoba seeks to bring about a revolution in the technique of revolution itself. So far violence has been the main sheet-anchor of revolution. It need not necessarily be so. In Vinoba's words:

"We want to overhaul the entire social structure without recourse to violence, that is, we want both peace and revolution. Revolution is indispensable. Now if we want peace also, then we have to prove that peace too has the power to revolutionize the society—not gradually but with the speed of a revolution. If this is proved violence will cease to be the indispensable adjunct of revolution and society will be saved. This is what we call a peaceful revolution or Satyagraha."

"Through Land-gift programme we are helping the people to acquire the power of Satyagraha and develop faith in humanity. We also desire to manifest the power of peace for solving all our problems. Viewed in this perspective, the Land-gift mission will reveal its distinctive glory."

(Courtesy : All-India Radio)

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NEW AGRARIAN POLICY OF INDIA

By PROF. C. L. KHANNA, M.A.

AGRICULTURE was for long regarded by the British rulers as the anchor-sheet of the Indian economy. Rightly did Lord Mayo observe that

"For generations to come, the progress of India in wealth and civilization must be directly dependent on her progress in agriculture."

Yet the tragedy was that it received but scant attention at their hands. The agricultural policy followed by them during their regime of about two hundred years was slow, spasmodic and static. It was essentially dictated by ulterior motives to perpetuate economic and political domination over India much to the advantage of their homeland and to the detri-

ment of ours. It was not until the year 1866 when Orissa was visited by a gruesome famine that they realized the need of a special department for the improvement of agriculture. But even then nothing was done beyond the enactment of a few legislations or the appointment of the Royal Commission of Agriculture—the first Commission of its kind—in the year 1926. This is not to say that all the intermittent measures were absolutely futile but to have taken them as anything beyond window-dressing was sheer complacency. In 1937, the imperialist-minded provincial governments yielded place to the National Congress minis-

tries and it was pin-pointed by the latter that the salvation of India lay in ameliorating the lot of the agriculturists. Since then a visible change in agricultural outlook has come forth.

The first and the most vital step taken by the Congress provincial governments was the reform of the land tenure system which had sapped the initiative, enterprise and drive of the Indian farmer. It was believed that land was the base of India's economy and that the agrarian system should be so organised that the fruits of labour were enjoyed by those who toiled and land was worked as a source of wealth for the community. The myriads of middlemen between the State and the actual tillers of the soil were deemed as an incubus on the existing agricultural society. Wedded to this creed, the Congress governments rushed forward with schemes for the elimination of all intermediaries. This work, however, came to almost a standstill when the Congress went out of office on the eve of the Second World War and the 'Quit India' movement of 1942. The work was resumed when this Great Organisation was in the saddle again in 1946. Although the pace of the "social and economic revolution" through the Zamindari abolition has been slow, yet it is heartening to learn that the necessary legislations have been fully implemented in the Punjab, Pepsu, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad; substantially implemented in the case of Uttar Pradesh, Saurashtra, Madhya Bharat, Bombay, Madras and Andhra and partially implemented in Bihar, Orissa, Rajasthan and Vindhya Pradesh. In other States, namely, Assam, West Bengal, Mysore, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh, the legislations to eliminate the parasitic class of intermediaries are in the process of enactment. It is claimed by State governments that about 2.25 million intermediaries have so far been divested of their rights and interests over more than 160 million acres of land. This is, undoubtedly, an achievement of which we could be legitimately proud.

A problem more far-reaching in character than the liquidation of the Zamindari system is the equitable distribution of land, which, as stated earlier, is a source of wealth for the entire community. Much has been said and written in favour and against the controversial issue. The Planning Commission, however, has

laid at rest the controversy by accepting, in principle, the policy of fixing a ceiling and floor on the amount of land that an individual may hold. It is needless to dwell here upon the discreet basis governing the implementation of this policy in the various States. In the context of varying circumstances of the States ceilings have been imposed on the existing holdings and on the future acquisition of land by owner-cultivators in the Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra and Hyderabad. In other States, the work will be speeded up with the completion of the "census of holdings operations" undertaken by the State Governments.

Both these measures—the Zamindari Abolition and the ceiling on holdings—will be but palliatives if the tenancy problem in India were left unsolved. Aptly has it been remarked by the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee that

"To leave out the problem of agricultural labour in any scheme of agrarian reforms, as has been done so far, is to leave unattended a weeping wound in the agrarian system of the country."

The Planning Commission has prescribed the remedy of the three F's, *viz.*, Fair rent, Fixity of tenure and Free transfer of land, to solve this problem.

In regard to rent, the Commission observes :

"While it is difficult to suggest a generally applicable rate of rent, over the greater part of the country, a rate of rent exceeding one-fourth or one-fifth of the produce could well be regarded as requiring special justification."

If this limit were accepted by us for a 'Fair rent' the rents payable by tenants in the Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, West Bengal, Madhya Bharat and Bhopal do not conform to this standard and the Governments have been urged to take action to reduce rents. But in the large majority of States, for example, Assam, Orissa, Madras, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad, Bombay, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, Ajmer, Rajasthan, Vindhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh rents have been whittled down to accord with the recommendation of the Plan.

"Protected labour" is a *sine qua non* for agricultural welfare as protected industries are for industrialization. The problem of tenant security has proved baffling. Laws have been made in certain States, namely, Bombay, Hyderabad, Berar, Tanjore, Mysore, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh and the Punjab to ensure against unjustified ejection of the tenants-at-will. It is contended by some critics that the policy hitherto adopted for the purpose is inadequate and slipshod. Much leeway has to be made before the Government at the Centre and the States can lay a claim to the solution of this crucial and chronic problem of tenancy.

As regards the tenants' rights of free transfer of land, it is necessary that they should be given permanent and heritable rights in respect of the lands tilled by them.

'Land to the tiller of the soil' is now our precept and not only a maxim or a slogan. The measures alluded to above have been taken to achieve this ideal and their cumulative effect has been highlighted in increased productivity. Millions of tons of foodgrains, which were lost every year because the ill-paid agricultural labourer, who had no stake in land, did not put his heart into work, had been conserved. We have been able to turn the corner in the matter of food. The race for self-sufficiency in food has been won, controls virtually abolished and rationing completely withdrawn. With the mounting up of the internal production our imports have tapered off to a negligible quantity as is shown by the following table :

Year	Production (in million tons)	Imports & year (in million tons)	Value of food imports (in Rs. crores)
1948-49	43.3	2.84 1948	102
1949-50	46.0	3.71 1949	134
1950-51	41.7	2.12 1950	180
1951-52	42.4	4.73 1951	216
1952-53	47.6	3.90 1952	210
1953-54	56.1	2.00 1953	86
1954-55	65.8	0.80 1954-55	68

Note.—Statistics are based on the *Eighth Year and India 1955*.

It is noteworthy that the planned target of 61.6 million tons for 1955-56 had been exceeded by 4.2 million tons in 1954-55. Why import then?—is an apt question, one might ask. The imported foodgrains, according to Mr. A. P. Jain, the Food and Agricultural Minister,

are intended not so much for meeting the requirements of internal consumption as for building up an adequate reserve. Another remarkable feature is that by cutting down food imports India effected a saving of Rs. 138 crores of its hard-earned foreign exchange in 1954-55 compared with the peak imports during 1951. But now no stocks are to be imported from abroad.

The situation in respect of the commercial crops also shows "considerable improvements." A glance at the statistics tabulated below would at once convince us of this:

Commodity	Year	Production	Planned production in 1955-56
Cotton	1950-51	2.97 Mn. bales*	
	1951-52	3.13	
	1952-53	3.13	
	1953-54	3.93	
	1954-55	4.30	4.22 Mn. bales*
Jute	1950-51	3.28 Mn. bales†	
	1951-52	4.68	
	1952-53	4.61	
	1953-54	3.13	5.39 Mn. bales†
Sugarcane	1950-51	5.6 Mn. tons	
	1951-52	6.1	
	1952-53	5.3	
	1953-54	4.6	6.3 Mn. tons
Oilseeds	1950-51	5.08 Mn. tons	
	1951-52	4.93	
	1952-53	4.64	
	1953-54	5.59	
	1954-55	4.40	5.6 Mn. tons

Note.—* 1 bale=392 lbs. † 1 bale=400 lbs.

Agricultural production as a whole registered an increase of 13.5 per cent in 1953-54 over that of 1949-50. The outturn of cereals recorded an increase of 17.2 per cent, oilseed of 9 per cent and cotton of nearly 50 per cent.

While it is difficult to point out precisely the contributory factors to the high productive levels, it is widely recognised that the Integrated Production Programme initiated at the recommendation made by the Grow More Food Inquiry Committee has helped achieve self-sufficiency in food and certain other crops. This intensive campaign is now an integral part of the Community Development Project and National Extension Service schemes which are spread all over the country to make a multi-lateral attack for the improvement of the "whole" man in the villages. Lop-sided deve-

lopment of the farmer's life is considered imprudent and infructuous. Though according to some, not much has been done since the inception of the Community Projects in 1952, it cannot be gainsaid that they have well-served as 'seed-multiplication farms' for propagating right thought.

The effect of the increased production, of the policy of decontrol and of political causes, such as the Korean truce, was the sagging of the prices of agricultural products. The Economic Adviser's Index Number of wholesale prices in respect of agricultural commodities (food articles) stood at 320.7 on the 19th November, 1955, as against 339.4 in 1954-55, 384.4 in 1953-54 and 398.6 in 1951-52, the opening year of the First Five-Year Plan. The Government had therefore to resort to policies of price support and export promotion to arrest the downward trend of prices. Whereas during the war years from 1939 to 1945 the British Government had been faced with inflation and hyperinflation problems, our National Government had to confront an equally worse evil of deflationary tendencies. Of course, at the moment it has not assumed any grave proportions but a timely action was certainly called for. And it was taken. To combat this tendency the Central Government entered the open market for purchasing what may be called, "buffer stocks" of cereals to serve as reserve for emergencies, if any. At the end of 1953-54, the reserve stocks of food, mainly rice, were 16 lakh tons. The stocks of foodgrains held by the Government on October 29, 1955, were: wheat 3,40,000 tons, rice 10,13,000 tons, and coarse grains 37,000 tons. It was declared on the floor of the House on December 14, 1955, that purchases in the internal markets would be made to the extent necessary to give price support to principal foodgrains in order to stabilize them at reasonable levels.

Export of agricultural commodities was also stepped up. During the current year up to September 30, 1955, more than 84,000 tons valued at Rs. 461.74 lakhs had been exported to some countries.

These were *ad hoc* measures to surmount economic hurdles coming in the wake of price fall in the agricultural sector. Realising that they provided no enduring cures of our present and future difficulties, Mr. A. P. Jain enun-

ciated the following basic remedies in the course of the Parliamentary debate held in October, 1955 :

- (a) The setting up of a National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board.
- (b) The institution of a Central and State Warehousing Corporation.
- (c) The provision of adequate credit facilities through the Reserve Bank and State Bank of India.

The two organisations mentioned at (a) and (b) above are designed to improve the holding power of the Indian farmer and to organise co-operative marketing and processing so as to strengthen his position as a seller, to assure him of a regular trade outlet and to enable him to obtain better prices. This will also teach the farmers that agriculture is primarily a form of business. With that end in view the Board will link credit with marketing.

The Government will allocate to the Board (i) a non-recurring grant of Rs. 5 crores and (ii) a recurring grant of not less than Rs. 5 crores per annum for the first five years and thereafter a reasonable sum consistent with its functions. Out of these allocations would be created two funds, namely, Development Fund and Warehousing Fund with Rs. 15 crores allocated to each. The developmental activities will be the formation of primary marketing societies, the apex marketing organisations and the processing co-operative societies such as sugar mills, cotton gins, oil expellers and jute balers.

The functions of the Board are to give loans and grants to State Governments which, in turn, would extend similar facilities to marketing societies at the lowest rung of the ladder. It is proposed to set up 1,500 primary marketing societies and construct 1,200 godowns during the Second Five-Year Plan. At the apex there will be one new society in each Part 'A' and 'B' States. The total estimated cost will come to about Rs. 18 crores.

The Central Warehousing Corporation is intended to set up warehouses at important places in the whole of the country and to subscribe to the share capital of its counter-parts in the States. The Central Corporation will have an authorized capital of Rs. 20 crores and a subscribed capital of Rs. 10 crores. This capital will be raised by a contribution of Rs. 4

erces by the Central Government and the balance by

- (i) the State Bank of India;
- (ii) commercial banks;
- (iii) insurance companies and
- (iv) co-operative societies.

With the completion of the programmed ware-housing and storing facilities, it would be possible to have a storage capacity of 2 million tons at a cost of Rs. 10 crores by the Central and State Governments during the Second Five-Year Plan.

The Indian farmer stands in need of three types of credit—short-term, medium-term and long-term. To meet this requirement of rural loans our National Government has undertaken reorientation of the existing credit structure.

The first historic measure taken in this direction is the formation of the State Bank of India. This Bank is vested with powers to open 400 branches throughout the length and breadth of the country. Apart from broad-basing the rural credit, the State Bank will provide "vastly extended remittance facilities for co-operative institutions" and assist co-operative marketing and processing activities. It will also advance money to small-scale and cottage industries against goods and their title documents. It might also purchase the debentures floated by the Land Mortgage Banks whose number will be increased from nine to eighteen to cover all States, Part 'A' and 'B'.

Another "important development" in the realm of credit re-organisation is the amendment to the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934. According to this amendment (which was brought on the statute book on December 30, 1953) the Reserve Bank has been empowered to enlarge the scope of credit required for seasonal agricultural operations and marketing of crops. It is authorized to advance short-term loans to

- (i) State Co-operative Banks and the State Financial Corporations for financing production and marketing activities of cottage as well as small-scale industries;

- (ii) The Central Industrial Finance Corporation.

The Reserve Bank can also meet the medium-term credit demands for agricultural purposes.

To enable the Bank to discharge these functions of providing short-, medium- and long-term credit, two "funds" have been instituted by it :

- (i) National Agricultural Credit (Long-term Operation) Fund to which the Reserve Bank will contribute a non-recurring sum of Rs. 10 crores in addition to the recurring sum of Rs. 5 crores per annum. This Fund will make advances and loans to (a) State Governments for subscribing to the share-capital of co-operative credit societies; (b) State Co-operative Banks for financing medium-term needs of agriculturists; and (c) Land Mortgage Banks for making long-term loans.

- (ii) National Agricultural Credit (Stabilization) Fund which will be credited by the Bank with a recurring amount of Rs. 1 crore every year. This Fund will help stabilize the co-operative credit by advancing loans to State Co-operative Banks. This will help the latter to convert short-term credit into medium-term credit whenever the farmer has to take recourse to it under the pressure of natural or other calamities.

Thus the new approach envisaged by Nehru Government aims at reforming the anachronistic land system, making provision of marketing and warehousing facilities, reorientation of credit, and stabilization of agricultural prices. In fact, it implies a complete reorganisation of agriculture. If this were accomplished, it would be possible to "wipe out every tear from every eye" as was the ambition of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. The living standards of the teeming millions in six lakh and odd villages would rise. The invidious inequalities between the rich and the poor would vanish into thin air. India where poverty reigned supreme for centuries would have a millennium foreseen by sages and seers. Gandhi's ideal of "Ram Raj" will become a reality.





INDUSTRIAL LOCATION IN INDIA

An Incongruity

By V. S. YADAVA, M.A.

✓ ACCORDING to Alfred Weber, whose theory of industrial location is the best and the most acceptable of all the existing theories on the subject, the determinants of the location of an industry are the costs of labour, the costs of transportation and the raw material prices. ✓ (Weber's theory of industrial location is neither a rounded doctrine nor is it very comprehensive. In actual practice industrial location is not conditioned by economic factors (low transport costs and labour costs) alone. ✓ Natural, political, social and psychological considerations play a vital role in arriving at the 'locational point.') To exemplify, nobody will locate an industry in a region that serves as a host to the natural calamities like earthquakes, floods and epidemics even if the transport costs and labour costs are the minimum. Similarly, regions of malarial climate, etc., will hardly attract industries. Again, an industrialist will not start an industry in a remote rural area even if it offers economic advantages stated in Weber's theory because of the absence of the elementary amenities of daily life which are easily available in cities and to which city-dwellers have become habituated. The social atmosphere will also be very different. This reason explains why industries come to be located in cities or their vicinity, in preference to rural areas even if it is somewhat disadvantageous from an economic point of view. ✓ (The absence of banking and other credit facilities—the so-called arteries of commerce and trade—in some regions will scare away industrialists.) There is also a strong tendency of concentrating factories at a place where such factories already exist because of certain advantageous conditions such as the momentum of the start derived from the reputation that the particular locality comes to possess for some quality product. Moreover, industries come to be located in the interior of the country even at some economic sacrifice because of strategic considerations. ✓ (Interior is safer in cases of bombardment, etc.). 'Safety

✓ Carrying the analysis a little further it may be stated that as the differences in the prices of raw materials are mainly due to distances, and can thus be expressed in the costs of transportation, the location of an industry is determined by two factors—labour costs and transport costs. ✓ The most suitable place to locate an industry is that which has the lowest transport costs in terms of ton-miles. An industry will be located at such a place where the transportation costs will be the minimum both in respect of getting raw material, supply, and making the finished product reach the market. ✓ However, this location will be deviated if the cheapness of labour elsewhere gives a comparatively greater economic advantage. ✓ Weber divides raw materials into (1) 'Ubiquities' and (2) 'Localised Materials'. The latter are further sub-divided into (i) 'Pure Materials' i.e., those materials which contribute more or less their full weight to the finished commodity in whose making these are used (e.g., wool, cotton and jute) and (ii) 'Gross Materials' i.e., those that lose much of their weight in the process of manufacturing and contribute only a part of their weight to the final product. ✓ The best example of such 'Weight Losing' or 'Gross Materials' is the sugarcane which contributes only a part of its weight in the manufacture of sugar, etc. Iron ore and coal are other examples of 'Weight Losing' materials. ✓ 'Ubiquities' are those materials which are available everywhere and on that account, do not exercise any gripping control over industrial location. ✓ 'Localised Materials,' on the other hand, are found only in particular regions and, therefore, exercise a predominant influence in the location of an industry. Among the 'Localised Materials,'

first is the principle with every man and more so with an industrialist who has not only his life but also his large capital at stake. In view of the above facts Alfred Weber's theory needs imbibe some modifications to be more applicable to the real problems.

EXTENT OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION IN INDIA

In India, the pace of industrial development has not only been tardy but even the location of industrial units has been defective, uneven, and unbalanced. The industries are concentrated in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. If we add U.P. and Bihar to the list we have marked the whole industrial region in the country. Northern India and majority of Part B and C States are without any industries worth the name. Bengal, Bombay and Madras have about 77 per cent of the total workers employed in large-scale industrial establishments and the figure works out to 90 per cent if U.P. and Bihar are also grouped. The remaining States of India, except the Punjab and Madhya Pradesh, employ 1 per cent or even less of the total workers in large-scale establishments. A study of some of the key and important industries unmistakably reveal the locational trends in the country.

COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The Cotton Textile Industry had its beginning in Calcutta in 1818. The real foundation of the industry was, however, laid in about the middle of the nineteenth century when in 1854 a mill of the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company went on production in Bombay. The industry has had to pass through many vicissitudes—the high price of cotton owing to the American Civil War, the imposition of cotton excise, the acute depression that followed in the wake of World War I, boom, the loss of China market, the competition from Lancashire and Paisley—before occupying its present position of unique importance in the country. Today the Cotton Textile Industry is the biggest industry in the East employing daily on average about 4½ lakhs of people and having a capital investment of about Rs. 110 crores. The number of mills in the industry has increased from 47 in 1876 to about 460 today. (From its very inception the industry was concentrated in Bombay even though centres like 'Ahmed-

abad, Sholapur, Nagpur and Cawnpore enjoy greater proximity to raw material, nearness to market, closer acquaintance with the locality, cheap labour and cheap land'.¹ The development and expansion of the industry have resulted in its dispersion to other parts of the country and 'the share of Bombay in the number of mills has gone down from 32.9 per cent in 1919 to 18.6 per cent in 1937' yet Bombay continues to retain its status of being the most concentrated centre of the industry. Owing to this concentration the Technological Laboratory of the Indian Central Cotton Committee and the Department of Chemical Technology of the Bombay University are located in Bombay for carrying out research on cloth fibre.

Thus, "in spite of the growth of industries in other parts of the country such as Madras, Madhya Pradesh, U.P., and Madhya Bharat, the industry still continues to be concentrated in Bombay where more than 60 per cent of the existing spindles and looms are installed. In the future development of the industry care will have to be taken to improve its location."²

The industry needs to be diversified so that it may migrate to other parts of the country, particularly the Northern India and Part B States.

JUTE INDUSTRY

This industry occupies a dominating position in the industrial structure of the country. Dating its origin in the mid-nineties, the jute industry has shown phenomenal growth and its history has been, on the whole, one of uninterrupted progress. This progress is reflected in an increase in the number of jute mills from 21 in 1879 to 1893, to 73 in 1914-1919 and 107 in 1938-39. The total number of jute mills in India today is 112.

"This important textile industry has the distinction of accounting for approximately a quarter of the export trade of the country. The progress of the industry can be gauged from the fact that India has today become the chief jute manufacturer consuming more than 60 per cent of the raw jute of this sub-continent. The total capital invested in the industry is about Rs. 30 crores and the industry employs more than 3 lakhs of workers on the average."³

1. *Indian Economics* by Dr. K. K. Dewatt and Prof. G. Singh.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain (1955 Edition).
4. *Hindustan Year Book and Who's Who*, 1955 by S. G. Sarkar, p. 490.

This important industry is the most concentrated industry of the country. It is almost wholly located in West Bengal. 'All but one or two of India's 112 industries are in West Bengal in and around Calcutta on the Hooghly river.' This appears to be slightly an over-

5. *Ibid.*

statement. A more accurate estimate of the location of this industry is that 'the industry is concentrated mostly in West Bengal where there are 101 out of 112 registered jute mills. The remaining mills are in Madras, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.' Clearly, therefore, the growth of the industry has not changed its locational trend and the industry continues to be centralised in West Bengal.

IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY

The iron and steel industry of India is the biggest industry in the whole of Asia and one of the best in the world. Barring a few abortive efforts, the real beginning of the Iron and Steel industry was made in 1907 with the formation of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Sakchi. The Mysore Iron Works at Bhadravati (1923) and the Steel Corporation of Bengal (1937) followed suit. Today the three main constituents of the industry in India are the Tata Iron and Steel Company, the Indian Iron and Steel Company (incorporating the Steel Corporation of Bengal) and the Mysore Iron and Steel Works. The industry received a great fillip during World War II and has made great progress. The increase in the production of pig iron and finished steel from 1.40 million tons and 0.86 million tons in 1948 to 1.65 million tons and 1.02 million tons in 1953⁶ respectively shows that the industry is well maintaining its progress. The industry is located in Bihar and West Bengal. Like the jute industry, the point of location of this industry has also remained unaltered and it is entrenched in the above two States.

SUGAR INDUSTRY

The sugar industry showed feeble resistance in the face of competition from Java sugar and bounty-fed European sugar. Thus, before the grant of tariff protection in 1931 the sugar industry was having a precarious existence. But after the grant of protection in 1931, the industry made rapid strides and 'the number

of sugar factories in India increased from 32 in 1931-32 to 159 in 1953-54 . . . The industry is concentrated mostly in U.P. and Bihar but some other parts of the country such as Bombay, Madras, Mysore and Hyderabad are better suited for the industry as the yield of sugarcane per acre of land is higher there and the cane-crushing season can last longer there. In 1953-54, out of 159 factories 72 were in U.P., 30 in Bihar, 16 in Madras, 15 in Bombay, 4 in West Bengal, 2 in Orissa, 1 in Punjab, 2 in the Chief Commissioner's States and 17 in other States and State Unions.⁷ Thus, the location of the sugar mills is highly unsatisfactory and uneconomic and partly contributes to the high costs of production. This unbalanced and lop-sided location has burdened the industry with unnecessary additional costs; thus making it unable to withstand the foreign competition.

"The U.P. and Bihar account for 75 per cent of the sugar factories and 81 per cent of sugar production. In Bombay, consumption of sugar is the highest but production is very low; in Bihar, on the other hand, consumption is very low and production is very large, and in Madras production is small and consumption is very large. This involves unnecessary costly haulage."

This malady of improper and uneven location calls for drastic and immediate solution.

CEMENT INDUSTRY

Though of recent origin—the first cement factory was started in 1904 at Madras—this important Key industry has reached its full stature. Before Partition India had 23 cement factories with an annual installed capacity of 2.7 million tons. The partition of the country resulted in some of the factories falling to the share of Pakistan, and India was left with 18 factories with actual production of 1.5 million tons only. Soon the industry overcame the disaster and today there are about 27 cement factories in India with an installed capacity of over 5 million tons. The location of the industry is, however, defective. The industry is concentrated in the three provinces of Bihar, Madras and C.P. (now Madhya Pradesh). Added to this evil of concentration is the fact that most of the cement factories (Dalmia

6. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain.

9. *Indian Economics* by Dr. K. K. Dewatt and Prof. Charan Singh.

group of industries is an exception) are located at a very great distance from the consuming centres. Moreover, the factories are also away from coal fields and "the nearest factory is at a distance of 200 miles, and several factories are at a distance of more than 1,000 miles. No cement works upto 1925 were situated within 350 miles of Calcutta and 250 miles of Bombay and these two ports and their surroundings consumed more than half the cement consumed in the country. Most of the cement works were seriously handicapped by their remoteness from the chief consuming centres."¹⁰

"Of late, the cement factories have shifted to new locations and the development of the industry has been more balanced. But even in 1955-56 out of a total of 27 cement factories with a rated capacity of 5,036 thousand tons, 6 factories with a rated capacity of 1,160 thousand tons and 5 factories with a rated capacity of 882 thousand tons are located in Bihar and Madras respectively."¹¹

The above study of some of the key and basic industries of the country clearly brings out the fact of deep concentration of industries in particular regions. The history of other industries will only confirm this locational trend. Thus, the chemical industry of India—"a key industry par excellence"—is highly concentrated and two-thirds of its employees are found in Bengal and Baroda. Similarly, in the case of cinema industry "the film production is virtually confined to Bombay, West Bengal and Madras." Bombay is the largest producer of films in India and may rightly be termed "India's Hollywood."

The concentration of industries has made the industrial structure of the country lopsided and any industrial development in such circumstances means the increasing concentration of industries in the already industrialised areas and localities. This is clear from the following table :

<i>Percentage of the total number of Industrial Workers in India</i>				
<i>Province</i>	1921	1939	1943*	1951
Bengal and Bombay	62.1	59.2	57.6	54.3
Bengal, Bombay, U.P., Madras & Bihar	83.1	85.9	84.4	88.4
Rest of India	16.9	14.1	15.6	11.6

* Figures up to 1943 are for undivided India.

"It is worth noting that although the share of West Bengal and Bombay has decreased from 62.1 per cent in 1921 to 54.3 per cent in 1951, the share of Madras, U.P. and Bihar has increased from 21 per cent of the total number of workers in 1921 to 26.8 per cent in 1943 and 34.1 per cent in 1951. The share of the rest of the country in the number of industrial workers has declined from 16.9 per cent in 1921 to 15.6 per cent in 1943 and 11.6 per cent in 1951. This means that the concentration of industry has taken place in Madras, U.P. and Bihar at the cost of Bengal and Bombay and the rest of India."¹²

DISADVANTAGES OF INDUSTRIAL CONCENTRATION

(The concentration of industry in particular localities leads to manifold economic, social and political evils. Economically, the undue concentration of industrial units in a locality leads to the under-development, if not total neglect, of the vast regions and localities in the country.) For example, in India, Northern, North-Western and parts of Southern India have been neglected and industries in these areas are found only as an exception. Contrarily, other parts of the country, like Bengal, Bombay, Bihar, Madras and U.P. are highly industrialised. (Such concentration does not lead to the maximum utilization of the country's resources.) The industrially undeveloped areas possess natural resources and economic advantages, though not to the extent of the industrialised areas, which remain untapped and unexploited. This results in national loss both in terms of material and human resources. (The under-development of vast areas leads to greater unemployment which means not only the loss of existing man-power but also of potential human resources.) "Unemployment is a great evil, it is a poison, it pollutes the society and wrecks the political fibre of a country." (Secondly, the concentration of industrial units in particular areas unbalances the whole industrial structure of the country and if some natural or economic calamity overtakes an industry only the people of the particular area where the industry is concentrated are ruined.) For example, depression in cement industry will hit the people of Bihar more severely than the people of the rest of India. This would be avoided in case of the dispersion of industry to different areas and places. If industries

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain.

12. *Ibid.*

are decentralised a region will nurture more than one industry and, therefore, depression in any particular industry will not result in a total disaster for the region, for it is not obligatory that depression in one industry will coincide with depression in other industries. So, if a locality has more than one industry the difficulties and distress that come in the wake of depression would be diminished and whatever distress falls to its lot will be shared by other regions also. (Thirdly, the concentration of industry in particular areas is not conditioned only by economic considerations as enumerated in Alfred Weber's theory. The caprice and prejudices of the industrialists are a contributory factor in locating industries at a particular place.) The history of the industries, as given above, clearly shows that had economic considerations been the sole determinants of industrial location, the cement industry would not have been located far away from the source of power or the sugar industry away from the market. (Finally, such concentration of industries creates inequality between the different regions. It creates industrially pampered areas and industrially backward areas.) The people inhabiting the latter areas not only suffer from want of means of livelihood but also smart with frustration and injustice at the sight of opulence in a nearby area. Such a cleavage between different regions is inequitable and untenable. It cuts across the Directive Principles of State Policy which *inter alia* lays down that

"The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing that the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good."¹³

(The undue concentration of industries leads to a crop of social problems, e.g., overcrowding.) The population of industrial towns like Calcutta, Bombay and Kanpur has doubled and even trebled. Such overcrowding leads to congestion and housing problem. Slums are created and labourers are forced to live in tenements which are a veritable hell on earth. The labourers live in hovels which are "cold in winter, hot in summer and wet in rains." The labour force is mainly recruited from rural areas and therefore the new surroundings, un-

hygienic and insanitary as they are, are quite alien to them. But diabolical necessity makes them live in such hovels where "they are pushed and not pulled." A number of social evils like drinking and gambling, to which the labourers per necessity become addicts, pester them and the society of which they are a part. Infant mortality and diseases of various kinds prevail in these areas. The State has to provide for a number of facilities, e.g., provision of free hospitals and child and maternity welfare centres. The State has also to incur expenditure on slum clearance and has to pass and enforce labour legislation to mitigate the evils that result from concentration of industries. (Such is the heavy social cost that the indiscriminate concentration of industries, which the profit-motive of industrialists creates, involves. Here the individual and social objectives are at variance.)

(Politically, the concentration of industries in particular states or areas to the neglect of other parts, as we have in India, is indefensible and monstrous specially in a "Welfare State" that the Democratic Sovereign Republic of India is.) In a democracy the concentration of industries and the consequent increase in population carries with it the risk of concentration of political power too. All this may result in the creation of vested interests. Besides, industrial concentration is dangerous because of the great risk of total annihilation of industries in an aerial bombardment. (So in an emergency industrial concentration in the country will jeopardise national interests and security.)

(Thus, concentration of industries is indefensible on economic, social or political grounds. It is a great defect in the industrial structure of the country.)

(Indeed, "our industrial progress has not only been slow, it has also been uneven. It has been competitive rather than complementary.) Our industrialists beat the trodden path; instead of initiating they simply imitate. As soon as any new industrial opening is discovered, there is a frantic rush to fill the gap: a factory is piled upon a factory till the industry has ceased to be remunerative. Not only the same line is taken up but also the industrialists run to the same place to open a factory till the industry becomes highly centralised and unbalanced. Its location becomes unfavourable either from the point of view of markets as in the case of sugar, or from materials as in cotton or from source of power as cement industry. Our industrialists follow the 'safety first' principle.

13. Constitution of India, Article 39(C).

History of almost all major industries in India amply bears out this conclusion.¹⁴

The situation calls for immediate remedy.

THE WAY OUT

("The problem of industrial location is socio-economic in character. The choice of a site for an industry is not only of individual interest but also of great social significance. From the standpoint of the individual entrepreneur, the location of an industry is largely influenced by cost considerations. The point of minimum cost is chosen irrespective of its wider repercussions. But from the social standpoint, location determines the distribution of industrial labour and the division of the socially necessary work among the different areas of the country.) An over-concentration in a particular area may result in heavy social costs, such as congestion and infant mortality. In actual practice the individual and social objectives of location rarely coincide and hence the problem has assumed great significance with growing industrialisation."¹⁵

("The State shall have to play an important role in planning the location of industries in the country. A policy of *laissez-faire* in this sphere will spell ruin by allowing further concentration of industries to continue and afflict the industrial health, social welfare and political stability of the nation by evils attendant to such concentration.) Happily, the Government of India is conscious of its duty to see "that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment"¹⁶ and has, by the enactment of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, assumed powers to regulate the location of industry.

In any scheme of physical rebuilding, maximum utilisation of the actual as well as potential, physical and human resources and in the establishment of a solid, broad-based and organic industrial structure, the evil of concentration of industry must be removed lock, stock and barrel. For a country of the dimensions of India, the solution lies in regional planning. "Special attention must be given to regional development to reduce disparities in economic opportunities and the level of life between different states."¹⁷ Particular areas in the coun-

try which possess the requisite economic resources for industrial development and are mutually exclusive should be demarcated and appropriate industries allocated to them. In India, such regions are easily discernible and should be properly developed. (The study of our industries has shown that some industries like Jute and Iron and Steel have not shown any sign of dispersion to any area other than their original places of concentration in spite of rapid growth in the industries and external forces. Such industries are termed as tied or immobile industries. On the other hand, there are certain other industries, e.g., cotton textile, sugar, paper, cement, etc., which, with every expansion and development, have revealed great dispersion resulting in a great decline in importance of the original centres of concentration. The latter industries are termed as mobile industries.) So in any scheme of industrial dispersion in India special attention must be given to the mobile industries which show great resilience in migrating to different parts of the country. Recent developments in this direction show that the Government of India is not oblivious of having a co-ordinated pattern of economic development in which concentration of industry does not fit in. The industrialists have also realised that cut-throat competition, as once prevailed in the cement industry, is a losing proposition and have begun improving the location of industrial units. The improvement and expansion in the means of transportation and the availability of hydro-electric power in the interior of the country have further led to industrial decentralisation. Consequently, many industries have migrated from their original centres of concentration. The cotton textile industry has migrated to U.P., Madhya Pradesh and elsewhere resulting in the gradually diminishing importance of Bombay. Likewise, the sugar industry notwithstanding the fact that U.P. and Bihar are still its most important centres, is fairly spread over the country. This is clear from the fact that in 1931-32 out of 32 factories 26 were in U.P. and Bihar but in 1952-53 out of 134 only 93 were in U.P. and Bihar. The cement industry has also dispersed greatly. State enterprises in this industry have facilitated its even location in the various parts of the country.

The above developments are mere pointers

14. *Indian Economics* by Dr. K. K. Dewatt and Prof. G. Singh.

15. *Studies in Indian Economic Problems* by Prof. R. Balakrishna.

16. *Constitution of India*, Article 39(d).

17. *Second Five-Year Plan, The Framework*. (The Publications Division, Govt. of India).

towards which progress has to be made and not something to be glorified. (The industrial location in the country is very defective and will need time, patience and sustained efforts before it is rectified. But the situation need no longer be neglected, effective measures should be initiated early so that this industrial malady is set right.)

RECENT TRENDS

By virtue of the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951, the Government of India has assumed regulatory powers in determining industrial location, etc. "This Act brings under government supervision and regulation all the more important industries of the country, e.g., the 37 industries listed in the first schedule." The list has been enlarged by an amendment of the Act. The Industries (Development and Control) Act 1951, lays down *inter alia* that

- (i) All the existing industrial undertakings in the scheduled industries have to be registered within a prescribed period;
- (ii) No new industrial unit can be established or substantial extension to existing plants made without a licence from the Central Government.¹⁸

This Act has greatly corrected the industrial structure by migrating industries to new places. (Many new industries were refused licence by government on locational considerations.) The Act also provides for the establishment of Development Councils "for ensuring that private industry confirms more and more to the planned pattern of development," and "to investigate the possibilities of decentralising the stages and processes of production with a view to encouraging the growth of allied small-scale and cottage industries."¹⁹

(But the evil of industrial concentration cannot be removed by a policy of mere licensing. Conditions must be improved in the under-developed regions to attract industries. The provision of electric power, means of transport and communication, availability of cheap land for erection of factories, and banking and credit facilities are some of the prerequisites for industrial location.)

"Industries do not go to backward and under-developed areas and to rural locations partly because of prejudice and partly because these places do not offer facilities such as raw materials, electric power and the type of labour required. In order to attract industries to these under-developed areas it is necessary to (a) develop these areas so that the industrialists might be attracted to them and (b) to give, at least in the initial stages, such facilities as land at concessional rates, lower railway rates, and cash subsidies, wherever necessary. It is only when such a progressive policy is adopted that the location of Indian industries can be effectively improved."²⁰

The availability of cheap hydro-electric power as a result of the completion of the various multipurpose projects afford an opportunity for decentralisation. The development of backward and rural areas is gathering momentum after the initiation of the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Services. The programme of opening about 300 of its branches by the State Bank of India in rural areas will remove the lacuna of the absence of credit facilities in such areas. Much has been achieved, but still great leeway remains to be made. In the "Socialistic pattern of Society" that we have, backward areas will be developed and industries attracted to them.

But as we aim at dynamic evolution and not revolution, all these developments will take time. Therefore, it has been rightly remarked :

"Industrial development in India has so far been concentrated in a few select areas. If it is to proceed in a balanced manner, increasing attention will have to be paid to establishing industries in those States and Regions which have so far remained backward. Under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, the Government has powers to regulate location, but large changes in the pattern of industrial location cannot be brought about within a short period. Private industry is reluctant to settle in a new area in preference to an area already partly developed and offering banking and transport facilities and other ancillary services. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the industrial development envisaged in this five-year period is by way of expansion of existing industrial units. The electric power to be derived from the multipurpose projects will, however, open up great possibilities of industrial development in the Punjab, Orissa and Bihar."²¹

18. *First Five-Year Plan*, People's Edition, p. 179.

19. *Ibid*, pp. 179-180.

20. *Problems in Indian Economics* by P. C. Jain.

21. *First Five-Year Plan*, People's Edition, p. 191.

PUBLIC ENTERPRISES IN INDIA

BY PROF. PRAKASH CHANDRA TRIPATHI, M.COM., LL.B.

INTRODUCTION

In the early days of capitalism, when there were plenty of opportunities for all to grow rich without coming into serious conflict, the system of private enterprise worked fairly satisfactorily. The good of the individual entrepreneur more or less coincided with the good of society. But as capitalism progressed and scope for expansion got limited the interests of the individual and of the society became divergent. In the process of maximisation of profits the individual entrepreneur adopted policies which instead of leading to the advancement of society, definitely led to its degradation. Profit motive attracted entrepreneurs into those lines of production which, either due to the absence of acute competition, or to the ease of starting them, or to the smallness of capital outlay and quickness of return, yield the highest rate of profits. In India this led to considerable expansion of such industries as cotton textiles, sugar and the neglect of heavy chemicals, electrical and general engineering which require huge capital outlay or returns on which can be expected only after a long time but which are nonetheless vital for the balanced industrial development of the country. The absence of such industries was sharply felt in the early phase of the Second World War when the Allies could not get an adequate supply of war goods from India. Government was, therefore, to step in to supplement private enterprise. In their industrial policy statement made in April, 1948, the Government of India thus declared 'mixed economy' as the main feature of their new policy. It has been in pursuance of that policy that a number of industrial enterprises have been started in the post-independence years.

INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES

A brief account of public enterprises in India is given below.

SINDRI FERTILISER FACTORY (SINDRI, BIHAR)

Soil is our one and only source of food. Investigations have shown that only 7 per cent of the earth's land surface possesses the ideal combination of temperature, climate and soil for crop production. The maintenance of the

manurial balance of the soil by the application of artificial fertilisers is, therefore, necessary to force more production from areas which do not enjoy ideal soil conditions. Hence the supreme importance of a fertiliser* factory.

In 1943, the Foodgrains Policy Committee carried out a review of India's requirements of nitrogenous artificial fertilisers and reached the conclusion that the country's annual needs amounted to between 2 and 3 million tons, i.e., 10 to 15 million tons of ammonium sulphate. Following this review it was decided to establish the large-scale production of artificial fertilisers in India. A Technical Mission on which served representatives of two important U. K. concerns with an expert knowledge of the industry and of the plant required visited India in 1944. The site now occupied by the Sindri factory and the capacity of the plant installed are as recommended by the Technical Mission.

A State-owned private limited liability Company known as Sindri Fertilisers and Chemicals Limited completed at a cost of Rs. 23 crores, was formed in December 1951. The authorised capital of the company is Rs. 30 crores and all the shares are held by the President of India except one which is held by the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Production, in his personal capacity.

The factory is the first major State-owned enterprise since Independence and Asia's largest and most modern fertiliser-producing plant. At 1,000 tons a day, it has an annual capacity of producing 3,50,000 tons of ammonium sulphate. A target of 3,15,000 tons of ammonium sulphate was fixed for Sindri under the First Plan. Four days before the end of 1955, the factory's annual production reached

* There are two important classes of fertilisers, viz., nitrogenous fertilisers and phosphatic fertilisers. Of nitrogenous fertilisers ammonium sulphate is the most important. In addition to Sindri fertilisers, there are 6 plants producing ammonium sulphate with an installed capacity of 80,000 tons annually. Of these the most important is Fertilisers and Chemicals, Travancore Ltd. Of phosphatic fertilisers, superphosphate is the most important. In addition to Bihar Government Superphosphate Factory, there are now 14 producers of which the largest is Fertilisers & Chemicals, Travancore Ltd. The production of it is limited by the shortage of sulphur.

3,20,262 tons. Sindri has enabled the country to save about Rs. 33 crores in foreign exchange and played a significant role in expanding food production. Sindri's capacity is being expanded by over 60 per cent. This scheme which is now being executed will bring an additional production of 70 tons of urea and 400 tons of ammonium sulphate nitrate per day. Estimated to cost about Rs. 7 crores, the expansion scheme will be completed during the early part of the Second Plan period. Besides the expansion of Sindri two more fertiliser factories and the utilisation of lignite deposits in Madras State for the production of about 70,000 tons of nitrogen per year are envisaged under the Second Five-Year Plan.

The two most important requirements of the fertiliser industry are the supplies of gypsum as the raw material and plenty of water. The factory draws its supplies of gypsum from the Bikaner and Jodhpur deposits in Rajasthan.¹ When in full operation the factory would require about 2,000 tons of gypsum every day. The water requirements of the factory which are estimated to be about 12 million gallons per day are supplied from an artificial lake built by a dam on the Gowai river which is a tributary of the Damodar.

Sindri is fast growing into a nucleus for chemical and other industries. A cement factory installed by A.C.C. Limited to utilise the by-product (chalk), with a capacity of about 300 tons of cement per day has already gone into production.²

CHITTARANJAN LOCOMOTIVE FACTORY (CHITTARANJAN, W. BENGAL)

Named in memory of one of India's most revered patriots, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Chittaranjan is the next big industrial enterprise of the Government. Built at a cost of about Rs. 15 crores it helps to bridge the gap—a legacy of long British rule—in the require-

ments of a country which has a railway route mileage of about 34,000 with approximately 8,000 locomotives in use.

In the First Five-Year Plan the factory was originally planned to build 120 steam locomotives and 50 spare boilers every year on single shift working. But the actual progress is so gratifying that it is recently proposed to step up the production target of Chittaranjan from 120 to 150 per year, and thereafter to 200 average-sized locomotives, in the course of the next four years through the introduction of such measures as judicious multi-shift working, additional equipment and training of staff.³

The workshops which cover a total area of about 8,80,000 square feet have been so designed as to facilitate the movement of raw material from the initial processing stages to the final finish, in one direction through the various shops, until it is delivered to the erecting shop ready for the assemblage of locomotives.

Today 90 per cent components of a locomotive are produced in Chittaranjan. Locomotives now cost about 6.5 lakhs. The landed cost of an imported locomotive is about 5.3 lakhs. The cost will gradually come down as the production increases and it has been worked out that by 1956-57, the unit cost will compare favourably with that of the imported ones of the similar types and that is including the overheads of the model township.

PERAMBUR COACH FACTORY (PERAMBUR, MADRAS)

After partition while on the one hand our country was left with a badly depleted and deteriorated coaching stock, on the other the passenger traffic had registered an enormous increase over the pre-war level. The Government met this situation by making large-scale imports of passenger coaches from abroad. It also became absolutely manifest that taking into account all available sources of home capacity for the manufacture of coaches, a large separate manufacturing unit similar to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, for meeting our requirements of coaches, was inescapable. Accordingly, in 1948, the Central Government took a decision to establish such a factory in the country. Finally, the work was started with the collaboration of a Swiss firm.

1. The original scheme envisaged the supply of gypsum from the salt range of West Pakistan (in North Punjab). As a large amount of coal was being sent to the Punjab a considerable number of wagons were returning empty to the coal mines. The cost of transport of gypsum supplies to Sindri was, therefore, expected to be low. Due to the partition, however, the salt-range gypsum could not be depended upon. The main difficulty in the present supply of gypsum is the transshipment at Agra where the railway gauge changes to the metre gauge.

2. For every ton of ammonium sulphate produced, the Sindri limited turns out as by-product nearly a ton of Calcium Carbonate Sludge. For the utilisation of this by-product (chalk) the installation of a cement plant was necessary.

3. The target of production in Tata Locomotives and Eng. Co. is 50 locomotives in 1954-55.

The following production targets have been agreed upon between the Government and the firm:

<i>Target</i>	<i>No. of unfinished coaches</i>
1st year of production	20
2nd year of production	100
3rd year of production	200
4th year of production	300
5th year of production	350

Of the above numbers, the agreement contemplates a progressive increase in the number of coaches to be turned out by using indigenously made parts excepting for wheels and axles and proprietary items. The target in the first year of production is 20 coaches, rising rapidly to 350 in five years when a coach will come off the assembly belt every 6 working hours.

The most modern type of coach, where the coach body and the under-frame form an integral unit, in all-metal welded construction, thereby reducing the weight by about 7 tons, i.e., about 16 per cent has been selected. The factory takes its name from this integral design.

The factory when in full production will give employment to about 4000 men.

HINDUSTAN MACHINE TOOLS FACTORY (JALAHALLI, BANGALORE)

The machine tool is the mother of mass production; indeed, of modern industry itself. The recommendation to establish a machine tool factory came as early as 1947 when the Disposal Utilisation Committee, which was established in that year to advise the Central Government how best to utilise about Rs. 400 crores worth of surplus war material, gave the highest priority to its establishment. The Government then began exploring its possibilities and finally in collaboration with a Swiss firm the work was started.

Hindustan Machine Tools Ltd., is a private limited company registered under the Indian Companies Act. The authorised capital of the company has been fixed at Rs. 12 crores, divided into 1,20,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 1,000 each. The issued and called up capital for the present is Rs. 4 crores. The company will be mainly financed by the Government, the Swiss firm participating in the company to

the extent of 10 per cent. A board of directors eight in number of whom 2 have been appointed by the Swiss firm and the rest by the President of India is in charge of the business of the company.

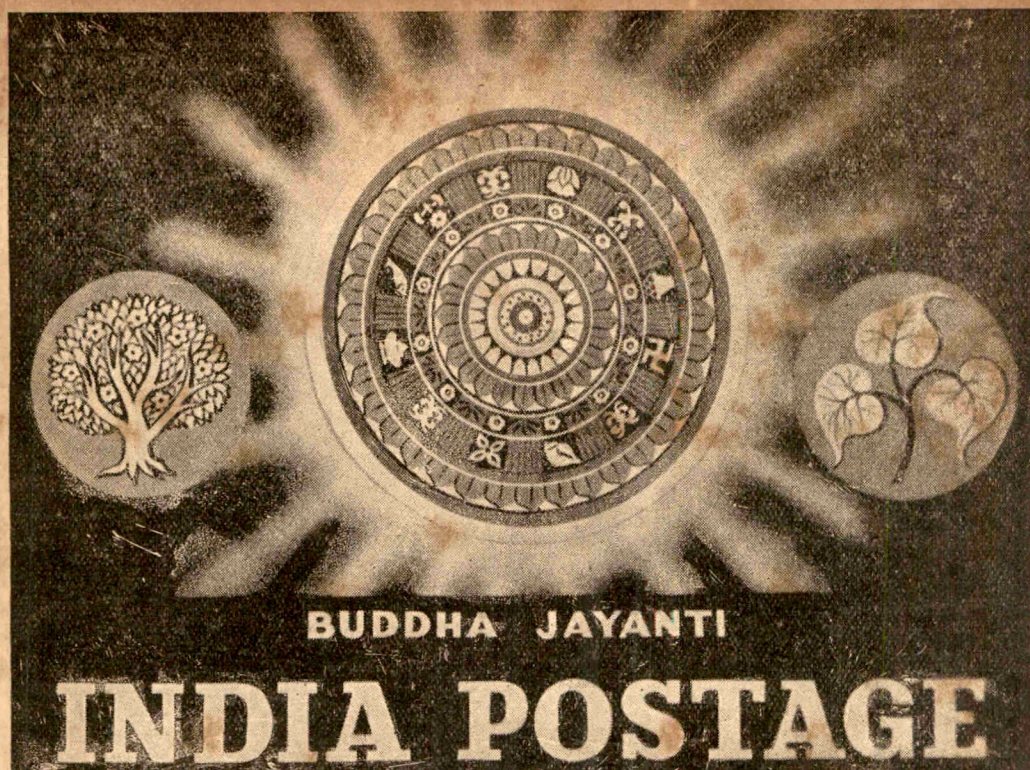
A well-planned and co-ordinated production programme which has taken due notice of the existing capacity of the factories in the private sector has laid down the following annual production target: High speed lathes—900, milling machines—460, and drilling machines—240. This production target is to be achieved in 6 years in gradual stages. During the first stage a production rate of 550 machines per year, comprising 400—8½ ins. centre high speed lathes 90—10½ ins. centre high speed lathes and 60—12½ ins. centre high speed lathes will be reached in 3 years from the date of commencement of balanced production, namely, January 1, 1955. During the second stage this factory will switch over to the production of lathes of larger sizes and other machines like milling and drilling machines.

HINDUSTAN CABLE FACTORY LIMITED (RUPNARAINPUR, W. BENGAL)

Constructed close to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works, with the technical assistance of Telephones and Cables Ltd. of London, the factory went into production in September 1954 and reached its full capacity of 470 miles of cable per annum in the very first year. Production has now been stepped up considerably and during 1955-56 the factory is expected to manufacture 550 miles of cables to be supplied to the Posts and Telegraphs Department. A project to double the armouring capacity of the company, now under way, is expected to be completed at the end of 1956. The factory will then be in a position to manufacture 1,000 miles of cable annually and not only meet the increased demand for telephone cables in the country but supply demand in other Asian countries.

The company, Hindustan Cables Ltd., is completely owned and financed by the Government of India and is run under the overall control of the Ministry of Production.

The principal raw materials used for the annual manufacture of 550 miles of cables are copper wire, insulating paper, lead, bitumen, hessian and steel tape and soft wood (Punjab Chir). The copper wire, hessian and the



A composite design, incorporating the Round Parasol, a view of the Bodhi Tree and three Pipal tree leaves, by Sri R. D'Silva of Bassein



A delegation of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. visited Moscow. The guests made the rounds of the Kremlin and saw places of interest there



An imposing War Memorial at Jaipur to commemorate the memory of the Rajput warriors who gave their lives in the service of the country during the last six hundred years



Wreaths were placed at the Memorial by H. H. the Raipramukh of Rajasthan and by (from left to right) Sri M. L. Sukhadia, General Rajendrasinghi, etc., on March 31, 1956

seasoned soft timber are obtained mainly from indigenous sources, while steel tape, insulating paper and lead have to be imported from abroad.

HINDUSTAN ANTIBIOTICS LIMITED
(PIMPRI NEAR POONA)

Established with the assistance of the World Health Organisation and United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, the factory went into production in 1955 and has already exceeded its Five-Year Plan target. Against the target of 4.8 million mega units of penicillin, the factory's present rate of production is of the order of 8 million units per year. The factory is a private limited company with all its shares owned by the Government of India.

HINDUSTAN INSECTICIDES (D.D.T.)
FACTORY, DELHI

Established with the assistance of the same two U.N.O. agencies (the U.N.I.C.E.F. supplying all imported equipment, W.H.O. providing all technical assistance and the Government of India arranging for the provision of land, buildings, steam, water, electricity, etc.), the factory went into production in March 1955. The factory has a capacity of 700 tons of D.D.T. per year which will be utilised for the anti-malaria programme. This capacity is to be doubled during the Second Plan period. The factory is managed by Government through a private limited company with a Board of Directors under the Ministry of Production. Another D.D.T. factory with a capacity of 1,400 tons of D.D.T. per year is to be set up at Alwaye in Travancore-Cochin State.

HINDUSTAN SHIP-BUILDING YARD
(VISAKHAPATNAM)

It is a joint enterprise of the State with the Scindia Steam Navigation Company. Originally, it was being run by the Scindias, which could not make a success of it. The Government, therefore, in January 1952, took a majority of its shares and are participating in running it. The yard which finished its first ship in 1948 has 16 ships to its credit now. Excepting the engine and the propeller, practically all components are made in the country today. The ship-yard in spite of its early failures, appears to be going strong with a capacity for launching 5 ships a year and having facilities for constructing even big ships

of 25,000 ton size. The shipyard is to be expanded considerably during the Second Plan for which a provision of nearly Rs. 10 crores has been made.

HINDUSTAN HOUSING FACTORY LIMITED
(NEAR DELHI)

The factory has been formed in collaboration with an Indo-Scandinavian firm to utilise the existing Government Housing Factory for the production of certain building materials such as roofing slabs, fencing posts, industrial beams, etc. The factory has four departments, namely, (i) Wood Working Department, (ii) Prestressed Concrete Department, (iii) Light Weight Concrete Department and (iv) Steel Construction Department. The factory is a limited company with a paid-up share capital of Rs. 1 lakh of which 50 per cent is owned by the Government and the other half by the Indo-Scandinavian concern.

NATIONAL INSTRUMENTS FACTORY
(JADAVPUR, W. BENGAL)

The factory is rapidly being expanded for the manufacture of instruments for health, education, defence and other purposes. New schemes include manufacture of optical glass and a large range of precision instruments never manufactured before in the country.

Besides these, the Defence Ministry of the Government are also running a few big works, e.g., the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. at Bangalore, Prototype Machine Tool Factory at Ambarnath.

Under India's Second Five-Year Plan, three steel plants are to be set up, each with a million ton capacity. The one at Rourkela (Orissa) is being built up by the Germans. The second at Bhilai (Madhya Pradesh) by the Russians and the third at Durgapur (W. Bengal) by the British.

Apart from the Government of India, some of the State Governments have also started certain industrial enterprises of their own. The National Newsprint and Paper Mills Limited, which is mainly a Madhya Pradesh Government and Government of India's venture, has started producing newsprint of an acceptable quality. The mill has been producing about 400 tons of newsprint per month. The newsprint manufactured by the mill consists of 65 per cent mechanical pulp obtained from Sabai

collected from the nearby forests of Madhya Pradesh. For its chemical pulp it will be using bamboo sulphate. The mill's present production meets about 30 per cent of the country's annual requirements of newsprint and by the end of this year it would be able to meet 45 per cent of the total present requirements of India. Foreign exchange of the value of Rs. 20 million will thus be saved every year.⁴ Similarly, Uttar Pradesh Government is running a cement factory at Churk.

CAPITAL AND MANAGEMENT

Practically in all the democracies (particularly U. K., Norway and Sweden) where public enterprises have grown up, the problem of their management has occupied considerable attention in recent years. The problem has its different facets. There is, for instance, the question of Parliamentary control. There is then the question of audit control or financial accountability for public moneys. Both arise from the same democratic conception. An altogether different problem is one of internal management of State undertakings, the question whether undertakings should be run by civil servants or by business managers having practical knowledge of the execution of the business, and if by business managers, where and how to find them and to train them.

In U.K., with the development of State enterprises there developed an acute controversy on the question of Parliamentary control over these industries. Whereas a section of people alleged that little States had been created with large economic powers with the establishment of these nationalised undertakings, over which there was little parliamentary supervisor, there were others who claimed that in the interest of the tax-payer and the efficiency in management Parliament should exercise very little interference in the day-to-day working of these undertakings. Following this controversy, a Select Committee was appointed in 1953 to examine the problem. The Select Committee recommended the setting up of a Standing Committee of Parliament to supervise the working of nationalised industries. But no action on this recommendation is heard to have been taken by the Government so far. Similar questions have been debated in countries like Norway and Sweden.

With regard to public enterprises in India, it will be seen from the above, that in the case of some of them, the State alone has subscribed the whole capital (e.g., the Sindri Fertiliser Factory), in the case of a few others (e.g., Ship-building yard) both the State and the private indigenous capitalists have supplied the funds, then there are a few enterprises (e.g., Machine Tools Factory) in which the Government and the foreign capitalists have provided the capital. In order to impart flexibility and autonomy, the control and management of most of them, with the exception of the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works and the Perambur Coach Factory, has been transferred to private limited companies which have been formed for the purpose.

To ensure full accountability for the expenditure out of public revenues, unfettered scrutiny by the Comptroller and Auditor-General is essential. Nevertheless excessive scrutiny may often lead to timidity and unusual caution on the part of those charged with the management of industrial enterprises and may impair their initiative so very essential for the successful execution of a business. Some change, therefore, in the present audit procedure is required.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ESTIMATES COMMITTEE OF THE LOK SABHA

The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha, in its 16th Report, has made a number of sensible observations on the organisation of nationalised undertakings. Its principal recommendations are:

1. *Abolition of the Board of Directors*: While approving the joint stock company form of organisation for State undertakings, the Committee has candidly stated that the boards of directors, who are all nominated by the Government, perform no useful function whatsoever. The Committee suggests that these boards should be abolished. In the case of small undertakings, a managing director, it is stated, should be enough. Where large enterprises are concerned, it is proposed that there could be a board of managing directors, about 3 or 4 in number, including the chairman, depending on the size of the undertaking. Incumbents to these posts should be chosen on the basis of their experience in financial mat-

⁴ Hindustan Times, November 1, 1955.

ters and in the technical side of things. The Chairman and the members of such boards should work collectively and on a functional basis. This scheme to remove 'sleeping directorates' in the public sector is really praiseworthy, more so when the Government has enthusiastically pursued the reform of company management in the private sector. But it is feared that the adequate number of men meeting the specifications laid down by the Committee to man these reformed boards will be difficult to find.

2. *Constitution of an advisory body for the purpose of advising the managing director on various matters from time to time:* The advisory body should not have powers to decide matters of policy or to give orders to execute any of its directions. This body should be composed of representatives of business, labour, consumers and Parliament or local legislatures.

3. *"Direct relationship" between the Minister concerned and a State undertaking:* It is against encouraging the procedure whereby a State joint-stock company was treated as a department subject to the control of the Secretariat of the Minister.

4. *Regrouping of State undertakings, to*

be in charge of "more than one Minister": As the field of State activities expands and a large number of national undertakings come into being, it would be necessary to appoint more than one minister to be in charge of the national undertakings, which shall have to be grouped in due course according to broad classification of the commodities and products and other relevant considerations..

5. *A portion of share capital thrown open to the public:* The Committee recommends that at least 25 per cent of the share capital of joint stock companies running State undertakings should be available for subscription by the public. In so doing the Government should fix a ceiling on individual holdings of shares as also on any dividends that might be declared by such undertakings. This again is excellent advice, for the standards of management will then become amenable to the austere judgement of the market place and individual or group monopolies will be avoided.

6. *Setting up an Indian Commercial and Industrial Service,* for recruiting men experienced in business, commerce, industry and trade, for the management of State undertakings.

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AGRICULTURE IN THE RIGVEDA

By PROF. J. R. KAKDE, M.A.

THE story of agriculture is in fact the story of human civilization. The prehistoric invention of grain agriculture was one of the most important events in human history. Today we enjoy far more abundant crops from our superior varieties grown than did our Neolithic ancestors, to which period the origin of the rudiments of agriculture in Primitive Agriculture, as the Natural Husbandry Stage, is generally ascribed. The degree of this agricultural standard, however, varies from country to country under the varying impact of the nature of the prevailing civilisation contact. We find this wide gap between the Agriculture in India and the Western European countries, as well as in different parts of the various states of India. However, this present status has been the result of the gradual evolution in this sphere. It is a *fait accompli* that those who have reached a wide differentiating higher standard in any sphere show later on a comparatively slower rate of

further progress if not properly disciplined or regulated, while others taking advantage from them jump with leaps and bounds in competitive nature to come up to the level. India suffered the same fate in olden days when she was at the zenith of her civilization, acclaimed to be of a very high order in many spheres.

The main industry of the ancient Aryans was agriculture and there are frequent allusions to it in the Rig-Veda, the oldest Sanskrit text of India. Many Sanskrit scholars, Western and Oriental, tried in their own way to translate the hymns of the Rig-Veda and interpret the knowledge hidden therein. Even our ancient commentators, Sayana and Yaska, do not agree on the nature of interpretations of these most ancient compositions. In Rig-Veda itself (I.164.39) it is clearly mentioned that the understanding of the Vedic hymns is not a simple affair. The basic background of the interpreter makes all this difference.

Therefore, it is not expected that the Rig-Vedic interpretations by different persons will tally and the whole controversy of the antiquity of this great text and the type of the knowledge therein will end so soon.

There is a general slogan of the Western scholars that the story of the evolution of wheat is the story of the evolution of the human civilization. It is absolutely true of the Western World, but it does not at all apply either to India or to Oriental countries in general. The food crops often mentioned and prayed for are barley (Yava), generally translated as cereals, and rice (Dhanya, Dhana). It can be safely said from the present status and also from the post-Vedic and Epic literatures that the story of human civilization in India is the story of rice evolution, and if very ancient antiquity of the Rig-Veda is proved this will apply to the whole world at least till the beginning of the 18th century when the rise of the Western civilization started with the beginning of the industrial revolution in American and West European countries. The most common crop often mentioned in the Rig-Veda is barley, so much so that it got a place in Hindu rituals since then. It seems that barley cultivation marks the beginning of cultivation in the then Rig-Vedic cold (low temperate) climate (as supported by geological evidences) since rice could not get the same place of pride in Rig-Vedic social life of the Aryan community. Wheat (Godhum) is not mentioned in the Rig-Veda, which has been introduced later on during the Yajur-Veda period. Hence wheat has not followed the Aryan civilization as is the case with the western civilization. This fact has been completely overlooked by western authorities on Agriculture, while writing the history of Agricultural evolution. No mention of the Indian evolution in the agricultural field is found in books on "History of Agriculture." The attempts by the Oriental scholars show that direct references to agriculture are solely considered to reveal the general nature of the then agricultural conditions. Like different kinds of knowledge, it seems the 10th Mandala describes briefly that the history of agriculture gradually evolved and advanced from the time of the composition of the first or previous hymns or earlier to that, besides the state of knowledge advanced upto its own period.

The history of agriculture in Rig-Vedic India refers to N. W. India—the Sapta-Sindhu (Punjab) region with the adjoining areas of Afghanistan and Kashmir mostly and Peninsular and eastern India regions beyond the intervening seas (occupying the present Gangetic valley and mostly of Rajputana and Sindh regions) were not much known then. It is admitted that some of the hymns are very ancient, that different hymns were composed during different periods, thus giving reference to some previous times. In other words, from the Rig-Veda it is considered that some of the hymns addressed to certain deities had come down through ages to the Aryan descendants and recomposed in better language. There are some references to certain

previous deeds by some Rishis or Great persons. From this it is concluded that the work of Rig-Veda is a gradual composition of many (thousands of) years of human progress much before the generally considered period, giving a very ancient antiquity of the Rig-Veda and its culture. Secondly, the references to various other tribes (which may or may not be of the different original stock as is yet questioned) with varying nature of cultural development and opposed to the orthodox way of thinking and living (such people not classed as Arya-X.49.3, even though some of them call themselves Aryas) help to gain the knowledge of agricultural evolution. As per one trend of thought these are the Aryan tribes under different stages of development which probability is very clearly explained in 8 and 9 hymns of 117th Sukta of 10th Mandala. Even the Indus valley civilization, an outcome of Mohenjodaro Harappa-Roopad excavation, has been advocated vehemently, after 1950 particularly, as the one already finding its history in the Rig-Veda and allied to the Aryan type, on the basis of certain interpretations and similar findings in Hawaii Islands. Even if these still remain as controversial points, the Indra worship in the Rig-Veda gives a sufficient clue to the history of the Aryan Civilization and thereby the history of agricultural evolution. Broadly the Rig-Veda gives the picture of the Aryan development through Eolithic, Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Metal ages.

The whole Aryan Sapta-Sindhu society was 'not' peaceful to live in. The people were at different stages of development as it is found even today. The development of Indra cult by those who do help and protect agriculture (and hence all these people are called Arya) (and the reference to Indra's Vajra as made of stone, bone and iron or bronze) gives the different stages of agricultural history. Though primarily connected with atmospheric principles, Indra is finally considered as the supreme god doing the functions of other deities mentioned separately. As Indra and his Vajra went on from strength to strength at every modification of Vajra's material, so also there was the development in the Aryan culture from the early age to the metal age in different spheres. Indra with golden handled Vajra is described as famous from ancient times (X. 23), and Indra's greatness grows more and more due to his deeds (X.24.1), he is praised for the same (with iron vajra) in X. 84.3 with all eternal principles resting in him, and the earth and the sky as parts of his own body (X.54.3) and balancing them too (X.55.1). In such narrations the stagewise history of the development of various things can be searched, specially from the later neolithic stage of development or, agriculturally, the advanced primitive agricultural stage. Indra himself is the deity of later origin (a divine son of the former divine deities—Dyava and Prithvi). His Vajra, initially, was made of stone (11. 14. 6), of horse bone (1. 84. 13), of the leg end

of Dadhichi, and then of iron (as in 1st and 8th Mandalas). This three-stage division can be further had from other references (III. 32. 13; IV. 21. 5). The Indra cult is predominantly connected with the manifestations of the God of Rain, its related events dominating the whole Rig Vedic agriculture (as is the case even today in India) as a gamble on the rains.

Primitive Agriculture: Agricultural authorities begin this history when human being first started making use of fruits, tubers and roots in their daily diet, out of forced necessity and fortunate coincidences. This is naturally expected with the appearance of true man. This stage of evolution is considered to be at the end of the *Palaeolithic Age*. Even though Hindu philosophy says that like other creatures man was as such created by the creator, the form and general features from the first appearance of man have undergone many varied transformations since then as we know now (as well as as per Hindu thought) that every being in this universe is under the process of evolution (V. 19. 1). When this is the case it can be concluded that the beginning of agriculture starts with the end of the palaeolithic period, and the actual history of agriculture worth mentioning begins with the start of the *Mesolithic Age*. The *Neolithic Age* marks the full development of the primitive agriculture in its two stages—Natural Husbandry and the Naked fallow system, the first in its early stage, after passing through *Mesolithic Age*, and the latter in the later stage by the end of which the climax of primitive agriculture is expected to have been reached. The Rig-Veda gives the picture of these two stages of agriculture as expected during the *Neolithic Age*. However, the agricultural development does not strictly follow the divisions of cultural developments. The later part of the Naked fallow system can be said to mark the beginning of the Metal Age, i.e., when the primitive agriculture was approaching its climax the use of metal for different implements and other purposes had already begun in some form or the other. The accounts of various explorers of unapproached regions of the world for the last two centuries reveal this difference and the nature of the agriculture followed at various primitive stages. The primitive agriculture of the Aryans was cattle-dominating; it is proved from their domestication to their use as a unit of exchange for other things in the barter system of trade in the absence of metals.

(A) *Natural Husbandry*: This marks the beginning of the end of the *Palaeolithic Age*, extending through *Mesolithic* to early *Neolithic Age*. The agricultural implements were made of stones, to start with in the natural helpful forms, bones, and then the man-made stone implements were fashioned after the types of useful bones and hard wood, all tapering to a point and straight in the beginning but later on curved and of various shapes, with which the first primitive cultivator started digging and then turning the sod soils of river

banks. Indra's Vajra of stone and later on of horse-bone (from a divine horse) gives the same idea of the type of evolution. These very references also indicate that this is a pre-Rig-Vedic happening. The change-over from the hunting stage cannot be expected to that of sudden cultivation but to mere collection of naturally grown fruits and then grains. However, the domestication of animals must form the first step since they supplied easy meat whenever need be, besides the milk. Hence domestication of animals can be said to be the first step towards community living and settled life and then grain production to be an advance over the hunting stage by the end of the *Palaeolithic Age*. From here the idea of property possession, its protection and thereby need of community life for safety, arose. From the need of feeding these animals with the naturally available fodder man found it compelling to move from place to place in search of new areas for the purpose after short periods. This gives the rise of nomadic or moving life of the early agriculturist.

Owing to the usefulness of certain grains or fruits in human diet man found it more beneficial to try to produce them himself, make more use of the milk and preserve the animal more for meat purposes, only for occasional use, and absolutely for emergency (still hunting partly the wild animals for the purpose). This need created (a) selection of animal stocks into groups for milk and for meat predominantly, and (b) clearing up of some land occupied by other unwanted vegetation so that his selected vegetation for his grains could be grown and harvested. This sort of selective agriculture thus arose out of necessity probably through *Mesolithic Age* with the start of the *Neolithic Age* when partly settled life found its firm root. It also made man think more about certain animal classes from his stocks, and thus begins the thought of the piece of land for growing his crops. From the experience gained about the capacity of his land to produce the necessary quantity of grains for any particular period and his early affiliation with same sort of religious thought, the land worship before clearing and using it for the purpose might have started. This practice (IV. 57) is still observed in the nomadic tribes of India as well as even among the well-settled people in villages. Thus the origin of land worship, before starting agricultural operations, can be visualised among the Hindus. This new land opening from the forest stage is known by different names in different states, e.g., it is called *Bewar* by the Gond tribes of South Madhya Pradesh. The further modification arising out of need is the way to dispose of the cleared or felled vegetation from the land, and fire was helpful for quick result i.e. burning all vegetation on the land to be used for growing crops and then sowing the grains. This is called by some tribe in India as *Dhakia* and *Rabing*. Even then man had to shift from place to place after some years since by continuous cropping the land became much less

productive. Thus, this is the beginning of the first type of farming or cultivation, called now as *Skip* or *Shifting agriculture*, the feature of natural husbandry stage in Agriculture.

The start of the use of any manure and proper system of sowing other than broadcasting cannot be expected at the end of this stage. It is just possible the land-tillage started, during this stage with the help of a strong wooden piece or stone piece as the land digging with hand by individuals, and later on dragging for convenience by man himself. It is in this sense the first literary meaning of the word 'agriculture,' or *krisi* finds its origin. The picture of nomadic pastoral agriculture can be traced in the hymns of I. 42 and 53-58 mainly and in other scattered references.

The prayers for gift of cattle indicate the trend of mind of this early primitive stage. The use of tree bark and animal skin (hides) for clothing is a further evidence of such a stage. These clothings are even now considered fit for those denouncing this worldly civilised life and going back to the primitive way of living with naturally growing fruits, tubers, roots, etc., as articles of food. The hymns (IV. 57 to 3) dedicated to the supposed Lord of Field (and not Indra) are a pointer to this stage whose advanced nature is revealed from the hymns (I. 42. 1-10) by the dominance of pastoral agriculture of the nomadic advanced cultivators. The *Pusan* deity is invoked to lead them to good green pastures in their advent to new regions without any troubles from the people committing outrages by intercepting their journeys. Forest clearance by trees and later on burning (mentioned as shaving of the earth) to gain new agricultural lands is mentioned in X. 112. 4. The indirect evidence of land burning due to heat of the summer is in I. 164. 44 wherein the importance of different seasons in agriculture is explained. These give the picture of early nomadic Aryan agriculturists. The whole Sukta (X. 142) indicates that the land (grass or forest) after burning of the vegetation becomes fertile—fit for the better growth of the desired vegetation. The people used to live in forest areas with huts and their cattle freely grazing and with ample wholesome delicious forest fruits naturally grown and sufficient for a long period without taking troubles to cultivate as the necessity exists in regular settled life (x. 146.). This is the picture of nomadic agriculturists. Because of this natural gift from forests a forest-deity (Vanadevi) came to be worshipped during this stage for maintenance and safety of the man and his domesticated animals. The land after vegetation burning became fertile for the production of other plants (X. 142) and from this the act of fertilizing soil with ash might also have been picked up by man at that time as an advancement in the stage of manuring.

Brîmati is said to have ploughed the land by yoking wolves, for the benefit of his devotee named Manu

(VIII. 22.6) in ancient times. This gives the nature of a crude type of ploughing which began under a comparatively wild state of living, i.e. nomadic stage when man had begun to learn the art of agriculture; and that this condition existed in very old times as the prehistoric Manu is mythologically considered to have made the beginning of human race and culture on this earth. Manu was taught the art of sowing (I. 112. 16), the Aryans the art of ploughing (I. 117. 21) by Asvins who also give rains. These are different from the allusions attached to Indra and other plough references (IV. 57; X 101. 3 and 4) which speak of furrow drawing, drawn by bullock pairs, and not horses, producing a picture of almost the present day local Indian plough. This improved edition of plough and the art of line sowing against broadcast-sowing can be expected as the climax of the later primitive stage gradually developed.

(B) *Naked-Fallow System*: The very name 'Arya' means 'cultivator' (a regular settled cultivator and not the nomadic cultivator) being derived from a root meaning 'to cultivate.' The reference to 'Indra's Vajra' as made of horse-bone marked the beginning of this stage which is considered to start with the improvement of the practices in the previous stage leading to help the settled life. The reference of Asvins (I. 11. 7. 21) for teaching the art of ploughing and sowing in contrast to Indra in similar and other respects indicates that Asvins were the deities of Agriculture prior to the development of Indra Cult. And since, the development of the importance of drought and rains and their relation with agricultural produce marks the need only of the settled agricultural life and that this importance is given to Indra as evidence from many Rig-Vedic hymns, the Asvins-cult begins with the beginning of this stage when the cultivator is changing from nomadic life to settled agriculture with the preliminary knowledge of ploughing and sowing. The Indra cult is the final or climax period of this stage when the cultivator became a completely settled regular agriculturist with advanced knowledge of ploughing and sowing. There is a definite need of ploughing the land to produce food in such a case as opposed to naturally available food in forest for a pretty long period—a picture clearly depicted in X. 146. It is in this final period of the stage that the people called 'Arya' came to be distinguished from the unsettled agriculturists still in the nomadic stage and becoming a regular nuisance to the settled agriculturists. As such they might have been named differently. The emphasis on deity shifted from Pusan of Nomads to Asvins of early settling, and further to Indra in settled agriculture by the end of this stage. The fallowing of land during this stage, may be at any interval, can surely be developed as the result of their experience gained in shifting agriculture during the previous stage, since land's productivity

is reduced by constant cropping without any other considerations after some years.

It is in this settled stage that the beginning of rapid strides in the advancement of agricultural methods can be expected. It is here that further increased values of domesticated animals, cows and bullocks, can be visualised as a grave necessity because of their indispensability for dung manure, milk and draught for agricultural implements. A development of cart and other useful agricultural tools and implements was rapidly taking place for the ease and security of agricultural mode of life, and cowherds were becoming more and more important. And it is in this latter stage of primitive agriculture cow-cult and later on Indra-cult (by end of this stage) probably took their birth. Some of the Rig-Vedic hymns show the greed of the Aryans for cattle possession, even by indulging in praise (VI. 53. 4, VI. 56. 5) with prayers offered to Pusan for success. This clearly indicates that those Aryans were in the later primitive agricultural stage (not towards its end) when animals were still considered a great property and the Aryans had not yet become fully peaceful and settled people. As well, other prayers are for the gift of cattle. The prayers for the possession of good grasslands with common grazing and common cattle pens or open sheds give the same dominating idea of the advancing primitive agriculture with much greater safety involving less endeavour on the part of man. The barter system of trading with cow as a unit of exchange shows that the Aryans had not then crossed the neolithic age and hence the early agricultural periods. Kine were exchanged for some plant, food-grains, garments, and even brides. Therefore, the possession of cattle denoted wealth, an idea which still persisted in the traditional agricultural stages even till today among the Hindus. Therefore, it is natural that pastoral nature of agriculture, with stock-raising as the main type of farming was the dominant feature of Rig-Vedic agriculture in general and for good pasture lands the need of rainfall (sufficient and at necessary intervals) gave importance to the deity (here, Indra) supposed to have control on rainfall and its distribution. Also, it is by the end of this stage that idea of pronouncing cow as well as cattle in general as "aghnya" arose for the first time due to their varied usefulness, which is found more rigorously advocated during the next stage even though killing them for sacrifice, etc., was not totally stopped by the Aryans (VI. 28, X. 169, X. 19.).

As H. C. Wells says in his *Outline of World History* (p. 77) :

"(Neolithic) men were becoming aware that personally they needed protection and direction, cleaning from impurity, power beyond their own strength. Confused by and in response to that demand, bold, wise, shrewd and cunning men were arising to become magicians, priests, chiefs and Kings."

So the idea of secure community life and invoking

of some divine power or powers originated in general, and naturally of agriculture too, as man advanced towards a more settled life and required peace in his life. The various sky principles became the deities for the protection of these settled agriculturists, and thus with the supreme importance of Indra, the rain-god and other related meteorological principles started in their culture and life.

(The hymns dedicated to the supposed Lord of the Field (IV. 57. 1 to 3) indicate the advanced stage of primitive agriculture when settled life had become the order of the day, with the thought of the cultivator diverted towards certain principles of crop husbandry. The other hymns in the same Sukta show that Indra cult had started with some definite advanced nature of agricultural practices marking the climax of this stage and fusing into the start of the traditional agriculture.) The whole importance centres round the plough affair and cattle-rearing, the deities being broadly invoked to bestow happiness. The same trend is observed in the hymns of x. 101. And by then the horse still finds place in the agricultural work of carting harvested produce (x. 101. 7), a custom finding no place in the later Indian traditional agriculture. The hymns (x. 19. 4, 5, 8), which mention of common cowherd and the nature of tending the cattle for grazing, show that people had then started settling or had just started settled agricultural life with cattle as their mainstay. All these various hymns indicate the danger to the cattle of the cultivators, the greatest importance attached to the cattle and the beginning of agriculture on a sort of co-operative basis.

The sowing method can be expected to be broadcasting to start with, persisting in this stage in earlier periods, and with mixed cropping as originating under natural conditions. It is only the need of varied produce and higher produce for maintenance which can divert the settled cultivator to select the components of his crop-mixture for the best results and also to think of pure crop sowing as a better way of sowing and to discard or remove the unwanted plants (weeds) —all of which seem to gain their origin during this stage and the cultural practices following nature reaching their climax under the prevailing forced agricultural conditions. It is only in their attempt for survival that this settled man might have thought of tapping and thinking of probable, varied and many natural causes or principles limiting the results of his sweat. The legend of failure of Indra in completely defeating the Aryans' enemies with his Vajra made of horse bone, or on its pattern, is indicating this thought under development for fuller grasp of the various aspects of rainfall. The other sky deities are considered separately as Indra's great friends in supporting him in his attempts to give prosperous agriculture to his agricultural devotees. The importance of food derived from land, given in I/187, clearly indicates that they were producing varied, many and quality (for nutrition)

foodgrains. The initial attempt under these early circumstances can be of producing these many articles on one's own land with varying acreage as per needs as well as producing them as mixed sown crops as best as they can, since early sowing cannot be expected as pure crop sowing as the man was learning, to start with, from the natural existing conditions. The cult of considering bullocks, like cows, as unslaughterable and even if done so considering the act as telling on one's power or energy (X. 28. 11) can only be developed in this initial settled agricultural stage when domesticated animals were found indispensable for agricultural operations. Sun-god is intimately connected with agriculture with whose help one can possess cows and family happiness and not by gambling (X. 34. 13). The necessity of rain for good growth of food crops (X. 43. 7) might have been fairly understood during this stage, and further grave experiences of total dependence on this necessity might have created the thought of supplementing or making up the deficiency by artificial watering which thought gets its practical application in the next stage when better methods of cropping for higher food production find their natural start.

Sukta 102 of 10th Mandala gives a picture of the settling or just settled society, which is still not peaceful to live in. The enemies are some Aryan tribes as well as non-Aryans. The importance is on bulls which were a symbol of strength, there are constant conflicts for the possession of land and cows. All these things mentioned in this sukta are of this earlier stage. Use of bullock-carts had started. Even the furrow created by the plough is prayed for good yields (IV. 57. 6). Along with Pusan deity of the early cultivators Indra also is being considered another deity connected with agriculture as will be clear from the following translation :

"May Indra accept this Furrow; may Pusan lead her onwards. May she be filled with water, and yield us corn (food crops in general) year after year." (IV. 57. 7).

The last part refers to the maintenance of soil fertility for crop production for years to come, and by that the permanent nature of settled agriculture. Gradually Indra gained predominance because of the most intimate relation of water with settled agriculture and Pusan as the supposed Lord of the Field, and Vanadevi, Goddess of the Forest, were left mostly for those who still practised natural husbandry and lived in jungle areas, only as remnant for others. Thereafter the struggle for acquiring new grassland area, for cattle as well as good arable land, started in which Indra and Agni (or Agni's any other form) deities came into utmost prominence. The discussion (X. 109) between Sarama, a female agent of the cultivators, and Pani, a less religious and boasting people of other tribe, refers to this type of struggle for the fertile grasslands in the plateau regions.

Traditional Agriculture : During this period the Vedic myths seem to have taken deep roots and spread

rapidly as the necessity for peaceful life grew stronger. It is during this stage, the Rig-Vedic agricultural village was completely self-sufficient, supplied with all normal wants of the inhabitants. Most of the agricultural references depict the picture of this traditional agriculture, gradually evolved and finally attaining a high standard. The same led to various speculations freely discovering new ways and techniques giving rise to various branches of arts and sciences, and interpretation of correlation for harmony was sought to be established between cause and effect to enable them to reveal the various manifestations of natural events and principles. This gave the beginning of shaking off the absolute dependence on nature alone. The various hymns in IV. 57 indicate the general standard of agriculture towards the end of the primitive agriculture as well as giving the beginning of the traditional agriculture with certain definite agricultural practices. The Indra God is the strongest. So also do the hymns in X. 101. In both these suktas the importance of the praise of different deities for different aspects in the natural way, not beyond broad preliminary operations, for final harvests is still a dominating feature. But even then the idea of the natural principles involved in agriculture seems to have definitely started, this is also clear from the same hymns. The use of leather bucket (moat) for water lifting marks the beginning (X. 101). The crude Persian wheel (X. 93. 13) marks the intermediate period of this advancement, and the canal irrigation (X. 99. 4) marks the great advancement of this stage. The principles of weeding and drilling (line sowing) were now well understood. Gradually the emphasis has been shifted from only the pastoral type to the arable type, and finally it became a good example of the mixed farming. The idea of individual ownership developed as against the corporate agricultural life in the previous stages, so also the idea of the proper valuation of goods (IV. 24. 9) with certain types of currency, finally coming to the actual gold pieces (V. 27. 2, etc). Even then the co-operation in agricultural aspects was still a dominating feature in some form or the other on the basis of a village common, specially cattle grazing, as found today also in the case of villages in and round about the forest areas. Indra's Vajra is made of iron, all the eternal natural principles rest in him and because of his previous and future meritorious deeds he becomes the leader of the Aryans (X. 48. 3).

(A) *Legume Rotation Stage* : The nature of relation of heat (summer and winter season) with rainfall giving clouds, explained figuratively as those of cows and cowherds and requesting Indra to turn these cows (rain clouds) for man's happiness (X. 19) indicates the beginning of early meteorological knowledge and with it the beginning of this agricultural stage. The Aryans had by then fully settled, thinking of the prosperity of this life but still with the strings of primitive agriculture in livestock dominance in their

agricultural pursuits. The principles of crop production were being visualised (I. 121. 15) for the first time as connected with Indra and agricultural land was now being considered as Mother and human beings as her children entitled to enjoy her milk (produce from the land) as a result of for *upasana*—cultivation. These considerations can start only when the balance of agriculture is being gradually shifted from stock-farming alone to arable farming as well. The 101 Sukta of the 10th Mandala speaks about shallow water-table well from which water is lifted by moat (leather bucket) for horses of warriors meant for cow protection. This importance to cows during the period, when iron was in use along with water-lifting appliances, can be said to be only of this early traditional stage when cattle maintenance was still a dominating feature. The same watering arrangement is asked for bullocks employed in ploughing the land in which later on seeds are sown, etc. But no clear indication is given of this water lifting for any irrigation at all. The picture of advanced people in other aspects but still maintaining their high attachment to cattle wealth, fear of non-religious people and other things mentioned can be considered to indicate this early stage of traditional agriculture (VIII. 5).

It cannot be asserted that a rotation of crops is mentioned in the Rig-Veda. The reference to Indra and Pusan together to help in ploughing and growing corn in such ploughed lands year after year (IV. 57. 7) shows that—by the far end of the later primitive stage continuous cropping was still a practice without regard to crop rotation. Various cereals grown include pulses (legume crops) as fruits and vegetable were also grown for food. The weeding and line-sowing of crops (X. 131. 2) are practices which have their origin in the early traditional stage and are gradually, undergoing the process of perfection. "The cultivator harvesting the sown barley (crops in general) separately and in due order."—This has been interpreted variously by different translators—broadly, giving the idea (1) of crop sequence or rotation, and (2) line sowing and avoiding weeds during harvest. Sowing in furrows prepared by a plough (plough as drill) is referred to in IV. 57. taking these two references together it is concluded that (1) orderly harvesting is due to line sowing, and (2) separately harvesting the sown crop is for avoiding the weed mixture growing in the field (and thereby giving the importance of weeding in field crops). The perfect understanding of their importance reaches a climax at this stage and is the beginning of the later following stage. Similar to the practice of naked-fallow rotation of fields in the later primitive agriculture, resulting out of necessity in settled life, and the experience gained in the nomadic stage, the rotation of legume and non-legume crops is the resultant of mixed cropping, the climax of the second stage, through the

experience gained leading to the beginning of the traditional agriculture during which period most of the principles of agronomy found their start and in the process developing to a sufficiently high degree of perfection.

(B) *Field-Grass Husbandry*: The whole philosophy of Aditi (the eternal and inviolable principle), along with several deities as sons of Aditi having a solar character, seems to mark the development of this stage when man has progressed sufficiently to a settled peaceful life. The earlier gods of the sky (prominently, Dyau, Varuna, Mitra, Indra, Maruta) find their relations better understood and are in a wider compass linked up with the Aditi principle; they lose their previous independent importance vastly developing the ideas of astronomy, meteorology and geology (origin of universe). *Purusa Sukta* (X. 90) explaining the evolution gives the relation of various arts and sciences in human welfare. We find in their explanations the relations with agricultural enterprises have clearly developed but the actual improvement in the crop husbandry proper seems to have progressed a lesser degree. The thought of land improvement for better produce is much advanced (VI. 47. 21-28) but the same for crop improvement and the rotational side, and for soil fertility maintenance has not probably received much attention, even though this aspect might have been understood as expected normally. The great importance given to food quantity in *Anna Sukta* (I/187) can only be the outcome of the traditional stage and more specially of its later part when arable farming had developed equal importance along with stock farming. The various attributes for a good farmer stated in X. 101. 4 indicate by themselves the well advanced agricultural standard attributed to this agricultural stage, as we know that agriculture is not the concern of the fool of the family. The praise of land, bullocks, seeds and peasants in various hymns, considering the same as pillars of agriculture, clearly indicates that the balance has now shifted to arable farming, crop-husbandry with different types of field grasses (non-leguminous) for food and fodder being considered for the dual purpose of man and animal (X. 27. 8). It is not yet of the present-day-type perfect convertible husbandry. However, now the cultivator as well as the agricultural profession receives the most respectable position in the society. It is during this stage both arable and stock farming get equal importance along with the development of the best type of balancing mixed farming, and as such now Indra is invoked for a boon of plenty in both pursuits (X. 42. 7).

The Indra cult has taken very deep roots during this stage, since all meritorious past and future deeds are attributed to him in whom all the eternal universal principles are considered to rest (X. 48. 3). Now he is armed with iron-vajra. All wealth (*Divyadhana*) is

attributed to this source (X. 48. 5). In different Rig-Vedic translations Yava is translated often as corn or cereals (or grain crops), even though it literally refers to barley. If this is to be taken as a generalised term then the field grasses were very well understood both for grain and fodder purposes. Barley is being equally used as a cultivated fodder grass in Western and American countries and it is not unnatural that the Aryans who were still continuing their attachment to cattle might be using this cultivated barley either in the field stage itself as green fodder for their cattle or as grain for human beings and its straw and bhusa for cattle (X. 27. 8) since these food crops are after all grasses (X. 27. 9). The importance of food gift (X. 117) and worth of vegetables for sacrifice meaning that vegetarian diet should be preferred to non-vegetarian i.e., animal food, can alone be developed during this agricultural stage when food crops were sufficiently produced for maintenance of life. The idea of good soil management for better harvests (V. 47. 21 to 28) can be attributed to this stage only (in which Indra answers to the question related to soil improvement). Likewise, the knowledge of other various sciences applied in agriculture is the outcome of the traditional period and their higher standard is the product of more peaceful and advanced society with this later stage.

The Rig-Veda thus finally gives the picture of a well settled traditional agricultural economy with a self-sufficient agricultural village. The Aryans were sufficiently advanced, at this fourth stage, in arable farming even though the advancement in social and other scientific aspects was of much higher order. The various references to cattle as wealth, to cattle lifting, their loot, pillage, etc., indicate that the mixed farming which followed stock-farming had a much superior status. The arable farming was probably limited to a much smaller area of greater fertility in river valleys whose people showed greater cultural advance while other people (with their primitive type agriculture) were still in perpetual conflict with this more advanced settled section of the people who were rapidly advancing towards urban economy and greater dependence on agricultural industry. It is this settled society people who indulged in speculations about cosmic forces by which they were surrounded and discovered their intimate relations with them through which the knowledge of various sciences applied to agriculture could be known. Of the two main branches of farming, stock-farming is

frequently mentioned, directly as well as figuratively, while crop farming is much less mentioned. However, these scattered references supplemented by the interpretations of other references show that most of the principles of crop husbandry were well understood by the climax-stage of the Rig-Vedic period. And finally a brief picture of the *Sapta Sindhu* Aryan's agricultural prosperity can be had from the hymn, meaning "The Sindhu is rich in horses, rich in chariots, rich in clothes, rich in gold ornaments, well-made, rich in food, rich in wool, ever-fresh, abounding in Silama plants, the auspicious river wears honey-growing flowers." (Wilson, X. 75. 8).

It is thus clear that the Agricultural development had progressed gradually through natural conditions and reached a sufficiently high standard under artificially controlled conditions. The references for food, food from soil, soil to give food, point towards grain or arable farming; and references to cow, cow care, milk and use and importance of milk products are for stock farming. And finally the advice (V. 34. 13.) to desist from gambling and take up agriculture and keep cows in the house for complete happiness, clearly indicates the importance of both in agriculture, i.e., mixed farming should be the rule in agriculture for the best result. All such references clearly indicate that arable farming was equally important and as such it will be wrong to say that Rig-Vedic people were mainly pastoral, but that they valued *mixed farming* greatly, the farming now advocated as best for the welfare of any nation, the medium of production of food for man and animal. Indra is invoked (X. 42. 7.) to give plenty in both grain food and milk food derived from the cow and to give fertile soils for the purpose (referred elsewhere). The present trend is towards cultivated grasses (in any pattern). It is but natural that the modern standard could not be expected then but the fact remains that the importance of mixed farming was well understood.

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CAPE COMORIN

The Land's End of India

By MANIK LAL MUKHERJEE

A journey to Cape Comorin, the farthest point to the south of India, specially from Calcutta, is really an adventure in itself. There the Bay of Bengal and the vast Arabian Sea meet and flow as the great Indian Ocean. The three different colours of the waters of the three seas become apparent to the eyes of the inquisitive tourist at sunrise and sunset, which a traveller may chance to miss if the sky is cloudy which is generally the case here during the months of October and November. To reach Cape Comorin the tourist from Calcutta has got to catch the Trivandrum Express at Madras which leaves Madras at night and reaches Trivandrum just at candle-light the next day. There is also an aerodrome at Trivandrum very near the sea-beach, and travel by air is also comfortable up to Trivandrum.

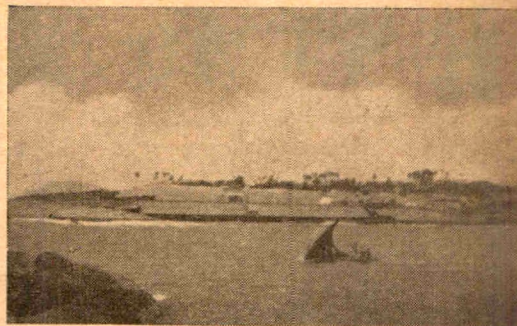


Devi Kumari, Cape Comorin

Trivandrum is the capital city of Travancore-Cochin. On the 25th of September, 1955, we left for Cape Comorin at one o'clock by a special bus reserved for us for convenience of journey. Of course, there are public buses too, the fare from Trivandrum to Cape Comorin being Rs. 2-8 by Express Bus.

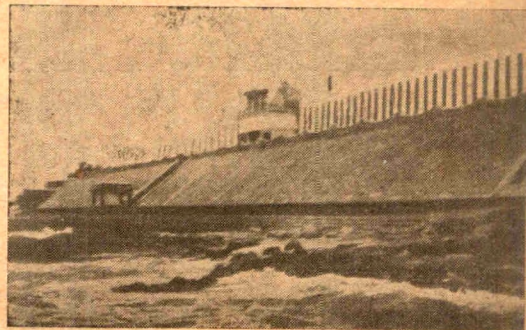
We drove through valleys up and down shadowed by cocoanut groves on all sides. The hamlets on the roadside looked very neat and clean. We found no bushes anywhere. The scenery around looked charm-

ing indeed. As the bus trekked its speedy way over zigzag concrete roads up and down the valleys overgrown with cocoanut groves with minglings of palm, mango and fur trees, for the first time we saw tapioca plantations. Tapioca is widely cultivated in Travancore-Cochin. It looks like a papaya tree with a lean and thin stem. It has herbaceous roots which are succulent. The root is dried, powdered and eaten



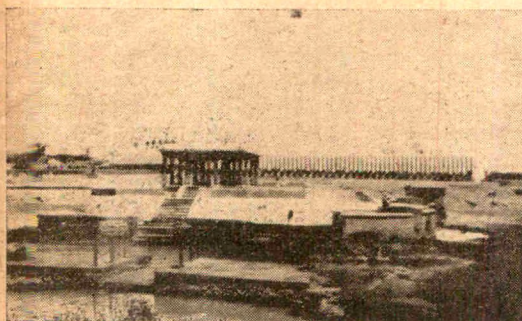
The Temple at the Land's End, Cape Comorin

as a substitute for rice by the poor. To me Travancore looked partly like Bengal and partly like the Santhal Parganas. The soil appeared vermilion-red at most places. I was told that Travancore is blessed by two monsoons a year, once between May and July and again between October and November. The latter comes from the North-East of Travancore (Cape Comorin) and I was told by Sri P. S. Kukalaya, Chief Inspector of Factories and Boilers, Travancore-Cochin, that only a third of the area, that is up to Quilon, is blessed by this monsoon.



The Temple, Cape Comorin

As we drove through avenues of cocoanuts, rains set in so much so that at places the bus had to negotiate pools of rain water with which the highways were logged up. We felt as if we were in Bengal. The peculiarity of Travancore rains is that it is seldom deep and continuous and as such it is called the rain-shadow.



Bathing Ghat, Cape Comorin

People seemed to greet us from doorsteps with smiles as we drove through hamlets. Though most of the houses had brick- or stone-built walls all of them had thatched roofs. The dried coconut leaves were very decently dressed for thatching as it appeared to our eyes.

Not very far from Cape Comorin (scarcely some eight to nine miles) stands the holy temple of Suchindram in the vicinity of which is a natural Salt Factory which we visited with interest. Salt, we saw, was being manufactured there by the method of evaporation through condensers, salt water being allowed to accumulate in low-lying beds at first.



Swami Vivekananda Rock, Cape Comorin

Here we had our afternoon tea and my friend Sri S. K. Nath of the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, took some photographs himself and had some of his likenesses taken by me.

As we approached Cape Comorin we found that there was a scarcity of coconut trees and a vast area looked arid and barren but for some nursery gardens under State enterprises.

When we arrived within a mile of Cape Comorin we saw brick-built houses and *dharmasalas* (as is common in holy places in India) but the most majestic building on the shore is the Cape Hotel. It was then 5 P.M. but the sky remained cloudy and occasional drizzles poured over our heads as we were standing on the sea-shore. There we were practically besieged by sellers of conch-shells who placed their varied articles before us till they were besieged by eager purchasers like ourselves who, though very few in number, all gathered on the sea-shore. Sri Nath and I myself stood in silence within the closest reach of the waves till we found that dashing waves at last calmly kissed our feet and retired from the shores, and our joy knew no bounds as we began to play with the frolicking waves. Sri Nath said, "Take my photo as the waves kiss my feet please, Mukherjee." I smiled, waited for the opportunity and at last caught him in the camera with dexterity if I may say so. To our great dismay we missed the beautiful sunset



Sun-rise, Cape Comorin

(not to speak of sunrise) as the sky remained cloudy till nightfall. The best thing for a tourist is to stay at Cape Hotel one night and see sunrise and sunset the next day, but we could not do so under pressure of official business.

Leaving my friend Sri Nath to have his own way with his camera I sauntered along the sea-shore in search of the holy temple of Kanya Kumari. After a walk of some ten minutes or so I came to the temple where I found some of our fellow-travellers including Sri S. N. Sen Gupta (Technical Advisor, Boilers, Government of India), and Sri M. N. Kale (Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply). Sri H. G. Chaoji (Chief Inspector of Boilers, Madhya Pradesh) was then seen returning with his wife after a sacred bath in the temple. But the Cape Hotel has within its own enclosures very excellent arrangement for a bath; the charge levied for a bath is two annas only.

When we expressed our intention to enter the temple we were informed unless we bared up our body and put on a loin-cloth around our waist we

cannot do so. As most of us were with trousers on we felt dejected but I found out a means as a solution. One of the priests being requested lent us a loin-cloth for which he was paid back along with the cloth itself. We bared up our body, put on the loin-cloth around our trousers and entered the temple one by one. Charmed already as we had been with the majestic view of the temple which has stood for centuries we were much impressed as we got into the temple full of perfumed incense and were blessed with the glimpse of Devi Kumari. None are allowed to get near to the deity and I was told that there are three diamonds on the sacred body of the deity, one being just on her forehead.



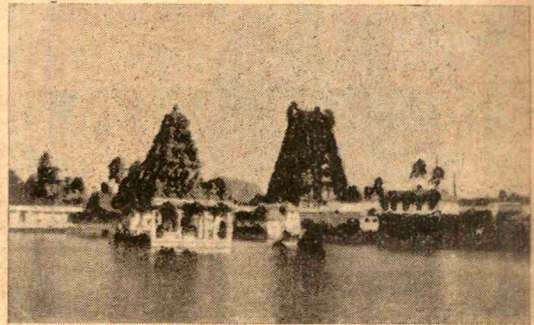
Sun-set, Cape Comorin

The temple escaped the ravages of foreign invaders (all temples in Southern India are marked by such ravages) because of its unique position. It stands as it does surrounded on the East by the Western Ghats and on the West by the vast seas, namely, the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal having their confluence in the Indian Ocean. There is no harbour nor could we find any ship or boat but only the waves roared and rolled in beautiful bounds. We had some purchases of curios in the temple-shops and I went round the temple surrounded on three sides by three

seas as it was. The sea-view was really enchanting and I scarcely felt any inclination to quit. In silence I stood gazing at the dancing waves of the Bay which only reminded me of the broadmindedness of Bengal itself which is eager to embrace all India like the Bay of Bengal even a thousand miles away from Calcutta.

Some snapshots are published which I am sure will prove to be of some interest to my readers and for which I am vastly indebted to my dear friend Sri S. K. Nath, my constant companion on tours.

As I have said already the pilgrim or tourist from Calcutta has got to come up to Madras by train or plane as the case may be. If he intends to travel by



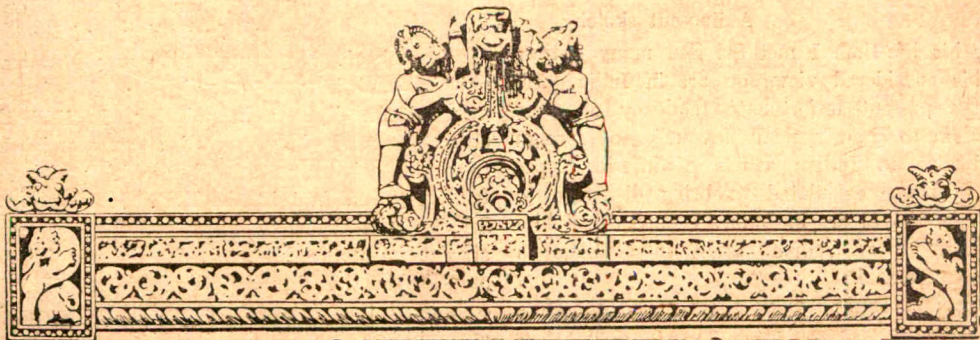
The Ancient Temple, Suchindram

rail the Trivandrum Express leaving Madras (Egmore) at 20-25 hours will reach him to Trivandrum the next evening. Trivandrum to Cape Comorin is a distance of some 54 miles by road and there are ample conveyance for the journey. Calcutta to Cape Comorin is a journey of 1,598 miles by rail and road.

We bade goodbye to Cape Comorin at about 7 o'clock in the evening and came back to Trivandrum at about 10 o'clock in the night.

Cape Comorin will and still lives in my mind. India has her panorama all around.

(Photographs: Courtesy of Hari Kumari Arts).



THE LATE LALIT MOHON SEN

A Tribute

By M. R. SEN

In the death of Sri Lalit Mohon Sen, Principal of the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, India has lost a great artist. The late Sri Sen although a product of the West blended the Indian subjects with Western realism in a manner which is remarkable indeed. By nature Sri Sen was shy and unassuming. He shunned publicity. If he loved anything passionately it was the silent work of art which he practised in various spheres for about forty years. His grasp of the details of his art was complete. Looking at most of his works we find the stamp of vigour, honesty and forcefulness of a vital personality.

Referring to Dr. Abanindranath Tagore and his disciples Sri Sen remarked :

"Abanindranath is a great artist in the true sense of the term. He is also a great teacher. His approach to art is rational and initiative. Therefore in his work we find all the qualities of drawing, composition, colour and his particular mode of expression."

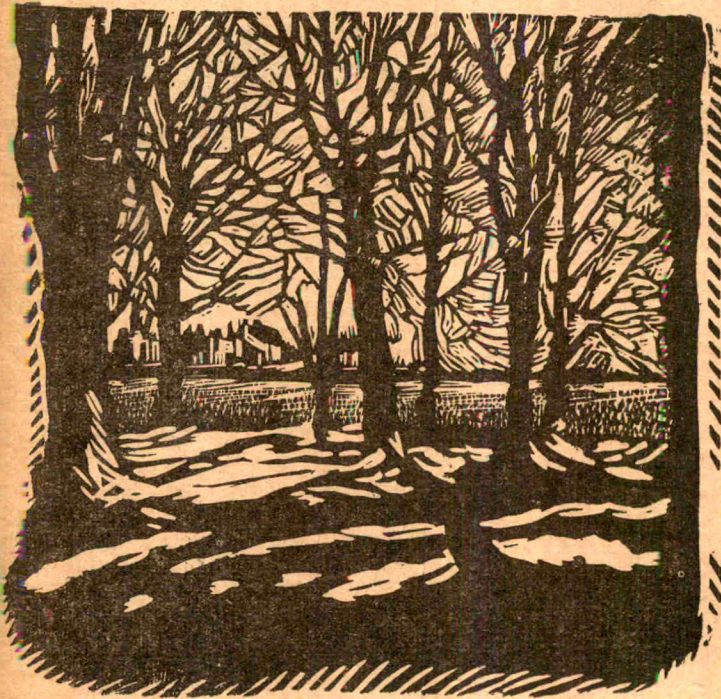
Sri Sen told me in the course of discussion that the present-day followers of Abanindranath Tagore lacked these essential qualities of their revered Guru. He added :

"I find that those who profess to belong to Tagore school of arts do not study drawing in the same manner their master did. Their chief defect lies in the fact that they draw inspiration from somebody else's painting and drawing without studying the nature properly."

HIS WORK AND LIFE-SKETCH

Lalit Mohon Sen was born in 1900 at Santipur (Nadia) in the district of Bengal. In his boyhood he was of indifferent health. In 1911, while a boy of eleven he came to Lucknow for a change. In the same year he got himself admitted into the Queen's High School, Lucknow. He had particular aptitude for drawing and painting and soon he found school-life uninteresting. In 1912, the Government School of Arts and Crafts was started in Lucknow. Lalit Mohon, a boy of 12, joined the Art school along with ten others on the very first day of the opening

of the school. He completed five years' course in painting and he was one of the first batch to be awarded the diploma in painting. In 1918, the U.P. Government specially opened a commercial art class to absorb Sri Sen as a teacher which position he held for five years. In 1923, the U.P. Government awarded Sri Sen the first technical scholarship for higher studies in art in England. He joined the school of painting in the Royal College of Arts, London. He completed the diploma course within two and a half years before the scheduled period and thus obtained the Associateship of the Royal College of Arts. He was also awarded a special certificate in wood-engrav-



A lino-cut sketch

During his life-time I met Sri Sen many a time to know his considered views on art in India. He criticised the present unfortunate tendency of some of our leaders to show special "favour" to foreign artists and also to Indian artists of inferior types which he said was calculated to bring disrepute to the fair name of real art in India. I once asked him his opinion about an Indian artist and about a foreign artist. He said :

"Artists in Europe work silently and therefore most of their works are creative. To them art is a religion. In India, unfortunately, our artists talk much and work less."



Boatman's wife, Srinagar
(A pencil sketch)



Joonkiri—a pahari girl
(Red-chalk drawing)

ing. His merit was appreciated by the late Sir William Rothenstein, the then Principal and Professor of Painting of the Royal College of Arts who allowed him as a special case to sit for the diploma six months earlier.

On return to India in 1920 he was appointed Superintendent of Drawing Teachers' Training of the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, which post was also created only to engage him. In 1928, he was awarded the Government of India scholarship along with three others out of an All-India competition for the decoration of India House, London, where he went for the purpose of mural decoration of the walls of India House. During this trip he visited all the important art centres of Europe for the purpose of studying the old methods of Fresco painting in different techniques. During his stay in England for four years his paintings were exhibited in various exhibitions. Perhaps he was the first Indian artist whose pictures at the Royal Academy of Arts were purchased by Queen Mary. He was, perhaps, the first Indian artist whose beautiful water colour painting entitled *The Queen of the Hills* was published by the Fine Art Society, London, who sold signed proofs of 100 copies at £2 and 2d each. It was so much appreciated that the whole edition was sold out within three months in London alone. Be-

sides, the publisher had to bring out a cheaper edition of 300 copies which were sold in provincial towns. This was a recognition which was not probably given to any Indian artist.

On his return to India in 1932 he worked in various capacities at the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow. After several promotions he became the Principal.

Besides painting Sri Sen also practised in wood-engraving in which he was a leader in the country. Two of his wood-engravings—portraits of Gandhiji and Rabindranath—were acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museums, London, as far back as 1920. He has also produced some very good stone-carvings, wood-carvings and modelling. He also specialised himself in etching, lithography and photography. Besides practising all branches of arts and crafts, Sri Sen devoted himself mostly to painting of portraits in pastels and drawing out typical heads in crayon. His finished paintings are marked by a remarkable rendering of mellow highlights and judicious shades. Most of the landscapes painted by him are renderings of typical Indian scenes. Sri Sen was fond of making holidays in remote and picturesque corners of the country and all the time he returned with beautiful sketches and line drawings.

—:O:—

WANDERING BLACKSMITHS OF RAJASTHAN

By MANOHAR PRABHAKAR, M.A.

SCATTERED over many parts of Rajasthan and its adjoining States for the last 350 years or more are to be found the most interesting nomadic tribe of wandering blacksmiths or the *gadulya lohars* as they are popularly known. These people have no houses, nor even tents; their only shelter is their open carts, beneath which they huddle in sunshine or rain, on the out-skirts of a town or near a well in a Rajasthan village. They park their bullock-carts with their men, women and children in shabby dress and go about attending to the day-to-day routine, preparing knives, tongs, scissors, sickles, axes, bolts and nails, etc.

ORIGIN

The story of Gadulya Lohars is traced back to the fall of the fort of Chitor in 1568 which was invaded by the imperial army of Akbar. Their forefathers, when driven from their houses at the sack of Chitorgarh in the former Mewar State, took a vow that neither they nor their descendants would ever again enter a house to live in, till the fort of Chitor had

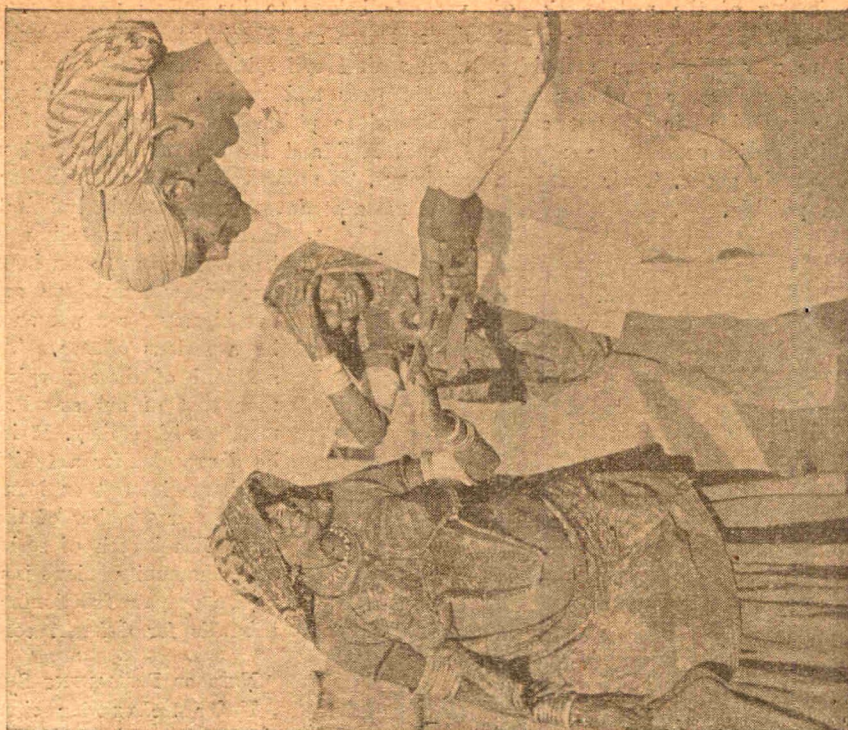
been liberated. At the same time, they also took the solemn vow of not sleeping under a roof or on a cot until their glory was restored. Many generations have come and gone since then, but the Gadulya Lohars still stick to their oaths.

POPULATION

In view of their wandering character, it is very difficult to get the correct data of the population of Gadulya Lohars. However, the Census Report, 1941, put forth their population at 6,970 in the whole of the then Rajputana Agency. A major part of this population according to the report, is in Marwar, Jaipur, Bikaner and Mewar. No Gadulya Lohars are available in Bharatpur, Dholpur and Tonk.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS

In the past those people had a sound reputation for their fine craftsmanship and found sufficient work to enable them to earn if not a large, at any rate a sufficient income for their simple needs. Their main



An old lady showing some iron-made implements to her customers



Two Gadulya Lohar ladies in their full dress



A view of a Gadulya Lohar's kitchen

work was the making and repairing of agricultural implements, and the forging of the metal-work of carts and tools for village carpenters or weavers. But the Gadulya Lohars have now fallen upon evil days. Cheap machine-made tools and spare parts for agricultural implements are available in almost every village-shop and handicrafts in general are rapidly being ousted by factory-made goods. Their economic condition now is often pitiable.



A Gadulya Lohar's better-half not only manages her household affairs but also participates in the manufacturing work

We may now proceed to consider their social condition. As a whole they are regarded in Rajasthan as "untouchables" and are not permitted to draw water from the village wells. Entry into Hindu temples and other places of worship is also prohibited for them. The hoard of myths and tradition combined with their illiteracy and social disabilities have all gone to make their position static and their mode of living continues to be the same as it might have been two hundred years ago.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

Illiterate as they are, they are blind believers on

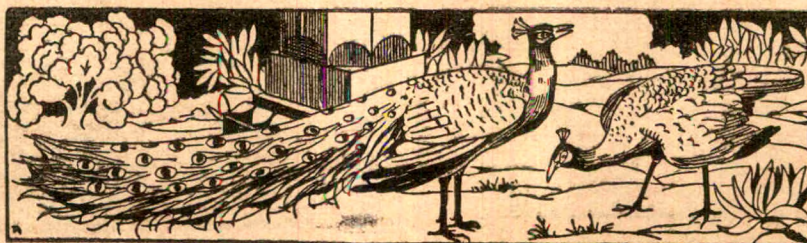
the plane of religion. The gods and goddesses they venerate belong to the Hindu pantheon. The Goddesses Durga and Sheela Mata are invoked to protect them against evil spirits which, they believe, dwell in certain trees and bushes. Animal sacrifices are also performed to please the deities; and festivals like Dewali, Holi and Dushera are celebrated with great rejoicings. The marriage of a Gadulya Lohar generally takes place at an early age and betrothals take place

even earlier, sometimes when the betrothed is not even born. Divorce and widow remarriage are allowed, but bigamy for a woman is held to be a serious offence. The moral standard of these people is higher than that of our so-called civilised members of society. It is taken to be disgraceful for a Gadulya Lohar to charge interest on loan advanced to another member of the community. The breach of social customs and community laws is punishable by Panchayats functioning as social tribunals for different communes.

NEED OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

Under the existing circumstances, the only remedy to the miseries of Gadulya Lohars is their permanent settlement. Social workers engaged in tribal welfare and the leaders of Rajasthan are now of the view that with the attainment of independence, the time has come for the Gadulya Lohars to abandon their nomadic life and settle down in one place. A conference of these people was, therefore, convened at Chitorgarh on April 6. Led by the Prime Minister Shri Nehru these Gadulya Lohars marched to the historic fort of Chitor and thus fulfilled the vow undertaken by their ancestors more than three centuries ago.

The Rajasthan Government have decided to provide every possible facility to rehabilitate them in suitable places.



FATHER HENRY HERAS

A Distinguished Orientalist Passes Away

By ANTHONY ELENJIMITTAM

Among the leading orientalists of the twentieth century the name of Father Henry Heras is in the top list, having been the Founder-President of the Indian Historical Research Institute of Bombay, the Vice-President of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Member of the Indian Historical Records Commission and of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. Dr. H. Heras passed away in Bombay on 15th December, 1955, after a brief illness. With stoic serenity the ailing orientalist and historian told his friends and admirers visiting him: "I am going now to my Eternal Home."

Father Heras, born in 1888, received his early education in Spain. Then, he went to the United States for advanced studies. His inquisitive and open mind soon absorbed the grand spirit of Western civilization. In order to pursue his studies and realise his aspirations, following the traditions of genuine *Swamis* and *Sanyasis* like Vivekananda and Dayananda Saraswati, Heras, at the early age of sixteen vowed himself to life-long purity and voluntary poverty, to *brahmacharya* and *aparigraha*, and he entered the Jesuit Order which became the nurse and mother of his vocational mission. Heras was fortunate to find sympathetic and wise guidance, protection and canalisation of his vast mental resources in the Jesuit Order, which, far from crippling his talents, canalised them, strengthened and nurtured them.

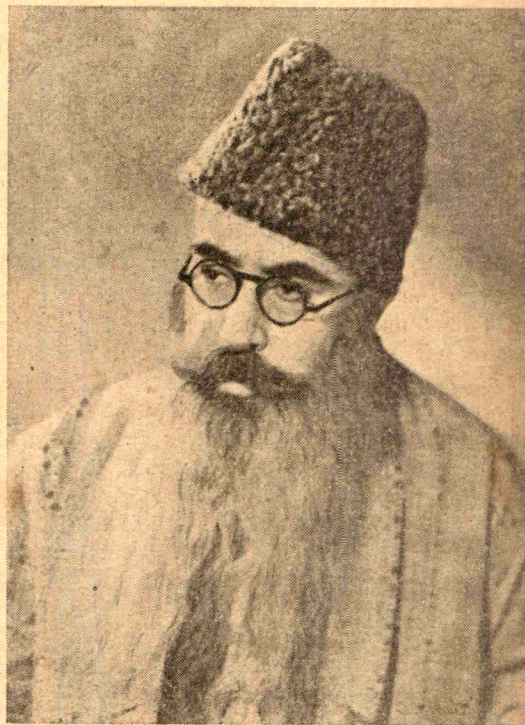
At the age of thirty-three Heras was already appointed principal of a college of Saragossa in Spain. A year later, in 1922, Heras came to India as professor of History and Archaeology at St. Xavier's College, Bombay. It was here in India that the young professor discovered the treasures of Indian wisdom. "I discovered Indian History," exclaimed Heras, hardly a few months after his arrival in this country.

Dr. Heras related the story of his discovery of Indian History in these words:

"When I arrived in India the Principal of St. Xavier's College asked me: 'What subject do you like to teach?' I replied: 'Indian History.' Then the Principal retorted: 'But, what do you know about Indian History?' I replied: 'Next to nothing.' Surprised at this ignorance, the Principal asked me: 'How, will you, then, teach Indian History?' I answered: 'I will learn.' This happened over thirty years ago, and, ladies and gentlemen, I am still learning Indian History. I have discovered the treasures therein."

So said Prof. Heras at a packed audience during the Silver Jubilee celebrations of the Indian Historical Institute in 1953 presided over by Sarvapalli Radha-

krishnan. From the beginning of his academic career in India in 1922 until he died, Prof. Heras dedicated his life, talents and every bit of energy in exploring the virgin fields of Indian history, archaeology, Indian philosophy and culture. Like the great orientalists of the last century, eminent minds like Max Muller, Monier Williams and Paul Deussen, Henry Heras



Dr. Henry Heras

loved India because of her culture, her religious lore and her philosophy and history. The lyrics of the Vedas, the psychological metaphysics of the Upanishads, the music of the Bhagavad Gita and the rhapsody of Indian religious atmosphere—all enraptured that receptive, sympathetic and intuitive mind of Heras. He became a lover of India which, in his words, is "the most ancient classical land of the highest wisdom of God."

HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

In order to investigate into the deeper significance of Indian history and culture and canalise the energy and pool the resources of the research students of Indian history, Dr. Heras founded the well-known Indian Historical Research Institute in Bombay. When the Institute began its life in 1926 it had hardly

a couple of hundred books. But today the library of the Institute has a collection of well over 25,000 books, the majority of them being rare, specialised and select books. The Institute has its own museum and archaeological section which contains some very select monuments of Indian history, specially documents connected with the early Mohenjo Daro and Harappa civilization and the Buddhist period of Indian history. The Institute library is one of the best in the whole of the Bombay State and—for that matter—in the whole of the Indian sub-continent.

This institute, started from a scrap, is today one of the best research centres in this country. Hundreds of savants, scholars and research students have gone through its halls, always guided by the inspiring direction of Father Heras who was affectionately called *Guruji* by his students. The publications of the Institute have contributed much to the elucidation of Indian history, not merely as a record of dynasties with names and dates, but as a creative force in the evolution of the Indian people.

INDO-ARYANS

Among the works of Dr. Heras his masterpiece is his *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*, which throws much light upon the Indo-Aryan civilization *vis-a-vis* the Dravidian culture. The main thesis of Heras in this book is that the pure Aryan race is now almost extinct in India and what survives today is the outcome of the meeting and mating of the earliest Dravidian civilization with that of the culture of the Indo-Aryans. In the writings and teachings of Dr. Heras one senses the idea that the Dravidian culture detected in India and the Mediterranean, all along the Dolman Belt, was the parent and originator of human civilization, although later on enhanced by the Aryans, a theory which runs counter to the racialist fads of Rosenberg and Hitlerite Germany.

Besides hundreds of articles on physical anthropology, history, religion and culture and history of India, Dr. Heras published many books among which the important are : *History of the Manchu Dynasty of China*, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, *The Pallava Genealogy*, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, *The Writing of History*, *Min Kan* or *The Mystical Meaning of Possessing Fish Eyes* and his greatest and last book on *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture*. In his *The Jesuit Policy of Conversion in India*, Dr. Heras substantiates the thesis that the best and most representative Jesuits never attempted transplanting of Christianity in this country, but only a vital synthesis between what is best in the oriental culture with what is best in Christian civilization, a position which would be welcomed by all sane nationalists.

CHRISTIAN YOGI

In recognition of the great historical research

work which Father Heras did in India many countries in the West and in the East honoured him with degrees and titles. Spain honoured Dr. Heras by making him a member of the Academy of Historical Sciences in Madras. Poland awarded Gold Cross of Merit to Father Heras and Afghanistan awarded him Decoration of Learning. Many Indian universities availed themselves of the scholarship of Father Heras who was a member of the Board of Studies of the Poona University, Bombay, Delhi and other Universities have many a time seen Prof. Heras lecturing to their students. But the biggest title which adorns Heras most is that of Founder-Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute of Bombay which celebrated its Silver Jubilee under the presidentship of Dr. Radhakrishnan in 1953. The Commemoration volume published by the Institute gives us an insight into the multifarious activities of the Institute and of its Founder-Director, Dr. Henry Heras.

From an Indian point of view, what marked him out as a singular individual was his deep spiritual insight, his life that proved the dictum: "What does it profit a man if he gained the whole world and suffered the loss of his own soul?" Yes, Dr. Heras was not merely a scholar of international repute; he was also a saintly man, one who set his heart and soul for the task of self-purification and self-realisation not less zealously than Gandhiji, Ramakrishna or Vivekananda. From the close acquaintance which the present writer had with Dr. Heras it may be stated that he was a pattern of *Christm Yogi* who dedicated his life and energies for the study and spread of historical, cultural and philosophical knowledge through his saintly life, his lectures and books.

LOVE OF INDIA

Like C. F. Andrews whom Gandhiji described as his "dearest friend on earth," Dr. Heras was a genuine lover of India. Although born in Europe Heras adopted this land as his own and gave his unstinted energy to the study and spread of Indian culture. Whatever charges may be levelled against a number of foreign missionaries, we do know that Dr. Heras was far above any petty communal, racial or national prejudices.

His large heart went to the extent of explaining away even the apparent anomalies and contradictions in India's social, religious and cultural traditions. He drank deep from the Upanishadic and Vedic lore and thus became a veritable bridge-builder between the East and the West. Heras was also an apostle for Inter-religious understanding and he worked to the end of his life for the cementing of cultural unity and solidarity between the Christian civilization of the West and the Hindu-Buddhist culture of the East. That is his permanent legacy for posterity in India and the world.

CONSPECTUS OF BEAUTY AND ITS RELATION TO ART

By K. L. GOSWAMI

THE current concept of beauty is limited in historical time. It was associated with a particular phase of philosophy in Greece which was essentially anthropomorphic. Idealisation of nature and man was expressed in their enlargements, primarily in the art of human form. After a lapse of several centuries, the cult was revived in the Renaissance. This particular ideal type of art differs from a Byzantine ideal which is divine rather than intellectual or from Oriental which is abstract and non-human.

Beauty may simply be defined as that which gives pleasure. But it has also been brought to a point of absurdity, reckoning, eating and smelling, as art. Further, though Benedetto Croce's tenet of art simply defined as "intuition" also met with criticism in a confused plane, the term "intuition" which is again capable of meaning various shades, is reduced to a point of absurd distortions.

Beauty is evanescent. In the appreciation of beauty we proceed from the physical object though its penultimate reach is abstraction. From an initial cognitive plane to a spiritual conception, the peregrination takes us through different stages in consequential importance. The knowledge of the form of beauty is imperative. This knowledge is acquired, as Plato laid down, by a systematic study of the exact science of measuring, weighing and counting called the theories of Numbers, Geometry, Stereometry and Astronomy. In course of prolonged study of these branches, the seeker will be rewarded suddenly with the apprehension of beauty—a kind of mystical flash. Thus beauty whose foundation is firstly established in a sensuous plane is stabilized into a plane of spiritual realisation.

The formulated mind, according to Plato, hovers around external objects, blurred by the wall of senses. Outside its ken of immediate experience the reality which is beyond and behind is unperceived by a cramped mind. The world of senses is but reflected shadows of Reality. The existence of material forms are chimerical which dims our vision and warps our judgement. That which is nearer seems truth—the beyond is impalpable. The world of Plato is a world of metaphysics, which, however, is not our field of enquiry.

In the view of modern psychology, the trends of creative process proceed to realise 'illumination' in a devious route. The creation of a work of art is preceded by an intense preparation. It means that an artist must have fundamental knowledge of that

branch of art in which he employs himself, such as, music, painting, literature or an art of allied kind. The sudden chrysalis of creative art with which we are presented with is but the conclusion of an intense activity which precedes it. Thereafter, the artist passes through a period of 'incubation.' He jostles and nurtures with this idea in a plane under the surface of mental immediacy when the appearance of a happy idea looms up in a flash of 'illumination' and finally comes before us in the shape of finished art, be it music or painting. These series of processes play unseen to us and even unconsciously to the artist. According to this notion, a piece of creative art from a genius as coming in one stroke is a misjudgement. The fact is, the artist has to pass through a welter of stages all the while beneath the outward ripples of his activities. Modern psychology and behaviourism, in their basic root, point to this end. The final vision has its root in a world of unapprehension.

Tolstoy (1828-1910) defined the process of art as:

"To evoke in oneself a feeling one has experienced and having evoked it in oneself, then by means of movement, lines, colours, sounds or forms expressed in words so to transmit that feeling that others experience the same feeling—this is the activity of art."

He further says:

"The others are infected by these feelings and also experience them with that of the creative artist."

So long Tolstoy's theory of art was praised and enthroned. In recent time, with the development of the study of aesthetics, the theory has lost its shine. According to him any artistic representation should be judged by its effectiveness upon the persons who perceive it as the "communication of emotion." The artist is successful only when he is able to transmit the same intensity of feeling to the recipient. In other words, when a peasant fails to be appreciative of the same intense feelings of a Bach, Beethoven or Shakespeare, which are acutely complex, the artist has failed. If, to the uninitiated peasant, this form of art is jejune, why should it be condemned,—a modern mind fails to accept. Tolstoy opines the artist must be successful in transmitting his feelings. But the real function, as the exponent of modern criticisms estimates, is not to transmit the feeling but to "express feeling and transmit understanding." The cardinal function of art is to empathise. To follow Tolstoy's enunciation is to

accept jazz over Kruetzar Sonata or figure of a bathing bella scoring over Botticelli's Madonna.

Belief in ethical values of matter or conduct helps little to solve problems in aesthetics. The basis of belief warrants suspension of judgement and the differentiation in objects good or bad are of no importance. Apprehension of beauty presents us problems which demands acute intellectual undertakings. It does not appear in a flick of intuition. Intuitional interpretations in aesthetic judgement are misleading. It may lead us to namby-pamby expostulations.

A clear idea of objectivity and subjectivity is a prerequisite element before we can embark upon pivoting a definite position in the values of art or beauty.

"A subjective judgement is a judgement that the experience of the person making the judgement is being modified in a certain way—that something is happening in or to the subject. Whereas in the objective judgement—the world external to the person judging, is characterised by a certain quality."—JOAN.

As an illustration in subjectivity, it may be cited the colour of the sky is blue or green as it affects a particular person's vision but the objectivity of the truth of $5 \times 5 = 25$ or that the table is square is undeniable.

In the aesthetic judgement of beauty the relation of mind and object is of importance. It is, in fact, to be realised as a harmony between these two elements. Both of these entities form an integral whole and that "the wholes are both more than and more real than the sum of their parts." This view is associated with Monistic metaphysics. It poses a number of questions. An object of beauty, say the statue of Venus de Milo, lay buried in the heart of Africa and was dug out before the gaze of a primitive people in whom the slightest trace of civilization is absent. Would they be able to appreciate its unique beauty? If the statue is an object of beauty, would its excellence dawn upon them, on viewing its rhythm and plasticity? If not, how does this object remain unappreciated in spite of its inherent quality of beauty? Is it a matter of any importance whether the primitives appreciate its beauty or not, which had existed all the time in it and still remains at the moment? In other words, in spite of non-appreciation, the beauty remained in it. Or do we attribute a notion or idea of beauty in it according to our sophistication or degree of embellishments. That it had no quality of beauty in itself but derived it only by agreeable attribution of our mind. If beauty exists

independent of one's appreciation or not, why the primitives fail to appreciate? Does beauty then depend on some factors extraneous of its existence? Is it a built-up? These problems can only be solved by mastering the knowledge of subjectivity and objectivity in the study of aesthetics. Mostly the difference in judgement is born not as a difference in taste but difference in knowledge.

Dr. J. A. Richards states that beauty is emotional satisfaction. In beauty we realise an emotional equilibrium where the impulses are harmonised. The fact that certain forms, colours, tunes move us and others do not provoke any emotional participation, leads us to questions which await answers. Dissonance caused by misarranged notes in music or colours in painting jades the aesthetic sensibilities and dissipates the harmony content. It happens due to the lack of what Clive Bell termed as significant form. The presence of it in objects, evokes a kind of peculiar emotion we call works of art. The quality and intensity, of course, differs and largely depends upon the content of emotional expression. The difference between a creative artist and a mere copyist is the difference of this peculiar emotional experience in expression. The artist paints a landscape or creates a tune which is in complete harmony with this aesthetic feeling. This creation becomes just not an object, a face but is expressed in a significant form which invests the object with peculiar traits carrying with it sparks of creation. These can be intellectually measured in terms of balance, rhythm or harmony but in reality it is instinctive in origin. That is why a primitive art is not a lower kind of art than a civilized one but rather a product of lower kind of civilization having more elemental force.

Aesthetic sense is, thus, immured in even primitive people. These are amply exemplified in the cave drawings of animals at Altamira in Spain as well as in those of the Bushmen of South Rhodesia and South-west Africa. However, the plastic sensibility found in this period disappears in the Neolithic period. Foregone illustrations deny the common acceptance of co-relating beauty with art. Art fulfils itself in harmonious expression which may not be beautiful. In paintings, particularly of the surrealists or savage primitives, they attempt to express in grotesque forms which are far from being beautiful. They are a far cry from a Greek Aphrodite or a Byzantine Madonna. From the standpoint of classical concept of beauty they are definitely ugly and unbeautiful but nevertheless they can claim to be called works of art.

SANTINIKETAN

To Rabindranath During His Closing Days

By KALIDAS RAY

(Translated by Umanath Bhattacharya, from the original Bengali)

The barren tract of *Bhuban-danga*, for aeons did I lie,
Clasping beneath my rugged ribs heaps of human
ashes, O !

Behind my bushes thick, bandits used to roam at night,
And jackals yell in fierce delight,
Feasting on the victims, now and again.
The cows would browse in the plain,
Seeking the scanty grass during the day ;
The herons in the sun would bask ; and shepherds play.
By constant clash of the mongroose and snakes,
Scarr'd with claws and clotted with blood,
Lay this rugged part of West Bengal,
Desolate and dismal.

Ah, what a glory was in store !
How hast thou got the clue and from my core
Unearth'd the hidden treasure and lore,
Like the deep-sunk Throne of Thirty-two Nymphs,
famed in tales of yore !
All cover'd with ant-hills were my limbs,
Cleaving them asunder, verses flow in streams,
Mingling with rills of Light supreme.

Never did I dream,
What hermit sate in trance under my
banian tree !
Invoking the Spirits of the *Tamasa* and
Niranjana,

And flowing the two currents in me !
Day dawns on the domain of Gloom,
Of a sudden gets back Ind, her long-lost speech,
Resplendent and rich.

O glorious day, the day of my dreams !
In perfect harmony swell the pealing hymns
From every temple and shrine, cloister and hermitage ;
Heralding the New Age.

From far and near the herbs, the *Khas Khas* raise
their heads,

And fill the air with incense fine ;
As thou treadest this ground of mine,
The woods rustle sweet and creepers entwine ;
The herbs, the shrubs, the grass, the insects
And every common thing,
With songs immortal, ring.

The bedumb'd gravels and pebbles,
As in incredible fables,
Throb with life and make an Eternal spring.
All World focus their eyes at me, wonder wide,
There hath come a bear !

Every bird that twitters in the thicket,
Doth chant a Vedic hymn, like Tittir of ancient days ;
Here meet all Faiths, all Creeds, all Ways.

A thousand petals of my heart O my Sun !
Thou hast unfolded with manifold rays of thine.
Lo ! the lyre divine

Vani Herself plays ! What web is spun
In music fine !

What lay inarticulate so long

Gets a tongue in thy Song ;

Pathos untold, chords unstrung, melodies mute—
In every modulation of tones and tunes
They ring in thy lute.

Spellbound the world hears !

My heart throbs, bestow'd with myriad ears.

In this cultural Fair today,

Treasures of ages are giv'n away.

A thousand folded hands gather round me,
O glory !

But my golden days, how long will they last ?

Much it pains my heart to think of evening O !

The shades of twilight are falling fast

O'er yon tops of *Sals* ; silent, slow

The clouds of a tragedy deep, are gathering lo !

As I gaze at thee—

Thoughts of afar wrinkle thy brow, I see—

Time and again thou dost cast thy eyes

On the fathomless Sea, and void of the skies.

Where sinks all Humanity !

What whisperest thou so languishingly

Into the ears of Eternity ?

The Day's on its pyre, O sire !

What tune is this that's play'd upon thy lyre !

Stay ! Stay ! The world entreats thee,

O pace this Earth a few years more !

A mystic gleam falls upon thy brow from an
unknown shore.

My heart aches and knows no rest

As I listen to the solemn melody ;

There's unrest in the *Mahuya*-groves,

Do they sense the Tragedy ?

Ah, from what lovely horizon far away,

Tearing the Mystery's screen,

Tomorrow's Star doth flash its sheen upon thy brow ?

Gilding now in twilight ray the rim of the sky !

What joy, what hope, what solace, therein doth lie !

I recall today O Poet! Oft hast thou said:
 The Eternal Traveller gives back the dust to dust;
 For return he must, the clay that clings
 to his feet,
 As he embarks his Pilot to meet
 Called away to new, yet newer shore,
 That lures him evermore.

Like earthen pots away he casts the mortal frame,
 And quits the banquet-hall without remorse,
 In vain doth Love entreat to stop his course.
 As I bring to mind these burning words of thine,
 The very dust of my ground doth pine
 And writhes in agony untold—
 What if the sky burns red and gold!

O:

GANDHISM AND TECHNOLOGY

By SUDHIR CHANDRA LAHA and BIJOYLAL CHATTERJEE

In the concluding chapter of *My Experiments with Truth* Gandhi has written:

"My uniform experience has convinced me, that there is no other God than Truth."
 But how to realise this Truth? Gandhi says:

"To see the universal and all-pervading Spirit of Truth face to face one must be able to love the meanest of creation as oneself."

This identification with others implies that we do unto others what we would that they should do unto us. G. K. Chesterton in his *Life of Saint Francis of Assisi* writes that he treated whole mob of men as a mob of kings. A king moves amongst hundred courtiers but he was a courtier who moves amongst hundred kings. Similar was the reverence of Gandhiji for human personality. More than gold and material goods we want to be treated with courtesy and honour.

This innate respect for human individuality determines Gandhi's attitude towards machines and technological development. Dr. Alexis Carrel, Nobel Laureate, in his famous book, *Man, The Unknown*, writes:

"Esthetic activity remains potential in most individuals because industrial civilisation has surrounded them with coarse, vulgar, and ugly sights. Because we have been transformed into machines. The worker spends his life repeating the same gestures thousands of times each day. He manufactures only single parts. He never makes the complete object. He is not allowed to use his intelligence. He is the blind horse plodding round and round the whole day long to draw water from a well. Industrialism forbids man the very mental activities which could bring him every day some joy. In sacrificing mind to matter, modern civilisation has perpetrated a momentous error. An error all the more dangerous because nobody revolts against it, because it is accepted as easily as the

unhealthy life in great cities and the confinement in factories."

In the same strain Arnold J. Toynbee writes in the IXth Volume of his great book *A Study of History*:

"We invent the machinery of mass-production, and for the sake of cheapening the unit, we develop output on a gigantic scale. Almost automatically the machine delivers a stream of articles in the creation of which the workman has had little part. He has lost the joy of craftsmanship, the old satisfaction in something accomplished through the conscientious exercise of care and skill."

By the end of the eighteenth century Adam Smith boasted that it took eighteen men to make a pin, each man doing a little bit of the job and passing the pin on to the next. This was to many a triumph of civilisation. By setting each man to do just one little bit of the work and nothing but that, over and over again, he became very quick at it. Thus pins became plentiful and cheap. Bernard Shaw in *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism* remarks about this fact:

"The country was supposed to be richer because it had more pins, though it had turned capable men into mere machines doing their work without intelligence, and being fed by the spare food of the capitalists as an engine is fed with coal and oil. That was why the poet Goldsmith complained that wealth accumulates, and men decay."

Gandhi, like Goldsmith, clearly perceived the degrading effect of industrialisation on human personality. His soul revolted against this mutilation of man's individuality. To Gandhiji man was an end in himself. He was created to realise God and not to be treated by another man like a helpless instrument for the production of his wealth or for the satisfaction for his distress. When a man degraded into a machine

he is denied the satisfaction of realising the best of his personality. For the growth of one's personality one should have the largest opportunity of creative work and life in aesthetic surroundings.

Gandhiji, therefore, laid great emphasis on the spinning wheel and decentralised rural industry. In order to stay the dwarfing and dwindling of man under the tyranny of machinery Gandhi sought to promote all that is creative in man. For, as Bertrand Russell rightly says:

"The supreme principle, both in politics and in private life, should be to promote all that is creative, and so to diminish the impulses and desires that centre round possession."

Gandhiji sought to halt the process of regimentation of human beings into robots by large-scale mechanical industry and by resuscitating decentralised cottage industries he sought to open out new channels for the majority of men and women for the fullest expression of their creative personalities.

This decentralisation would also halt the tragic exodus of men and women from villages into overcrowded cities about which the Irish poet and philosopher George Russell laments:

"More and more men and women in our modern civilisation drift out of Nature, out of sweet air, health, strength, beauty into cities where in the third generation there is a rickety population, mean in stature, vulgar in character . . ."

It is true that when we are deprived of the simple instinctive pleasures of leisure and love, sunshine and green fields, generosity of outlook and kindness of disposition are hardly to be expected.

It is a mistake to suppose that Gandhiji was

against machinery and technology as such. He wanted both but only to the extent that they should conduce to the ultimate well-being of man. He was shocked at the craze for machinery and the mastery of mechanised technology over men. That the ever-increasing growth of urban industries should kill the rural industries and compel villagers to flock to cities appeared to be a great curse. He believed that the resuscitation of rural civilisation was the greatest need of the time. For life in close proximity of Nature would give back to man his lost happiness and his sane outlook. The blind worship of Technology has led man to lose charity towards Nature. It has led him to ravage its forests, pour filth into its rivers and poisonous fumes into its air. The law of non-violence that he discovered to be the guiding principle of all life made him also perceive that large machineries have led men not only to exploit other men but also to violent exploitation of peaceful Nature. We all know that Gandhiji had deeply studied Ruskin and Thoreau, Tolstoy and Edward Carpenter and we also know their immense love for Nature. All these savants ardently believed that to live aloof from Nature was prejudicial to the highest interest of man. Gandhi, therefore, sought to restore man to his proper place of balance in Natural surroundings. His warning against excessive use of machinery was therefore not a retrograde measure or a return to the primitive life of a barbarian but a step forward in the march of humanity towards a more enlightened and richer life. He reminded men that it is beneath human dignity to lose individuality and become a cog in the machine. For to use the language of the Bible: "What shall it avail a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?"



IRAQ AND SYRIA—THEIR POLITICAL PROBLEMS

By S. H. HASHMI, M.A.,

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It is no more fashionable in India to dub Britain as an imperialist power. The Iraqis, however, do not agree with this view. Britain is still as unpopular, there, as she was in the Indian sub-continent before our independence, though Iraq achieved her independence as far back as 1932. Iraq is not an independent country or at least the majority of the educated Iraqis think in such terms. According to them, Iraq is still a British mandate, if not a colony. The Britishers have retained their stooges, who are simply tools in their hands. Britain is also remembered in connection with the creation of Israel and is considered to be the villain of the piece in the dreadful drama of Palestine. Even a high school student knows something about the Balfour Declaration and its far-reaching consequences. They consider that all the sufferings of the present-day Iraq are mostly because of Britain. Her imperialism would not allow Iraq to try to form a federation of all Arab States. She does not want to see stability in West Asia.

The United States is also counted as a new member of this gang of imperialist exploiters. She is one of the most hated nations in Iraq. Every one is convinced that it was only because of the United States that the thorn of a Jewish State was thrust in their flesh. The American money, the American arms and ammunition and the American pressure on other small nations were responsible for the establishment of the "49th State" of the American Federation. The Iraqi armies, they say, were only twenty miles from Tel Aviv, when they were ordered by the Security Council not to proceed further, otherwise the latter would intervene. It can be remarked that if the United States is hated anywhere outside the Communist countries, it is in the Arab world. To the Arabs, she is definitely an imperialist power, though in a sheep's clothing.

Not many people know much about Communism and Soviet Russia. In fact, they are somewhat afraid of discussing Communism publicly. They are afraid of the police which might suspect them, if they talk about this unwanted and foreign evil. An overwhelming majority of the people do not find any attraction in it which according to some, does not recognise individual's freedom of thought and expression. The educated persons are aware of the fact that life is not happy in Communist countries and at least from this view-point they prefer the democratic way to the Soviet system. Among the students, too, it is not a very appealing doctrine; the tendency being somewhat unusual for Asian conditions. The majority of them is ultranationalist, which wants "independence" for Iraq and the complete withdrawal of foreign influence and interference from their nation's politics.

In this background we can read the re-action against Iraq's entry in an alliance with Britain, Turkey, Iran and Pakistan. From the topmost leaders to an ordinary student, everyone criticises this action vehemently, and it is not without any reasons. The Iraqis even now resent every move which endeavours to establish alliance with their old enemy—Turkey. The bad memories which a subject nation usually has about its ex-rulers are to be found in the minds of the Iraqi people, too, for they were under the Ottoman governance for many centuries. Making friendship with their ex-master is not a matter for which the people may give sympathetic consideration. In recent years, the recognition of Israel by Turkey and the establishment of friendly ties between the two countries have added to the unpopularity of the latter in these lands. Secondly, it is the view of the Iraqis that this sort of alliance is not in any way, beneficial for the people of West Asia. They contend that this alliance is for the protection of the American and British interests in which the Arabs need not sacrifice their lives. They consider that they do not have any Russian danger. Why should they enter into such alliances? If there is a third World War, it will not be a war between Democracy and Totalitarianism, it will be a war only between the United States and her friends and Russia and her satellites. So there is no need of sending Iraqi troops to defend British imperialism and American capitalism. There had been loud protests against the Turco-Pakistani pact and many demonstrations took place against it. The overwhelming majority of the newspapers wrote against this pact, which was considered to be another effort of the Western imperialists to retain their hold on West Asia. Some booklets and pamphlets were written in Arabic, on the subject, in which the authors tried to show that this pact was harmful for the Iraqi people. They maintained that if Iraq joined it, she would become a tool in the hands of Western Imperialism. While considering these views, we must keep the fact in our minds that in Iraq, there is a wide gap between the people and the government and it is not necessary that a government may act according to the desires of the people. Iraq has joined the so-called Baghdad pact but over and above and against the expressed desire of Iraqis.

Elections in Iraq are a farce. Though every adult man because women are not allowed to vote even now—enjoys the right to franchise, about 85 per cent of the voters do not bother to go to polling booths. I was in Iraq before the election of 1954, and I did not find so much enthusiasm and interest among the people about the matter, as was witnessed in our election of 1951. One of its reasons is that the voters know the outcome of these so-called free elections. Thus it is their

view that it is not worth the labour to mobilise opinion for a particular candidate. The fact is that Iraq has not seen even a single free election, though this mockery has been repeated very often in the last fifty years. When an illiterate voter, for instance, goes to the polling booth, he might be asked by the polling officer to whom he is going to vote?. He may be persuaded to vote for a particular candidate. If he does so, well and good; if not, the counting of the votes is in the hands of the government and it would see that only its party wins the majority of Parliamentary seats. This misuse of the democratic methods leads to military interference in politics. Iraq had its experience in the thirties. The politicians themselves, by their corrupt and illegal actions, give them an opportunity to take authority in their hands, though after attaining power, they, too, are involved in the same malpractices. This is a vicious circle, which never ends.

SYRIA

Syria is smaller in area and population than Iraq. Its population is less than three and a half million. The internal problems of Syria are of different nature than those of Iraq. It is a republic but is ruled more by the dictators than by the democrats. It is the most unstable Arab country, but it is interesting to note that the Syrians do not attach much importance to this characteristic of their political life and are not anxious to find out and remove the causes of this instability. In Aleppo, I asked a Professor of Political Science the reasons of instability in Syrian politics. Well, he replied, we do not give much importance to this problem, and in fact, it has become a usual feature of our political system. He wanted to be given some time to think over the reasons of instability. The problem of instability is not confined to Syria only. Many other Arab countries, also, share the credit. It seems that one of the reasons is to be found in the character of the Arabs, who are, by nature, very emotional and guided by passions. This aspect of their character is witnessed in their political life, too. Secondly, the corrupt politicians sometimes, make the coup d'état indispensable, and the military rulers get an opportunity to boast that they saved the nation from the grip of wicked politicians, who were ruining the country by corruption, nepotism and misrule. The people of these countries do not get any opportunity to express their views through their true representatives, because the elections are not fair. If the elections had returned true representatives, there would have been definitely less chances of the rapid changes in governments. In Syria, the French were also responsible for not creating the proper atmosphere for the establishment of stable governments. The ministries changed in France very often and Syria also inherited this feature of her erstwhile ruler. The difference is that in France the ministerial changes are within and in Syria they are without Parliament. The French, when they ruled Syria, did not give the indigenous people

that type of political education, which Britain imparted to the Indians. The Civil Service was exclusively for the French and all political liberties were crushed. The people, when they got freedom, were naturally not mature enough to be well-versed in the art of self-government.

An important problem, which still looms large over many Syrians is the inclusion of Alexandretta in Turkey. This Mediterranean coastal plain was handed over by the Allies to Turkish Government in 1922. The Syrians claim that it is a part of Syria and should be returned to her. It is very difficult to assess the genuineness of the case of either of the two parties. An Arab writer has conceded that before Alexandretta was handed over to Turkey, out of all sections of the population, the Turks were more in number than any other section, including Arabs, though they were not above 50 per cent of population. The Syrians still claim this territory and this is the main reason of the cold—if not strained—relations between the two neighbours. Turkey, no doubt, is more unpopular in Syria than in any other Arab country. The two states have only commercial relations with each other and this is another reason, why Syria does not like to join the Baghdad pact.

Among the Arab countries, Syria is very susceptible to accepting foreign aid of any kind. She does not take military aid and is one of the very few non-Communist countries which has refused to accept even the economic aid from the United States.

Out of all common questions concerning the Arab world, the toughest and the most provoking problem is the presence of a Jewish State in their heart land. As a senior Christian Arab statesman, who after my return to India, became the Prime Minister of Syria, said to me:

"Our greatest and most threatening problem is Israel. It is possible that it might take a long time to throw them out of our motherland, but we are determined to do so."

"You know," he continued with the zeal of a patriot, "Christians kept Jerusalem in possession for about two hundred years, but they were driven out at the end. Israel may pull on for the same period. It does not matter. She would go ultimately."

The Arabs think in these lines and it shows how deeply attached they are to every inch of their soil, which they consider Israel has usurped. The Arabs know it very well that the Britishers are responsible for sowing this seed of permanent danger for the Arabs and then the United States entered the scene as the chief culprit and chose to become the "Father of Israel." The majority of the Arabs believe that a day would come when they would be able to clean the surface of Palestine from Israel.

The danger of Israel, which is common for all Arab countries, has at least compelled them to set aside the internal differences and to unite, because they know that Israel would not be content with the present boundaries,

but would definitely endeavour to expand herself, till she has included all the territories west of Euphrates and south of Medina. They admit that if there is a union of all Arab countries, they would be stronger and be able to defend themselves against a small but highly mechanised and militarised Israel. The idea of the creation of a Federation of all Arab countries is not only in the minds of some Utopian thinkers, but it has been and is being discussed by the Arab press, politicians and parties. The obstacles are both internal and external. As far as the external reasons are concerned, there are some powers, which see the danger of being ousted from the political scene of these countries, if a Arab federation is formed. Britain is one such power. She still has a very powerful influence in making foreign policy of Iraq. Jordan had till very recently a British Commander-in-Chief and could not be trapped in the Baghdad pact mainly because of a wrong British approach. Though many Arabs are of the view that the United States also wants the existing disunity among the Arab States it seems to be a false idea. A Lebanese Professor of Political Science agreed with me that a powerful and possibly stable anti-Communist Arab federation would definitely be in a better position to contain Communism in this part of the world than the divided, weak and underdeveloped so-called independent Arab states.

It cannot be refuted by any Arab statesman that the main hindrances in this way are internal. There

are kings in this regions, some of whom are getting millions of dollars, every year, as a royalty from the oil, which their hitherto barren land is producing in abundance. They would not be ready to share this amount with their fellow-brethren. They would not consent to be deprived of their authority and power. It is maintained that the leader of the Arab countries, Egypt, herself, is not in favour of the formation of an Arab federation. The traditional rivalry between the Hashmi rulers of Iraq and Jordan on one side and the King of Saudi Arabia on the other, still exists. Moreover the small Arab states fear that they would be completely subjugated by their more powerful neighbours. These and so many other usual difficulties in the formation of a federation together with the negative British and indifferent American attitude towards this problem, are responsible for keeping the Arabs in this present, far from happy, state of affairs.

India's foreign policy is liked in all Arab countries, for they are not a party and do not want to be a party in the East-West conflict. In joining a third area they are with us. Nehru enjoys great respect and prestige in all these countries. To them also, he is one of the greatest statesmen of the world and perhaps the greatest in Asia. His independent foreign policy is considered to represent the mind of the Arab people, though some are of the view that he is over-sympathetic in his attitude towards communist China.

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FOREIGN AND YUGOSLAV AUTHORS IN NEW YUGOSLAV THEATRE REPERTOIRES

By C. MINDEROVIC

NINE of the largest Yugoslav theatres have prepared fifty-eight premieres for the new theatre season. These are the works of twenty-six foreign and eighteen domestic authors to be performed in Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo and Skopje.

The Yugoslav audiences will be able to see for the first time or in a new case and production the works of the Greek classics, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes. The Slovene drama in Ljubljana will stage *Antigone*. The Zagreb dramatic theatre will give Euripides' *Hyppolyte* while the Belgrade Drama Theatre will present *Lysistrata*.

An already large number of Shakespeare's works to be found on the repertoires of Yugoslav theatres, will be augmented by three new plays. The Yugoslav Drama Theatre which is already showing *King Lear* and *Romeo and Juliet*, will enrich its repertoire by the addition of *Macbeth*. The Slovene Theatre in Ljubljana will put *Henry the Fourth* on the stage, while the Zagreb Drama Theatre will present *As You Like It*.

The English Drama will also be represented by the performance of three plays by Bernard Shaw viz., *Pygmalion* (The Belgrade Drama Theatre), *The Devil's Disciple* (The Yugoslav Drama Theatre) and *Joan of Arc* (The Croatian National Theatre).

Of the modern English dramatic works, the Slovene National Theatre will present T. S. Eliot's *Cocktail Party* while the Zagreb Drama Theatre will give Samuel Beckett's drama *Waiting for Godot*.

The German classic works will be represented by Goethe's *Egmont* and Schiller's *Don Carlos*. Besides this, the Zagreb Drama Theatre and Sarajevo National Theatre will present *Mutter Courage* by the contemporary German dramatist Berthold Brecht while his work *The Good Man from Sechouan*, which is already on the repertoire of the Drama Theatre, is also being prepared for showing by the Ljubljana Municipality Theatre.

This season again the repertoire includes several American dramatic works. Miller's *Crucial* which

has already been shown in Belgrade and Zagreb, will be one of the premieres of the Macedonian National Theatre in Skopje and the Slovene Theatre in Ljubljana. The Zagreb Drama Theatre is preparing Tennessee William's *Camino Real*, the Ljubljana Municipal Theatre O'Neill's *The Mourning of Electra*, the Croatian National Theatre *Cane Mutiny* by Herman Wouk, while the Macedonian National Theatre *Philip and Jonah* by Irvin Shaw.

Of the Modern French scenic works four dramas by Jean Giraudoux will be shown, viz., *Pour Lucrece* and *Apollon de Bellac* in the Zagreb Drama Theatre, while *La Folle de Chaillot* and *La Guerre de Troie n'a pas eu Lieu* will be produced by the Slovene National Theatre. The works of the French Classics will be performed this season again.

In addition to Tchekhov's and Gorki's plays which are included in the repertoire of most of the theatres, Tolstoy's *The Live Corpse*, shown earlier on the Yugoslav stage, has again been placed on the repertoire of the Croatian National Theatre. Gogol's *Controlling Official* will appear in the Macedonian National Theatre, while his *Wedding* will be performed by the Yugoslav Drama Theatre.

The *Bloody Wedding* by Garcia Lorca—last year's premiere of the Yugoslav Drama Theatre—will be given by the Slovene National Theatre as some of its next premieres. Another play by this Spanish writer *The Love of Don Perlimplin* will also be performed in Yugoslavia.

A work by Strindberg, *The Father*, is to be performed by the Yugoslav Drama Theatre. The National Theatre in Belgrade will also show the play *The Latest News* by the Rumanian writer Mihail Sebastiani.

The name of the Italian Renaissance writer Machiavelli will appear also in this year's bills. His work *Mandragora* will be one of the three premieres of the Slovene National Theatre. The Italian drama will also be represented by Pirandello's play *Siesta* in the performance of the Zagreb Drama Theatre.

It is characteristic for the new season that nearly all theatres are staging works of the modern Yugoslav drama. The Belgrade National Theatre will give a new performance of Miroslav Krleža's *Agony*, while his work *The Glemboys* recently had its hundredth performance in the same house. Two Krleža's legends *Kraljevo* and *Christopher Columbus* were shown as the first premiere of the Belgrade Drama Theatre this season, while the Slovene National Theatre is preparing his drama *Calvary*.

The Croatian National Theatre has opened the season with the performance of a work by the young author Dusan Roksandic, *White Butterflies*. This

theatre is also preparing *Gloria*, a drama by the prominent Croatian prose writer Ranko Marinkovic, which will be one of the premieres also of the Yugoslav Drama Theatre.

The Zagreb Theatres are taking the lead in staging the works of young Yugoslav authors. Thus, one of the premieres of the Croatian National Theatre will be a play by the humourist Fadil Hodzic, entitled *We are only Men*. The Zagreb Drama Theatre is preparing *The Even at Gog* by the Slovene writer Slavko Grum (to be shown also by the National Theatre in Sarajevo), and *The Narandzic Family* by the Croatian author Grga Gamulin. This theatre will also stage the dramatization of the novel *Poem* by Oskar Davico on a theme of the time of occupation. The premiere of the dramatization of the same work is also awaited with interest in the National Theatres of Belgrade and Sarajevo. Dramatization of the novel *The Roots* by the contemporary writer Dobrica Cosic, who received a prize for this work dealing with conditions in Serbia before the First World War, will be shown in the Belgrade Drama Theatre.

The National Theatre in Sarajevo has opened the season with the performance of a domestic drama *People* by V. Subotic. This play won the first prize of the Federation of Educational Societies of Bosnia and Herzegovina at a contest for the best dramatic work. The municipal theatre in Ljubljana, is preparing three modern plays: *The Universe in Aquarium* by Matej Bor, *Two Hills* by Mladen Leskovac and *One Room for Four Persons* by Miroslav Belovic.

The Dubrovnik Renaissance comedy writer Marine Drzic (1508-1567) whose work *Uncle Maroje* was shown by the Yugoslav Drama Theatre at the First International Drama Festival in Paris in 1954, will be represented by this comedy at one of the premieres of the Zagreb Drama Theatre which will also perform *Jovadin*, a play by an unknown Dubrovnik writer from the eighteenth century.

The Suspect by the prominent Serbian comedy writer Branislav Nusic (1864-1938) whose plays are still filling a considerable part of the Yugoslav repertoire, will be one of the premieres of the Belgrade Drama Theatre. The National Theatre in Belgrade has already staged *Uros's Wedding*, a historical play by the poet Milutin Bojic (1890-1917).

The Slovene Theatre is refreshing its repertoire with the play *The Romantics* by Ivan Cankar (1879-1918), a short-story writer and dramatist who primarily treated social problems in his works.

The 150th anniversary of the birth of the famous Serbian writer of comedies Jovan Sterija Popovic (1806-1856) will be marked by jubilee performances of his works *The Miser*, *The Liar and Super-liar*, *The Marriage*, *Patriots* and others in all the big theatres.

ECONOMICS OF CATTLE WEALTH AND CATTLE INSURANCE

By PROF. J. C. SRIVASTAVA, M.A., B.Sc. (Ag.),
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"THE bullocks are the means of transport everywhere in our villages and have not ceased to be such even in a place like Simla. The railway train and the motor car are there, but all along the mountain road I found bullocks trudging up and down, dragging heavily-laden carts. It seems as if this means of transport is part of our lives and our civilization. And the bullock has to endure if our handicraft civilization is to endure."—Mahatma Gandhi.

Cattle have been the most valuable asset to our country for its economic value and for a long time even the standard of living in ancient India. 'Mother cow' has been highly regarded and respected by us for centuries and her protection has been an article of faith with the Hindus. Oxen and bullocks were used for ploughing, drawing and carrying loads and have been the only means of rural transport.

MYTHOLOGICAL LEGENDS

According to Hindu mythology, Lord Krishna sheltered millions of cows, Emperor Dilip offered his own life in lieu of that of his preceptor's cow, Nandini, and Arjun courted exile for 12 years in order to rescue a Brahmin's cow. Apart from this, the mention of the 'River of milk and Land of honey,' has been made on several occasions in the Rig-Veda.

Thus the cattle wealth of this country has an intimate bearing on its agricultural development, health and economic prosperity of the people. Bullock-power is available for various agricultural operations and for a large majority of the people the only source of animal protein in their diet is milk and its products. It has, therefore, been rightly said that the cow and the working bullocks bear on their back the entire structure of the country's agriculture.

POPULATION

India's share in World's cattle wealth is rather too high, i.e., more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the entire World's population. This is evident from the following statement taken from *India in World Economy*.

WORLD CATTLE POPULATION IN 1945 (in '000)

Country	Population
1. India	1,36,739
2. U.S.A.	85,573
3. China	19,828
4. Australia	14,133
5. S. Africa	12,593
6. Canada	10,258
7. Turkey	9,549
8. Italy	6,550
9. Ireland	4,211
10. Denmark	3,237
11. U.K.	1,331
12. New Zealand	459

Further, according to 1951 census India's cattle population has increased to 185 million, and the density ratio is 75 cattle per 100 acres of cultivated land and 60 cattle per 100 persons, though the distribution is quite uneven.

IMPORTANCE

In India's economy the cow plays an important role both for the purpose of draught and milk for human dietary. Though she has over 18.5 crores of oxen and buffaloes, the production and consumption of milk and its product per head in the country is probably the lowest, which is clear from the following tables:

PER HEAD MILK PRODUCTION

Country	Srs. Ch.
1. New Zealand	7 10
2. Denmark	4 10
3. America	1 6
4. Germany	1 1
5. England	0 7
6. India	0 4

PER HEAD CONSUMPTION OF MILK

Country	Srs. Ch.
1. Sweden	1 14.5
2. Australia	1 6.5
3. England	1 3.5
4. Canada	1 1.5
5. America	1 1.5
6. Germany	1 1.5
7. France	0 15.0
8. India	0 3.5

This is due to the low productivity of the Indian cows. The cowdung which no doubt can be best utilised as manure to maintain soil fertility, is the vital problem on which Indian agriculture almost depends. But farmers misuse the dung by converting it into cakes for burning as fuel, which is due to the scarcity of an alternative cheap fuel. According to Dr. S. K. Dutta nearly 67 per cent of the dung is burnt as fuel and the remainder is utilized as manure.

CONTRIBUTION

The annual contribution by cattle to the national dividend has clearly been worked out by Sri N. S. Srinivasan in his *Cattle Wealth in India*. (1953). This is reproduced below:

Item	Value in crores of Rs.
1. Milk and milk products (500 million maunds)	800
2. Ploughing and agricultural labour (cultivated area 230 mill. acres)	1,200
3. Transport for agricultural produce	300
4. Meat (20 million maunds)	120
5. Hides and skins	50
6. Dung	1,000

Total Rs. 3,470

Further, this contribution can well be compared with that of other industries in India to the national economy. This has been given by Dr. S. K. Dutta.

Item	Value in crores of rupees
1. Iron and steel (1949-50)	50
2. Cotton textile and yarn	150
3. Jute	78
4. Sugar	54.5
5. Coal (3 million tons)	500

Total Rs. 832.5 crores.

From the above statements we note that the most backward and uncared cattle wealth gives Rs. 3,470 crores, whereas the basic industries yield only Rs. 832.5 crores. What a contrast indeed! The economist may have exaggerated but it can be confidently said that cattle wealth do affect considerably a country's economy. The value of India's livestock and their products as estimated by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, exceeds that of her crops. As such the "Grow-More-Food" campaign can only succeed if proper development of cattle is carried out simultaneously. Wherever cattle are good and well cared for, the people are more prosperous and healthy and they get better returns from the land. But in general their living condition is astonishingly perplexing. In spite of the existing huge number of cattle there is acute shortage of milk and bullocks of good draught capacity. They are generally in unthrifty condition with poor productivity, stunted growth, late maturity and long calving intervals.

Therefore the proper development of cattle is of great national importance. There are manifold aspects of this problem which have to be tackled simultaneously on its all fronts to achieve the desired objective. To examine these, I shall discuss the problem on the following heads :

1. Feeding, 2. Breeding, 3. Housing, 4. Mortality.

FEEDING

Feeding is an important problem for maintenance and production of cattle. Cattle fodder and well maintained pastures are the secrets of successful cattle husbandry and good breeds are found only in such areas.

The cattle feed provided by us badly lacks in vital nutrients necessary for upkeep. They subsist on the most meagre ration, i.e., the byproduct of agriculture. The advisory board of Imperial Council of Agriculture makes the following estimate of availability and requirements of the cattle feed.

Type of feed	Total production in India (million tons).	Annual requirement (million tons).
1. Roughages (fodder crops, straw of cultivated crops and grass)	175	270
2. Concentrates (oil cakes, cotton seed, cereals and husk etc.)	3.7	15

This gives a clear idea of the entire problem. Therefore, the essential prerequisite for improving our cattle wealth is the cultivation and proper conservation of fodder crops. Berseem and lucern provide the richest type of fodder and also enrich the soil fertility with the help of nitrifying bacteria present in their root nodules.

BREEDING

Good food can help to improve the milk yield and draught capacity of our cattle only up to a certain level beyond which progress can be made only if improved

blood is introduced. "Bull is half the herd." The present deterioration of cattle in India is mainly due to malnutrition and improper breeding. Due to unhealthy condition the conception does not take place quickly. Therefore, the breed may be improved through pedigree sire with a view to develop their inherent qualities for milk and draught. Upgrading i.e. mating of common or local breed with that of more highly improved and pure breed, is an important way open to solve the present crisis in a short period. The method of artificial insemination is also being made use to overcome the shortage of good bulls.

HOUSING

It is needless to say that the housing condition of cattle are far from satisfactory. The cattle live under the most unhygienic condition and this is one of the main causes of diseases in the country. In compact village condition the position is still worse. Words cannot picture the plight of cattle in the urban areas. The common practice prevailing in the villages is to leave the cattle in open fields during the day and tie them under trees in nights. This is nothing but cruel and inhuman to the creature, and they are exposed to all vagaries of nature. It is, therefore, urged to protect this agricultural wealth under shed with sanitary conditions.

MORTALITY

Mortality is another pressing problem. By far the largest mortality amongst livestock is due to contagious diseases and next in importance are the parasitic diseases. Accident and injuries are also quite common. The majority takes a heavy toll on the cattle population. The following statement will show the magnitude of cattle mortality in India as per Government of India report on the problem of cattle insurance 1950 :

Annual death due to diseases among oxen and buffaloes per 1000 animals during 1938-39 to 1940-41

Animal	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41
1. Oxen	1.74	1.54	1.72
2. Buffaloes	1.74	1.13	1.52

All these aspects on the whole affect the rural economy of the country which is summarised below;

1. Loss of cattle affecting financial drain on the cultivators and pressing need for replacement.
2. Inconvenience, delay or break in farm operations.
3. Loss of working days.
4. Inefficient agriculture.
5. Unfit animals become liabilities on the owners.

Viewing all the above, we have to bring out some concrete measures to overcome these ills. No doubt the Department of Animal Husbandry is taking great pains towards this pressing need of the country in improving feeding, breeding and dairy matters but the point lacking as to what measure can help in absorbing the shock of these calamities and other difficulties of our cultivators towards cattle and the answer is Cattle Insurance.

CATTLE INSURANCE IN INDIA

The history of cattle insurance in India dates back

to 1913. In 1923 there were 27 cattle insurance societies in Punjab, 8 in Coorg, 9 in Bombay and 1 in U.P. By 1935 all these were liquidated and the reasons of failures were very many. Cattle insurance is carried out in many countries abroad and the main countries are Belgium, Denmark, Holland and Great Britain. It is carried out under state supervision in those countries.

GOSHALAS AND PINJRAPOLES

It is estimated that there are at present 3,000 goshalas and pinjrapoles all over India, maintaining nearly 6,00,000 heads of cattle at an annual cost of about Rs. 7 crores, met from private charities on a voluntary basis. The primary object of establishing these during the last two centuries was to arrest any deterioration of milch cattle as a giver of milk and to protect them from indiscriminate slaughter. Though suffering from apparent drawbacks, they could serve as sanctuaries for the preservation and betterment of the cattle wealth of the country, they also provided asylum to milch cattle from cities and towns during dry periods.

But now a number of drawbacks have appeared, and further because of a wide diversity of unfavourable conditions, it has not been possible to run these institutions successfully. Efforts, therefore should be made that these institutions may be organized on proper lines, supplemented by converting them into milk-producing and cattle-breeding centres. Efforts should also be made to bring these in each state together under the Co-operative Unions and to have a uniform federation.

GOSADANS

Here it would not be out of place to make a mention of Gosadans. This is a scheme of the Government to open Gosadans, segregation camps for unproductive cattle. All the economically useless bulls are to be isolated and castrated. Such cattle can

advantageously be maintained, without much cost of grazing in forests or other waste land where they might even prove useful in fertilizing the soil. The expenditure on these may be shared both by the Centre and the State Governments.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations are suggested :

1. Castration of all scrub bulls and their substitution by those of approved bulls.
2. Upgrading of productive cattle by scientific breeding. Adoption of the technique of artificial insemination to make the widest possible use of available superior bull.
3. Establishing of calf-rearing farms.
4. Preventing and eradicating infectious and contagious diseases.
5. Introduction of improved fodders.
6. Taking effective measures to prevent the slaughter of useful bovine cattle.
7. Salvaging of dry cattle from towns.
8. Organising short-term training course for goshala and pinjarapole workers in animal husbandry and dairying.
9. Providing technical assistance, veterinary facility and approved bulls for stud purposes and other facilities, like mobile dispensaries, grazing and land for fodder cultivation.
10. Introduction of Cattle Insurance scheme under State supervision, either through co-operatives or a start through National Extension Schemes.

Increased agricultural and dairy output is the need of the day and no efforts should be spared to achieve this objective. Cattle are the backbone of our agriculture and low production terminating in deficit economy due to the above-mentioned hazards will surely be ruining the progress of the country if not checked at the opportune time. So if risks and uncertainties are minimised and agriculture be made a safe enterprise, all the other difficulties will ease automatically and there must be some form of Insurance against these risks.

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DEFENCE OR DEVELOPMENT?

By PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

INTERVENING in the debate on Demands for Defence grants, Prime Minister Nehru told the Parliament that although a war between India and Pakistan was "unlikely," the possibility of "some emergency arising" could not be ignored. Pakistan, he said, had received Military aid in considerable quantity from the United States and this posed a "terrible problem for India from the point of view of diversion of our resources from developmental to Defence needs." He added: "The problem which has been thrust upon us by Military alliances is how far, to ensure safety today, we are to sacrifice and delay tomorrow's development." The Prime Minister said that it was not an easy matter to decide this question. He was, however, of the opinion that the real answer to the Atom Bomb lay in "the spirit and unity of the people and their will

to survive in spite of difficulties." "If this is weak, it does not matter how many tanks or aircrafts you may put in somewhere." The Prime Minister observed: "The equation of Defence is your Defence forces plus your industrial and technological background, the economy of the country and the spirit of the people."

It is true that it would be suicidal to under-rate the importance of national defence in the light of existing circumstances in which India is placed. But it will be equally suicidal to slow down our pace of economic development which, in more senses than one, is the real and lasting Defence of the country against violence and disorder, both internal as well as external. We have to realise that the real stability of a country ultimately depends on the mental and moral satisfaction enjoyed by its citizens. If the people are dissatisfied

owing to economic and social conditions and there are fissiparous tendencies among them owing to casteism, communalism and regionalism, merely the possession of a large army well-equipped with modern weapons will not be of much help in ensuring the safety of the country. As the Prime Minister remarked, "If I am confident about India, that confidence depends more on the spirit and unity of the people than on other factors."

In this connection the importance of basic and defence industries cannot be over-emphasised. In the modern world no nation can be politically safe and secure if it is not more or less self-sufficient in the necessary weapons of warfare. Without an industrial and technological background, merely importing highly technical weapons from foreign countries will not be of much avail. As the Prime Minister pointed out, if the machines go wrong and if a foreign country refuses to supply spare parts, the weapon becomes useless. Under the second Five-Year Plan, therefore, it is necessary to build up our Defence industries and attain maximum self-sufficiency in this sphere. It must, however, be realised that India will have to content itself with a comparatively small but efficient standing army. It would be futile for us to try to compete with the Great Powers in building up our Defences. If some Power which has nuclear weapons at its disposal chooses to attack India, from the purely Military point of view we have little Defence. It may be that from another point of view we may yet be able to meet even the menace of Atom Bomb. As the Prime Minister observed, "A people that will not surrender whatever happened can never be beaten." On the other hand the people of a nation who have developed a strong will for political independence will crumble down easily despite a large and well-equipped army. Our national Defences, therefore, have to be built up in the minds and hearts of the people.

From this point of view, we must, even from the Defence point of view, give the highest priority to our Plans for providing full employment to the people and for reducing the existing disparities of wealth and incomes. The draft outline of the Second Five-Year Plan has been now before the nation for some time. It will soon be finalised. But before we do so, it will be necessary to lay special emphasis on the need for improving the social and economic conditions of the backward sections of our people. According to the targets mentioned in the Plan, our National Income is expected to rise by 25 per cent after five years. But, as the Finance Minister stated in the course of his Budget speech, merely working out a statistical average of incomes will not do. We will have to take special care of the poorest sections of the society. From this standpoint, the rise of incomes among the poorer sections of the population during the next five years will have to be much higher than the proportionate rise of incomes among the richer sections. This has not

been the case during the first Five-Year Plan. For example, let us glance at the estimates of per capita income in Uttar Pradesh since 1948 :

Year	Total (In term of 1948-49)	Rural	Urban
1948-49	149.4	200.9	550.1
1950-51	259.4	198.5	645.8
1952-53	259.5	198.0	649.2
1954-55	276.7	210.1	698.0

These figures have been taken from the *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* issued by the Economics and Statistics Department of the Uttar Pradesh Government.

These statistics clearly indicate that there has been hardly any rise in the incomes of the rural people during the last seven or eight years, whereas there has been a definite increase in per capita incomes in the urban areas. This is surely disquieting. India is predominantly a country of villages and if your National Planning does comparatively much less good to the rural population, we cannot expect the millions of our people to be enthusiastic about our Plans and Projects. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to take special care of this aspect of economic development in the next Five-Year Plan. This could be achieved only if we develop small-scale, village and cottage industries on a co-operative basis throughout the country. Under the existing Plan even in the Community Project areas, the rich seem to be getting richer while the poor people hardly seem to get any tangible benefits. The order must be reversed now. Our plans should benefit the poorer sections much more than the richer sections. Our scheme of taxation and Public Finance should also undergo a radical change from this point of view.

The recent border raids by Pakistan on Indian territory are surely a cause for some alarm. It is surprising how, instead of expressing any regrets, the Pakistan Government and the press have been telling the world that it is India which has been raiding the Pakistan territory. It is, indeed, extremely difficult to deal with a neighbour country when even elementary canons of truthful behaviour are not observed. At any rate, we should utilise these border incidents for serious re-thinking in regard to our Defence and Development programmes. National development, however, does not mean mere economic development. Without proper development of national character side by side with economic well-being, it would be impossible to build up our national defence on a sound footing. The values of money and power seem to be most attractive to most of us. The values of life must undergo a definite change. It is high time for us to realise that the real values of life are essentially moral and spiritual. As the Prime Minister observed, our real Defence would depend upon the 'spirit' of the people. That is why Mahatma Gandhi always told us the real answer to the Atom Bomb was the *Atmik Shakti* or spiritual power.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE BOMBAY DOCKYARD AND THE WADIA MASTER BUILDERS: *By Ruttonjee Ardesir Wadia. Published by the author, Thakur Nivas, Jamshetji Tata Road, Bombay-1. Pp. xx + 401. Price Rs 22-8.*

This is a work of considerable study and research. The author has utilised a large mass of very valuable material comprising not only printed works and files of old journals but also unpublished papers from the Records of the Bombay Secretariat and the India office in London (the last two being arranged under four and eleven heads respectively). The work consists of two Parts. In Part I, the author after a preliminary sketch of the early history of Bombay Island and the early ship-building activities of the Indians reviews the early history of ship-building at Surat and Mazagon, and he more particularly traces the development of the Bombay dockyard from the construction of the first dock in 1693-94 onwards. In Part II, the author deals with ship-building in Bombay with special reference to the activities of a distinguished Parsi family, the Wadias, who filled the office of master-builders in the Bombay dockyard for a century and a half (1736—1884). The most important period in the history of ship-building at Bombay opened in 1798 when the East India Company's Court of Directors gave orders for the construction at its dockyard of the first ship for His Majesty's Navy. The author quotes extensive facts and figures to prove that "the vessels built at Bombay by the Parsi Master-builders whether for the navy or for private owners were vastly superior to anything built anywhere else" at that time. This, however, was not permitted to be recognised "largely because of the potential effect of such recognition upon British and European shipyards." Thanks to the policy of the British Government, ship-building at Bombay after reaching its zenith with the fifth Master-Builder of the Wadia family the great Jamshetjee Bomanjee (died 1821) and dragging on a short period of existence thereafter, entered upon its decline with the retirement of the sixth Master-Builder in 1843. The end came when the Indian Navy was abolished in 1863 curtailing with it a considerable curtailment of the Bombay dockyard establishment. The book is illustrated by a large number of photographs as well as some maps and plans, five Appendices (including a list of vessels built in the Bombay dockyard and another list of vessels built at Bombay for the Royal Navy together with the years of their construction and their short descriptions) and an Index. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President of India, contributes a short foreword.

The paper, print and general get-up of the work

are excellent. We have noticed two misprints, Necolo Conti (p. 15) and Brahmani King (p. 16) not corrected in the list of errata at the beginning of the work.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE BRAHMARSHI'S GOSPEL or the Transcendental Bases of Vaidik Religion and Society: *By V. K. Palekar. Published by the Director of Bharatiya Sadakritika Bidyapith, Dunganibas, Hyderabad-4, Deccan. Price Rs. 7-8.*

This book contains a brief biography and the valuable thesis of Sri Anna Saheb Patwardhana whom the late Lokmanya B. G. Tilak revered as his Guru. Sri Anna Saheb was a great figure in the early British regime and worked for the regeneration of his country under the inspiring guidance of Sri Narasimha Saraswati Swami Maharaj. His remarkable personality was a unique combination of political and spiritual genius. Dilating like a learned professor of historical and comparative jurisprudence that he was, he proceeds to prove in this thesis that the foundations of Vaidik Society and criminal law are nearer perfection than western parallels.

Another point made in this thesis is that Vaidik language is still unpolluted and the efficacy of Vaidik mantras still undiminished and verifiable by proper experiments. He has adduced plenty of philological evidence to show that the Vedic language has influenced and modified other languages both Indian, such as Tamil and Telegu, as well as Trans-Indian, such as Greek and Latin. He claimed that Greek is corrupt Tamil and Latin is corrupt Telegu. The most important part of his gospel, however, deals with the aims and objects of *yoga* which in its comprehensive sense is called by him transcendental science. About fifty distinguished authorities, Indian and foreign, are cited and used in this thesis.

It is a pity that the get-up and paper in particular, of such an important work is much worse than ordinary. It is certainly a discredit to the publisher who has written a preface to this book and is himself the author of a book on the science of Yoga.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

A SHORT HISTORY OF INDIAN CURRENCY: *By Dr. K. N. S. Nambudiripad, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Continental Prakashan, 196-19, Sadashib Peth, Tilak Road, Poona-2. Pp. vi + 380. Price Rs. 7-8.*

As the name implies this is a short history of the Indian Currency and Exchange since the passing of the Act of 1833 introducing uniform currency in 1835. The subject has been divided into 22 chapters and the circumstances leading to the appointments of different committees and commissions and their find-

ings have been given in some detail for the benefit of students. The Herschell Committee (October, 1892), the closing of mints to free coinage of silver (1893), the Fowler Committee (July, 1899), the Gold Exchange Standard, the Chamberlain Commission (April, 1913), J. M. Keynes on a Central Bank for India, Indian currency during First World War (1914-18), the exchange ratio controversy, the Babington Smith Committee (May 1919), the Hilton Young Commission (August 1925), the great world depression, establishment of Reserve Bank of India (1935), Second World War (Sept., 1939 to Aug. 1945), Exchange control during War, Post-War Exchange Control and Inflation, International Monetary Fund, India's independent Monetary Policy, Nationalization of the Reserve Bank of India, Sterling Balance Agreements, Post-War Dollar Shortage, Devaluation of the sterling, etc., have been discussed supported by illuminating statistical tables. The author has spared no pains to make the book authoritative by quoting profusely from specialists, also by supplying statistical figures from Blue books.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT—A New Approach : By Susil Dey, I.C.S. Published by Messrs. Thacker Spink and Co., Ltd., 3 Esplanade East, Calcutta-1. Pp. 82. Price Rs. 5.

Mr. Dey, former Development Commissioner of West Bengal, states in brief the case of all-round rural development as envisaged in the Community Projects undertaken by the State Governments all over India. The story of Kulkuri is an authentic record of such a progress. That in competitive industrial world, the village production on a small scale on the basis of co-operative and mutual understanding has a prospect of survival, may an assured place in the country's economy, is proved by the story Mr. Dey depicts so nicely. Even Mr. Joan Robertson, the noted Economist of Cambridge, admits of the possibility "on the exact analogy between the shortage of cash in villages and shortage of dollars in Europe."

This small book will be an eye-opener to those of our countrymen who have still doubts about the success of the Community Projects. What is wanted is persevering patience for work from village level with a view to rouse the villager to economic and moral consciousness to work up in co-operative and mutual trust for individual and collective benefit.

A. B. DUTTA

GAUTAMA (The Story of Lord Buddha) : By Shakuntala Masani. Illustrated by Nena von Leyden. Published by Blackie and Son (India) Ltd., Post Box 21, Bombay-1, and 285, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta-12. December, 1955. Pp. 119. Price Rs. 4-8.

The book is a timely publication on the eve of the 2500th celebration of the Buddha Jayanti this month. The story of Lord Buddha, one of the greatest prophets of one of the greatest religions of the world, is admirably narrated by the authoress in a lucid, simple style which will not only delight the juvenile readers and the general public but also students and scholars, and its numerous illustrations beautifully sketched by Nena von Leyden in the Ajanta style will fascinate the readers. The story is told in 14 chapters; at the beginning of each chapter are quoted suitable lines taken from the *The Light of Asia* by Sir Edwin Arnold. The paper, get-up and cover of the book reflect the credit of the well-known publishers.

AMIDST THE CHINESE PEOPLE : By Prof. Jagadish Chandra Jain, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Alma Ram and Sons, Kashmere Gate, Delhi-6 Illustrated. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 5.

The author was formerly a Professor of Peking University, China. With his first-hand experience of the country and its people he is well-fitted to present the Indian reader with a book about China and the Chinese people, full of exhaustive and informative facts and figures. Sri Mulk Raj Anand has written a prefatory letter to the author for his self-imposed task of interpreting China to the Indian people. In several chapters, viz, Introduction, Towards China, On the Soil of New China, Peking, San Fan Movement, May Day, Health, Students, Universities, Schools of Peking, Chinese Language, Modern Chinese Literature, Chinese Opera, Cinema, Music and Dance, Chinese Painting, The Land Reform Movement, Co-operatives, The Working Class, Shanghai—The Centre of Trade, Religious Tolerance, Liberation of Women, The Communist Party, The Peace Conference, The Korean War, Sino-Soviet Friendship, etc, the author has described all about New China and its people. The book is illustrated with a good many photographs. Binding and get-up is good. The quality of the paper should be improved in the next edition.

B. K. SEAL

BLOWING UP INDIA : By Philip Spratt. Panchi Prakashan, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2 (3sh. 6d. or 50 cents abroad).

Mr. Philip Spratt, an ex-Comintern Emissary, came to India in 1926 and was for a time an important figure in the Communist Party of India. He was one of the accused in Meerut Conspiracy Case, which started in 1929 and cost more than twenty lakhs of rupees to the Indian exchequer. Mr. Spratt was sentenced to a term of imprisonment.

Mr. Spratt has since abjured Communism and in common with all neophytes he is bitter against all his erstwhile 'comrades' and near-'comrades' The U.S.A. and India are both bitterly criticised—the one because it is not sufficiently tough with the Communists and the other, for its pro-Communist foreign policy.

The author concludes his long tirade against Communism, which the volume under review is, with the following words: "India is being led rapidly and almost unresistingly into, or at least dangerously near the Soviet bloc . . . It is time for the public to make up its mind and assert itself." Not many in India, we think, will take Mr. Spratt seriously.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJEE

ON A FORBIDDEN FLIGHT : By Satyanarayan Sinha. Bhavan's Book University Series No. 31. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1955. Pp. 121. Price Re. 1-12.

In parts, this modest little book reads like an adventure story out of the world. The author is the Chief Whip of India's Parliament and his own forty-five short years of life has itself been a rare, thrill-packed existence. Dr. Sinha took time off from his heavy official duties and flew off in a battered old tramp plane towards what was still largely a *terra incognita* over the bewildering knots of mountains that straddle across India's north-western frontiers. In these rugged regions, Dr. Sinha found likable, lovable and friendly people, belying all the complacent and meaty generalizations of the conventional travel books. Dr. Sinha's narrative style is unpretentious and simple and is tempered besides by humour.

and understanding; he takes the reader into immediate and easy confidence. There is a short, but delightful, little western interlude which takes the author to some European cities, reviving fond and wistful pre-war memories. All in all, Dr. Sinha has given us a book that will earn for him new friends in this country as well as in other neighbouring lands.

RAMESH GHOSHAL

A CRITICAL STUDY OF RABINDRANATH'S 'CHITRA': By K. S. Appaswami Ayyar. Chandra Publishing House, Mylapore, Madras. Price Re. 1.

In this booklet on Rabindranath's 'Chitra' (Bengali *Chitrangada*) the author has given evidence of devoted study and power of appreciation. An outline of the story is followed by a short critical estimate. The picture on the cover of the book is definitely unsatisfactory.

Dr. N. MOOKERJEE

BENGALI

COMMUNISM O KRISHOK: By Ramswarup. Translated into Bengali by Amalendu Das Gupta. Published from 12, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta-1. Pp. 222. Price Re. 1.

This is the Bengali translation of the English book written by the author to prove that Communism and its methods did not help the tillers of the soil in U.S.S.R. The book is divided into four parts, viz., Soviet Theories, Communistic Methods, World Communism and Its Programme and, Indian Agriculture and Its Improvement. At the end of each chapter a bibliography is given which will help the readers to know the sources of information and also to refer to the originals, if necessary. The book has been published with a view to challenge certain facts regarding progress of Soviet methods of agriculture. The book is well documented and as such will be of interest to those who want to know the other side of the picture.

KENO BANKE TAKA RAKHBO: By Rabindra Nath Ghosh. Published by Debkumar Bose, 7-J, Pandina Road, Calcutta-29.

The author is well-known as a writer on Economic subjects in Bengali and himself a bankman. It is not easy for a layman to select a bank for his deposits. The brochure under review will be helpful not only to a layman but to a businessman as well, to select a bank where money may be deposited with safety. The book deserves wide circulation among those who are interested in Banks as customers.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SANYASI AUR SUNDARI: By Yadavendranath Sharma, "Chandra." Published by Rampuria Prakashan, Calcutta-20. Pp. 191. Price Rs. 3-8.

Around the Buddhist tale of Vasavadatta, the courtesan, and Upagupta, a disciple of the Enlightened One, the young novelist has woven a full-length stirring story, in which the perpetual duel between the love of passion and the passion of love is described in all its perversity and puissance, on the one hand, and candour and chastity, on the other. The courtesan's play and pleasure of sensuous love is only a veneer for her underlying cry for and claim to the heart of one, who would love her for her own sake and not merely for her physical charm and capacity for entertainment, as do her many rich and pleasure-

seeking customers. Against all this, the self-controlled Upagupta's love and reverence for her as an individual, entitled to appreciation and affection and esteem in her own right as a fellow human being is a beacon-light for all those who would tread the difficult path of Love. The author promises to be one of our front-rank novelists in the not distant future.

G. M.

GUJARATI

- (1) KAKANO SANJAYA: Price Re. 1-12.
- (2) MADHAV KAKA: Price six annas.
- (3) KUNAL: Price eight annas.

All three composed by Chhotubhai Joilaram Bhatt, "Shreya's" Juvenile class, Ahmedabad and published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

These three books are meant for young children and convey information on various subjects in a chatty style. The first book, for instance, gives all that is worth knowing about the Nile Valley and old Egypt. *Kunal* teaches grace and mercy. They are illustrated.

(1) BALAKONO ACHAR, (2) BALAKONO ANAND: By Somabhai Bhavasar. Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950. Price As. 3 and As. 6.

Both these small books are full of stories meant to delight children and guide them in the right and correct path. There are pictures in them.

(1) INSAN MITADUNGA AND OTHER STORIES: By Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani. Price Re. 1-4.

(2) SONANO SURAJ: By Pitambar Patel. Price Re. 1-4.

(3) KOINE KAHESHO NAHIN: By Mrs. Rambha Behan Gandhi. Price Re. 1-4.

(4) SWAMI SAHANJINI VATO: By Shrimati Jayavati Ashok Kaji, B.A. Price As. 6.

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

Dr. Shridharani even before he left for America, had been writing in Gujarati, verses and stories. They were of a high order. His residence in America made him a noted writer of English. After he came back to India, he has revived his interest in Gujarati literature and the chief story in Book No. 1, *Humanity in you will be destroyed by me*, relates to the hard and unbearable experiences of a prisoner, from the time the police takes charge of him to take him to jail till his release. This story and the others are told in a very popular way and sustain his position as a good story-writer. Pitambar Patel's *Golden Sun* consists of 24 stories told in his characteristic style, meant for the uplift of the village, socially, sanitarily and in other ways. The other two books are written by ladies who have mainly to deal with children. Rambha Behan's practised pen enjoins children, "Do not tell this to any one." The simple, short, interesting dramas written by her, chiefly as Radio addresses and talks are likely to be popular with children. Mrs. Java entered into literature with the editing of stories told to children after supper in Prof. Dewan Bahadur H. L. Kaji's family circle. They were published in magazines by his daughter, Mrs. Tarusuki Dehejia and are now collected and printed by this Society.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Eighth Year: The Eighth Year outlines the more important achievements of the Central and State Governments between April 1954 and March 1955. Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Pp. 234. Price Re. 1-8.

Second Five-Year Plan—The Framework: The book is divided into four parts. Part I deals with Draft Plan-frame. Part II, Tentative Framework, Part III, Basic Considerations and Part IV, A Note of Dissent. Published by the Publications Division, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Pp. 176. Price As. 12.

Education and the Plan: Published by the Publications Division, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Pp. 44. Price As. 8.

Basic Education—Questions and Answers: Published by the same. Pp. 16. Price As. 4.

Children's Films: It discusses the importance and necessity of producing films for the edification of children and deals with the formation of a Children's Film Society for the production of films specially for children. Published by the same. Pp. 40. Price As. 8.

Minor Irrigation: It deals with the minor works of irrigation which include wells, tanks, pumps, tube-wells and channels. Published by the same. Illustrated. Pp. 24. Price As. 8.

Asian-African Conference (18-24 April, 1955): It contains Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's speeches at the concluding session of the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, April 24, 1955, and the Final Communiqué. Published by the same. Pp. 38. Price As. 8.

Tito Speaks (In India and Burma): Published by the Yugoslav Embassy, 13, Sundar Nagar, New Delhi. Pp. 120. Price not mentioned.

Nepal and the World: By Rishikesh Shaha. Foreword by Shri B. P. Koirala. It deals with the Genesis and Growth of Nepali Nationalism and Factors in Nepal's Foreign Policy, e.g., Nepal and India, Nepal's Relations with Tibet and China and with other countries in Asia and the world. Published by the author on behalf of the Khoj Parishad, Nepal Congress (National Congress Associated), Kathmandu. Nepal. Pp. 54. Price Rs. 2.

See India—Banaras: Published by the Publications Division, Government of India on behalf of The Tourist Traffic Branch, Ministry of Transport, New Delhi. Illustrated with photographs and a map of the Banaras City. Pp. 20. Price As. 8.

See India—Simla: Published by the same. Illustrated. Pp. 24. Price As. 8.

See India—Dalhousie: Published by the same. Illustrated. Pp. 20. Price As. 4.

Malavyaji—His Life and Work: By Puran Batra. Published by the Nath Publishing House, Rajamandi. Agra. Pp. 40. Price As. 12.

Ahimsa: By Kamta Prasad Jain. The author recommends Ahimsa as the right solution of the world's problems. Published by the World Jain Mission, Aliganj, Etah, U.P. Pp. 44. Price not mentioned.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Moral Imperative in the World Community

Dr. Philip Lee Ralph writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The absence of a reliable moral code governing the behaviour of nations in their relationships with one another has long been remarked and deplored. Centuries of social evolution have produced relatively effective disciplines for the individual members of organized societies, not only in such intimate units as the family but also in fairly large and impersonal communities. In spite of the fallibility and waywardness of human nature, moral sensibilities have been nurtured and made fruitful in the development of individual personalities. But there is a notorious gap between the ethical principles accepted by even the ordinary and passably good citizen of a civilized community and the principles which seem to underlie the policies of organized states. Since the days of Machiavelli at least, it has been debated whether the State is amenable at all to the moral restraints that have become almost axiomatic in private life or whether the State is a law unto itself, bound only by considerations of calculated interest and the limits of its own strength. Paradoxically, the growth of successful and powerful governments has exposed and augmented a state of anarchy between governments.

In modern times considerable effort has been directed toward the replacing of international anarchy with a system of international law. This highly commendable effort has met with limited success, not only because of the inherent difficulty of law enforcement over a wide area, but also, and more fundamentally, because of the lack of a tradition which would give such a law the sanction of universal assent. Within well-established communities, whether civilized or primitive, the greater part of law is not a conscious creation but the embodiment of custom. Parliaments and congresses grind out huge quantities of legislation every year without producing a very marked effect upon the basic law of the land. Barring revolution, legislation can modify but little the fundamental habits and relationships of the body of citizens. Similarly, a really meaningful international law cannot be created by fiat or by solemn resolutions. A formal renunciation of aggression does not put an end to war; neither does a judicial condemnation of international aggressors, even when it is carried out by victors who are in a position to enforce their sentence upon the vanquished. International law will be respected only when it appears as the crystallization of the experience of nations that have begun to share a community life. International law can be no stronger than the moral sensitivity of the separate nations that support it. Unfortunately, there is no simple recipe for the heightening of moral sensitivity,

but the need for such a transformation has become increasingly apparent.

The dichotomy between private morality and public morality is seen in traditional attitudes toward the stakes and techniques of diplomacy, the handling of international disputes and the problem of world organization.

While in the field of personal contacts, even with strangers and foreigners, it is natural to assume at least a fifty-fifty chance of finding mutual trustworthiness, it is considered the height of *naivete* to regard any foreign state (perhaps even one's own) as dependable and honourable except when its own immediate interests clearly impel it to be. Acknowledging the principle that states are naturally at enmity with one another, it is argued that any effective scheme for world government must incorporate a paramount authority with sufficient force at its disposal to coerce recalcitrant nations. And the schemes die in embryo because no powerful nation is willing to surrender its sovereignty—which means, to put it bluntly, its right to act irresponsibly in a crisis.

No sane member of a civilized human society would dream of claiming sovereign independence for himself. To do so would be to jeopardize his most precious interests as well as to alarm his neighbours. Sovereignty is not to be confused with freedom. Actually, the more freedom is recognized and embodied in the *mores* of a community, the less will be the individual wish to burden himself with defences against the violation of his own personal rights. Enabled to take off his armour and lay aside his weapons, he becomes more completely freed for the business of living. True, there remains an organized power within the State to protect the individual against violence and to punish him if he resorts to crime, but under normal conditions this force is hardly noticeable or needed. The consciousness of belonging to a respected and purposeful community, the habitual acceptance of the norms of group behaviour, play a much larger part in shaping the conduct of the ordinary citizen than does the presence (or absence) of the local police force. Among nations, however, there is as yet no such community sense and no such established tradition of reciprocal respect. Hence the nations cling tenaciously to their sovereignty, even though it is a heavy yoke on their shoulders and a stumbling block to the realization of greater freedom.

The proverbially low estate of international morality is not attributable to any insurmountable defect in human nature or to the inherent limitations

of politics. It can be accounted for historically by the fact that nations have been, until recently, generally isolated from one another, with only casual or traumatic contacts and little opportunity for discovering abiding common interests. In ancient times it was possible for an entire civilization to run its course and disappear without serious repercussions in other parts of the world.

Our own age is unique in having created a condition of proximity and interdependence among nations.

Because human progress is a spotty affair at best, it is inevitable that institutions frequently fail to accommodate themselves to changes in the environment or in the balance of social forces. We enter the age of jet planes while our political habits and concepts are still in the "horse-and-buggy" stage. The terrible secret of the atom, unlocked by erudite scientists, becomes a pawn in an international struggle where the prevailing code of ethics is no higher than that of the cave-man. Perhaps, it would be fairer to say that governments today in relationship to one another are in a condition analogous, not to the Stone Age, but to that of the frontiersmen living precariously on the edge of civilization. The frontier dweller is notoriously independent, quarrelsome and quick to avenge an injury, but he can also be friendly, generous and hospitable. He is an ambivalent kind of creature, half forerunner of a more expansive and freer culture and half outlaw. The frontier has a curious morality of its own, which is by no means entirely savage, but which is inadequate for the needs of a civilized state and a miserable foundation for an international code of ethics. And there is one significant and startling difference between the historic frontiersman and the modern nation state; the resources of the latter are by no means meagre or primitive. Frontier morality, hardly less than cave-man morality, is disastrously dangerous when its adherents are equipped with nuclear weapons.

Some contend that it is utopian to imagine that the nations can ever be brought to bind themselves with a rigid code of conduct such as applies to individuals in a community. Certainly it will be a difficult a accomplishment, but it has never been easy to establish ethical standards, either for the group or for the individual. The taming of the ego, the instilling of attitudes of unselfishness and responsibility, has been the most formidable task confronting any society during its formative stages, but it has also been the most essential requirement for progress to a higher level of community life. The development of an ethical sense is never automatic but always the result of painful struggle, beset with anxiety and disappointment. In view of the diversity of opinion as to what constitutes desirable behaviour and in view of the refractoriness of human nature, it seems almost incredible that much moral progress could be achieved. Yet history bears impressive witness to the growth and maturation of conscience, to the displacing of the blood

feud by adjudication, to the enlargement of the orbit of loyalty, and eventually to the discovery that forgiveness is sweeter than revenge. A moral truth, first projected by prophetic genius, becomes gradually incorporated into the social consciousness of a community as its utility is demonstrated by experience. And, as the community gains in maturity and as the scope of its contacts widens, standards of behaviour must be examined objectively and broadened or refined accordingly.

The great question of our day is whether the nations can manage to replace their tribal consciences with a world conscience before they destroy one another, along with every hope of a viable international order.

Will they be able to make the big moral jump in time to prevent World War III or World War IV? If so, the lead obviously will have to be taken by the most powerful nations, because they are the ones who hold in their hands the means of wiping out civilization and reducing the world to chaos.

For too long the advocacy of international-mindedness has remained almost exclusively the concern of idealists, even visionaries, as if the cause was a work of extraordinary merit, hardly to be encompassed by the ordinary citizen. Tribute is paid to the concept of world government as an ultimate ideal, earnestly to be desired—like the Kingdom of Heaven—but likewise indefinitely postponable. Meanwhile statesmen concern themselves with more immediate and "practical" issues, above all with the quest for national security.

The irony of the situation is that in the present state of military science and technology there is no such thing as security, there are no impregnable defences, there is no immunity from the death-dealing fires and poisons of the laboratory. The only salvation for any nation now lies in self-imposed restraint and in the institution of measures directed to the benefit of all. For the first time in history the fate of the

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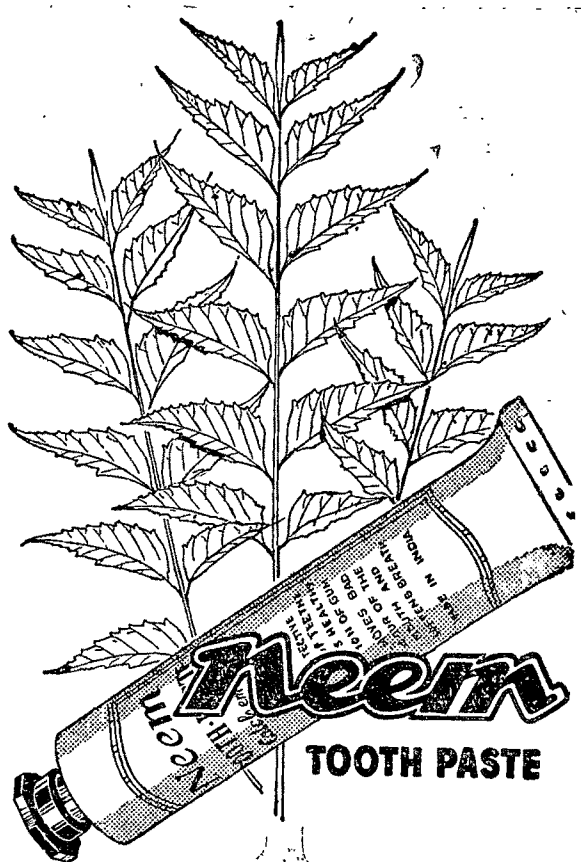
habited world has become a single one. If the nations cannot live together, they will die together. The security which is feverishly sought in a race for superiority in devastating weapons is like the desperate security of a gangster who has holed up in his hideaway, determined to "shoot it out." It is the false security which grimly fulfils the scriptural prophecy: they who would save their lives will lose them.

Beyond the fact that the projection of moral standards into the international sphere has become a necessary condition of survival rather than a mere pious dream, there is a deeper reason why the task must be undertaken. Private morality cannot be maintained independently of the moral standards practised by the organized groups that predominate in world affairs. Moral and ethical codes, whether primitive or advanced, always have relevance to the society in which they operate. Their efficacy grows with use and dwindles with neglect. But no longer is any society a self-contained experimental laboratory. The technological revolution of the last fifty years has drawn the nations together, whether they wish it or not. The actions of individuals, as well as of nations, have effects beyond the borders of their own state and will be judged in the court of world opinion. Unwittingly and unwillingly, we have all become our brother's keeper, and our neighbour is an alien whom we never expected to meet. Hence, time-honoured codes of national interest suddenly appear limited and parochial, insufficient to serve as main-springs of action in a community which encompasses the experience, the needs and the aspirations of the whole human family.

The gap between private ethics and public policy has begun to put an unbearable strain upon the individual.

He stumbles against and is frustrated by the double standard. He is thrilled by an unending procession of scientific marvels, proof of the triumph of the free intellect and forecasting a fabulous era in which man may conquer time and space. Then he finds that scientists are bullied into silence by suspicious governments or bought and sold on an international black market. His religion—whether Eastern or Western—impels him to accept the Golden Rule and the brotherhood of man; but he sees these precepts excluded from affairs of state and learns that, although a nation may be anxious to dump its surplus goods abroad, morality is not for export. Struggling to rear his children to be unselfish, generous and decent, he must send them out into a world where the assassination of millions of their fellow human beings may, at any instant, become the order of the day. It is no wonder that people are breaking under the strain, succumbing to neuroses or feeling themselves drawn into a spiritual vacuum.

The moral and spiritual values which give meaning to civilization and to life itself will atrophy and our souls will shrivel within us unless we inject and activate these values in the entire sphere of public, national and international relationships. This is a large order, but it is not sentimental altruism. Upon the success of the undertaking depends, ultimately, the safety and sanity of every individual. There is no longer a question of having one world or several; we already have one world. The choice, and one within our power to exercise, is between a co-operative world and a blighted planet.



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Guru Gobind Singh

A VERSATILE PERSONALITY

Gobind Singh writes in *The Sikh Review* :

Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru of the Sikhs, is generally regarded as a soldier, a warrior *par excellence*, a leader who defied the power of Aurangzeb. Very few people know that he was a versatile genius, a many-sided personality. He was a patriot, a nation-builder, a poet and a thinker. His versatility is an index to the rich gifts he possessed and which he used in the service of humanity.

A PATRIOT

Installed on the *gadi* at the tender age of nine (1675), Guru Gobind Singh began preparations to challenge the Mughal power. After all, the Mughals were foreigners. They had come from Central Asia to exploit the resources and people of India and had no roots in the soil. Guru Gobind Singh desired to end this occupation. Moreover, Aurangzeb was a bigoted and power-intoxicated ruler. Non could muster up courage to oppose him! The Guru threw the gauntlet to the despot and united the *rajas* of the Simla hills to join him. But they were afraid of Aurangzeb and helped his army in opposing the Sikhs. Single-handedly the Guru succeeded in defying the Mughal power.

A NATION-BUILDER

Guru Gobind Singh desired to create a strong and self-respecting community. He inspired the Sikhs with courage, hard work and simplicity. Once he burned all costly clothes at Anandpur and threw a considerable treasure into the Sutlej River to teach his followers the folly of hoarding property.

He also started an arms factory at Anandpur for the manufacture of swords, arrows and lances needed for his soldiers. The Sikhs were encouraged to make offerings of horses, weapons and uniforms in place of money. Once when the *brahmins* insisted that he should worship the goddess Durga in order to win victory in battle, he agreed to do so and kept up the farce till nothing came out of it. At the crucial moment, the Guru unsheathed his sword, exclaiming, "The sword is the Durga which will give us victory over evil-doers."

On Baisakhi day in 1699, Guru Gobind Singh fulfilled his life mission by the creation of the Khalsa. Five Sikhs responded to his call and expressed their willingness to die under his orders. They were baptized with *amrit* and were called *panj piyare*. This was the beginning of the community of warriors—the Khalsa, which was the spearhead of the defence of the weak against aggressors and evil-doers. Within eight years the number of the Khalsa rose to 80,000.

A SANYASI

Renunciation does not lie in wearing the saffron-coloured robe or giving up family life. True renunciation implies giving up evil and desire. One must live in the very vortex of life but remain unattached to worldly things. Guru Gobind Singh described renunciation thus: "Oh, my soul, practise renunciation in this way: consider thy house a forest and yourself an ascetic in it. Let continence be thy matted hair and communion with God thy ablutions; instead of growing long nails, pray daily; exert for the acquisition of divine knowledge; instead of rubbing ashes on the body, repeat His name."

Guru Gobind Singh was a real *sanyasi*. He offered his all in the service of humanity. He pressed his father, Guru Tegh Bahadur, to offer his life as a saviour of the Hindu community. He sacrificed his sons for the

vindication of truth and justice. When the news of the murder of his two sons by the Nawab of Sarhind was brought to him, he stood up and offered a prayer of thanksgiving to the Almighty: "Today I have discharged the trust (sons) committed to my care. The life of my children has been sacrificed for the faith."

A POET

From childhood, the Guru drank deep at the fountain of Hindu scriptures and folklore. At his court there were 52 poets. He himself wrote soul-stirring poetry.

There are two main themes of his poems—the glorification of God and the value of arms in inculcating courage and heroism. The Jaap is a collection of verses expounding the glory of God, written in a variety of metres, requiring deft and artistic handling. The *Zafarnama* is a poetic epistle in Persian addressed to Aurangzeb. It is not only a plea for justice and fair play but also a song of the glory of God who through small ants kills thousands of tyrants. It contains a message of hope and cheer. The *Dasam Granth* is a monumental anthology bearing testimony to the genius of the Guru and the talents of his court-poets.

A SAINT

It is difficult to find an example of such a warrior-saint in history. Even on the field of battle the Guru insisted on prayers. The morning and evening services were held in the theatre of war. Once a Sikh, carrying news of the approach of the Mughal army, came running to the *divan*. The Guru did not stop *kirtan*. He completed it as usual and then faced the enemy.

The Guru held that prayers must have precedence over fighting with the enemy. Devotion came first and resistance to evil next. It is devotion which creates determination and courage to face evil and suffering.

The Guru showed sympathy to his enemies. He did not pursue the defeated foe but, on the contrary, offered him food when he was in need. That is because he was fighting against evil and bore no ill will to his opponents. He was an apostle of love and peace who put into practice the precept, "fear naught, frighten naught."

On the auspicious occasion of his formation of the Khalsa let us search our hearts and do a sort of stock taking and find out how far, both in words and deeds, we have followed the footprints of the great Guru. This sort of introspection will help us spiritually and enable us to make some progress on the road to divinity.

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Housing in the Second Plan

Bharat Sevak, writes editorially :

Sardar Swaran Singh, Union Minister for works, Housing and Supply, said that though no final figures had yet been decided, the allocation for housing under the Second Five-Year Plan was expected to be about Rs. 120 crores—more than three times the provision under the First Plan.

The effective utilisation of the sum would largely depend on the enthusiasm evidenced by the State Governments, for housing was primarily their responsibility rather than of the Centre. He added that in respect of housing in the Second Five-Year Plan the Government's policy "will have to be conditioned by the basic fact that housing cannot be divorced from our general standard of living." It must bear a closer relation to what people could afford to pay for it and must not be unrelated to the physical and material resources at their command.

INDUSTRIAL HOUSING SCHEME

Referring to the *Industrial Housing Scheme* he said that to date the Government had sanctioned Rs. 21 crores for the construction of 73,000 houses, 85 per cent. of which would have been built by the State Governments, 13-1/2 per cent. by the employers and 1-1/2 per cent. by the workers' co-operatives. During the Second Plan all these three agencies would have to redouble their efforts in order to provide houses for the industrial workers.

LOW-INCOME GROUP HOUSING SCHEME

Under the *Low-Income Group Housing Scheme*, about Rs. 21 crores had been sanctioned to State Governments, for disbursement as loans to individuals. The scheme had been in operation for a year now.

The Second Five-Year Plan will see the beginning of what has been described as the middle-income group housing. The scheme envisaged loans advanced by Government and insurance companies to individuals up to the extent of Rs. 25,000 per house, or 80 per cent of the cost of the house, whichever was less.

SLUM CLEARANCE

Stressing the need for slum clearance and re-housing of the displaced slum-dwellers, the Minister said that almost all the State Governments had emphasised that they could not undertake any work in this field without substantial aid from the Centre.

"I think opinion is now almost unanimous that a beginning must be made in the matter of slum clearance in the next Plan period and that a provision, however modest, should be set aside for disbursement as loan and subsidy to the State Governments for the purpose of clearing the slums.

"Slum" clearance is where Government must itself step in, in order to redress an evil of long standing, without entering into fine calculations about whether the rent-

'paying' capacity of slum-dwellers would justify giving them better surrounding and better dwellings," he said.

RURAL HOUSING

On rural housing the Minister said: "We must evolve and set the pattern of rural housing in the country within the context of what the community as a whole can reasonably expect to spend on it during this Plan.

"Experiments are being carried out even now on setting up with the aid of local labour, initiative and resources, a few model villages in the countryside, in order to test the economics of the operations. If such model villages could be set up, even on a modest scale, at selected sites, we will have succeeded in evolving a pattern which can be followed to improve the standard of rural housing throughout the country. The Second Plan should see an intensification of our efforts in this direction."

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Jefferson—Freedom Was His Creed

In the history of mankind's struggle toward political democracy and freedom, the name of Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States, will always be in the forefront. On April 13, America will observe the 213th birth anniversary of this great leader.

Americans honour him not merely because of the important part he played in shaping the destiny of the newly-formed nation but also because he stands forth as the timeless embodiment of the freedom of the human spirit. A forceful and original thinker, Jefferson was, in addition, a great statesman, architect, and scholar.

Born in 1743 in colonial Virginia, Jefferson, as much as anyone, influenced the institutions of the U.S. Government. He was the author of the American Declaration of Independence, champion of the "Bill of Rights," and the founder of the present-day Democratic Party. He embodied the ideals of the Great American Revolution—its economic individualism, and its conviction that through political democracy the lot of the common man could be made better.

Jefferson had an abiding faith in the ability of man to choose good over evil when permitted a free exercise of his reason. He regarded the best government as the one in which its citizens have the most freedom. His faith in the dignity of man found powerful expression in the Declaration of Independence, which opens with these words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuits of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Individual liberty and social freedom formed the cornerstone of Jefferson's idea of democracy. Equal justice to all men, the right of the people to elect and control their government, popular education, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press these were the principles he considered fundamental to a democratic form of government.

His own words, inscribed on the white marble Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C., are the key to his philosophy. "I have sworn upon the altar of God," he wrote, "eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Equal opportunity is another aspect of Jefferson's philosophy, which has stood the test of time. The key to equal opportunity, according to Jefferson, is education. He had complete faith that a people enlightened by education could under democratic institutions govern themselves better than under any other system.

He was the founder of the University of Virginia, a role of which he was proud.

Jefferson's views on religion will be of special interest to India where religious freedom is a constitutional right. He devoted several years of his life toward

the eradication of religious bigotry and coercion, whether by state or church. During his term as Governor of the State of Virginia, he wrote and finally got passed the famous Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom—the first charter for complete religious liberty in North America, a model for other states and for the U.S. Constitution. To him the religion of any man was a private matter, like his family life, and nobody else's business.

Jefferson was third President of the United States and served two four-year terms (1801-1809). His public career also included service as envoy to France under George Washington, as Secretary of State under Washington, and as Vice-President under John Adams. Before the colonies established their independence and after, he had served Virginia in all capacities from justice of the peace to governor.

As an architect he drew the plans for his home, called Monticello, which is today one of America's cherished national shrines. The rich genius of Jefferson, the timeless quality of his spirit and philosophy are perhaps recognized more today than in his own time. His words have spanned the decades, but they are still quoted everywhere. And he remains a perennial inspiration to all those who cherish the dignity of man and his inalienable right to political and religious freedom. —*American Reporter*, April 11, 1956.

1955 : Spinoza Brought Up to Date

The following article of David Gittleman on Spinoza in *Unity*, November-December, 1955, is worth reading :

What was it in particular that turned the Biblical scholar anathema to his dogmatic yet well-meaning community, made him change his name from the good Hebrew Baruch (Blessed) to Benedictus, forced him to accept the hospitality and solitude of an attic in a Christian household, finally to emerge the God-intoxicated seeker after truth and wisdom, whose greatness soars with the passing of the centuries?

Benedictus de Spinoza (1632-1677) was a pioneer of humanity, a spiritual and ethical rebel who set out to re-evaluate accepted standards, using the yardstick of free research and reason. His aim was to understand, to ennoble, and to strengthen the moral character and ethical content of living man so as to make it possible for the growth of a humanity with dynamic spiritual discriminations. He looked upon man as a product of omnipresent godliness, with unlimited capacities for high idealism and noble emotions, disciplined by logic and a will-to-do-good. But he realized that man will never be true to himself until he actually lifts himself above those abominable practices which degrade his innate human and humane dignity. He was a lover of peace and freedom, but his inquisitive mind and yearning soul could not be appeased with ritual or mere freedom of the jungle. He felt that nations can be steered by means of pre-

cept and moral training to follow things that would lead to personal and universal edification. Well aware of man's wavering multiple personality and the recurring breakdown in the moral leadership of organized society, he held fast to the Talmudic adage that knowledge (Torah) is greater than priesthood and the royal purple; and he proceeded in bold strides to glean the best from the dry compost of a strife-infested past undermined by its own contradictions and ill practices.

Spinoza himself epitomized Lao-tse's principle in action, namely, that though he who overcomes others is strong, he who overcomes himself and his own unfavorable environment is indeed mighty. He could find evidence that within the mind of mortal man there are latent immortal divine ideas and aspirations capable of peaceably revolutionizing human society, and thus actually bring down closer to earth the prophetic vision of the Kingdom of a Loving God within reach of man. Joining the contemporary visionary, Spinoza too would plead that if it is possible for a man to reach out to the universe and draw down power to light our cities and homes, why can we not reach out into the same universe and draw out spiritual power to illuminate this world, to drive away the dark shadows of fear, prejudice, war, and economic troubles?

The humble polisher of lenses saw with his inner eye unity and love and beauty in the mechanics of the Cosmos, and wanted us all not to miss this thrilling experience of living a richer and nobler life triumphant. The Dutch philosopher would sympathize with the current verdict that the tragedy of life is not that men perish or lack the means, but that they cease to love—a sacred sentiment which is being replaced, by a glamorous parody flashed as an ill substitute on the silver screen. It was the late Santayana who maintained from his ivory tower that man is not made to understand life, but to love it. It is to Spinoza's credit that he labored to fuse both understanding and love in the service of his fellow men for the greater glory of an omnipresent creative godliness. For in his own life, he replaced book-religion and church-religion with a life-religion or, as he himself phrased it—"the more things the mind knows, the better does it understand its own strength and the order of nature; by increased self-knowledge it can direct itself more easily and lay down rules for its own guidance and, by increased knowledge of nature, it can more easily avoid what is useless . . . the less men know of nature the more easily can they coin fictitious ideas."—(*On the Improvement of the Understanding*). This bold approach to the general subject of cherished norms and prejudices was matched by a righteous zeal which formed the very essence of his monumental *Ethics*. Enlightenment is a virtue which carries its own rewards.

The ethical rebel challenged his elders and the status quo of the seventeenth century with the provocative declaration: "Man thinks."—(*Ethics*); and he labored to fuse phenomenal reality into an all-embracing dynamic moral pantheism. "Men who are governed by reason," he went on to explain, "that is, who seek what is useful to them in accordance with reason—desire for themselves nothing which they do not also desire for the rest of mankind, and, accordingly, are just, faithful and honorable in their conduct." Of course, the author of *Ethics* knew well that from the days of hoary antiquity reaching out to the tragic much too plausible episode of fratricide with the murder of Abel, *homo sapiens* has been a wolf to man—(*Homo Homini Lupus*); hence his contention that faith must be more than a mere appeasing ritual of ancient custom. Religion

must be steeped in the daily workings of fellowship, mutual helpfulness, and justice. For Spinoza the words "Do unto others as ye would men should do unto you" had a positive meaning, reflecting the actual way of life—the Will of God dedicated to the moral good of all mankind. In fact, he himself was permeated with Hillel's admonition: "Do not unto others what thou wouldest not they do unto thee." He thus pitched his warrior's tent in open battle against all tyranny, injustice, force, and dogmatic opinion. Aiming to sanctify and humanize the lot of mankind, he set the example by refusing to sell his own integrity for a conventional mess of pottage when tempted to do so.

Now, in the year of our Lord 1955, we hear again the familiar cry for the stronger arm; and the dreadfully ominous race is on—men and nations build power, more power, and are in a mad rush for a nightmar balance of power. Spinoza, too, had a word for it. But his conception of "the stronger man" points to a course that would avert calamities and strife and would actually usher in the saner order of peaceful co-operation and mutual aid. Says Spinoza: "He that is strong hates no man, despises no man, and least of all things is proud . . . he strives before all things to conceive things as they really are and to remove the hindrances to true knowledge, such as are hatred, anger, envy, derision, pride and similar emotions . . . he endeavours—as far as in him lies—to do good, and to go on his way rejoicing."—(*Ethics*).

How up-to-date was the Dutch philosopher? It was for good reason that one of our greatest contemporary novelists has penned his sincere tribute to our subject when he confessed in his self-revealing soliloquy: "I look upon my first reading of Spinoza," says W. Somerset Maugham in *The Summing Up*, "as one of the signal experiences of my life. It filled me with just that feeling of majesty and exulting power that one has at the sight of a great mountain range." Indeed, to the thoughtful reader of today, Spinoza's course or blueprint to Utopia is no product of wishful thinking and fuzzy-minded optimism. His ethical aspirations and logic are in line with the aspirations and reasoning expressed by the foremost thinkers of modern times. "In a rational ethic," says Bertrand Russell in *Conquest of Happiness*, "it will be held laudable to give pleasure to anyone, even to oneself, provided there is no counterbalancing pain to oneself or to others. The ideally virtuous would be the man who permits the enjoyment of all good things whenever there is no consequence to outweigh the enjoyment."

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS

Thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged 18th edition of "A MANUAL OF GENERAL KNOWLEDGE AND OFFICE COMPENDIUM" by Tripurari Saran of U.P. Secretariat is now available. It deals with innumerable subjects of General Knowledge, General English, Precis-writing, Drafting, History, Geography, Science, Literature, Politics, Sports, Conferences, World Directory, World Affairs, etc., etc. Also Questions & Answers of past P.S.C. Examinations and various other useful topics. HIGHLY SPOKEN OF. Indispensable for all Public Service Commission and other competitive examinations.

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Spinoza's humanitarian sentiments are best expounded by the ultra-modern Aldous Huxley in his Introduction to *Elagavad-Gita* when he warns us that "there will never be enduring peace unless and until human beings come to accept a philosophy of life more adequate to the cosmic and psychological facts than the insane idolatries of nationalism and the advertising man's apocalyptic faith in Progress towards a mechanized New Jerusalem . . ." While the renowned British historian Arnold J. Toynbee places the seal of approval with a profound summation in effect that "it is our moral plight in our small atom-bomb haunted planet that makes our physical weapons dangerous" (*New York Times Magazine*, May 1, 1955), and again, that "mankind's success in bringing human conduct under the rule of ethics in practice has, so far, been very unequal in human affairs; in international relations we are living in a primitive age of anarchy."—(*New York Times Magazine*, May 29, 1955). But, as Professor Toynbee's distinguished countryman assures us in his credo, there is no room for pessimism. "Science can, if it chooses, enable our grandchildren to live the good life by giving them knowledge, self-control, and characters productive of harmony rather than strife."—(Bertrand Russell: *What I Believe*.)

Thus, throughout the ages, unbound by man-made frontiers and prejudices, there is a "network of loyalties held in common" which is dedicated to the Better Life, and which by its very nature is not utopian and cannot be diverted, destroyed, or halted by tyrannous assaults and misrepresentations. It is well at this point to recall the gentle words of the ancient sage: "Man is born good, but ignorance makes him bad; he knows no better. Let us have patience, let us teach him and make him better. Then we will have a better world." Even the great Disraeli had a word for it in his *Sybil*: We are all born for love. It is the principle of existence and its only end.

It is conceivable that Spinoza would agree then that the real dilemma of our twentieth century and what this Atomic Age now needs most is not bigger material structures of puffed-up pride, but more respect for the dignity of the humblest of human lives: more concern for the sacredness of all mothers' sons throughout this inhabited world; not more awe-inspiring mechanical monsters and gadgets and man-made heavenly satellites, but more security, more human kindness, more individual and collective happiness and peace.

Such was the faith and the vision of the prophets the world over, of the Nazarene, of the saintly Gandhi; such was also the faith and the vision of our own Founding Fathers, who braved to dream and dreaming boldly labored to bring closer to materialization a peace-loving Brotherhood of Free Men. It is left to the guardians of today and a revitalized unified religion of tomorrow to accept the challenge of this Atomic Age.

Killers of the Insect World

A tremendous toll of death and disability is still levied each year by plague, sleeping sickness, yellow fever, malaria and a host of other diseases spread by flying and crawling insects, and there is no present prospect of eradicating these scourges, reports Dr. M. G. Candau, Director General of the World Health Organization, in the current (April 1956) issue of the *Unesco Courier*.

Fleas and lice, mosquitoes and flies have influenced the rise and fall of civilizations; they have determined the outcome of military campaigns and shaped the course of history. The diseases they carry have enfeebled

whole sections of the human race, depopulated fertile food-producing tracts, and held down man's levels of living particularly in the tropics but also in temperate climates.

"Despite the strides that have been made in our own day towards the control of many of these scourges," Dr. Candau writes, "there is scarcely one which does not still represent an actual or potential danger to large numbers of human beings."

In the past fifty years, the *Unesco Courier* reports, plague has killed more than 12.5 million people, and plague smoulders in many countries among wild rodents whence it can easily spread to common house rats in towns. The parasite that causes the dreaded sleeping sickness exists permanently in wild game in Africa and constantly threatens to infect men and cattle through the tsetse fly.

Yellow fever has been eradicated from most cities of the Americas, yet it is known to be firmly entrenched in the jungles among monkeys and other animals. A wave of this jungle yellow fever has been moving slowly but steadily up through Panama and Central America since 1948. Now, the *Unesco Courier* reports, yellow fever threatens to invade Mexico "probably in the next few months and almost certainly within a year," according to Dr. Fred. L. Soper, Director of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau in Washington. Dead and dying howler monkeys infected with yellow fever virus have been officially reported in Guatemala, and the disease is now only 75 to 80 miles from the Mexican-Guatemalan border and 800 miles from the United States border where the whole southern third of the nation is classified as a yellow fever "receptive area."

After the discovery of modern insecticides like DDT it was generally believed that any insect-borne disease could be conquered rapidly by exterminating the insects. Insecticides have proved amazingly effective in controlling malaria, in strangling the threat of louse typhus during and after the last war, and preventing the spread of epidemics in many parts of the world. But the insects are not yet conquered.

"It would be a serious mistake," Dr. Candau warns in a frank editorial, "to underestimate these ancient enemies of mankind. It is already clear that residual insecticides, powerful weapons though they be, do not provide the final answer to the disease-carrying insect. Nor is there at present any prospect of eradicating those diseases that have become permanently established among the domestic and wild animals. There they remain, a constant threat calling for constant watchfulness."

According to a report published in the current *Unesco Courier*—devoted in its entirety to the "Killers of the Insect World" on the occasion of World Health Day on April 7—a super race of insects resistant to all types of insecticides is now developing and has already been noted in 32 countries. Some 35 species of insects are already involved including those that spread some of the world's most dangerous epidemic diseases.

Malaria-bearing mosquitoes show immunity to DDT in some areas of Greece, Lebanon, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Panama and Mississippi (USA). Body lice spreading typhus can no longer be controlled in Korea. Fleas which are responsible for plague are manifesting resistance in certain parts of South America.

These warning signals have led scientists to look in other directions and to seek new methods and solutions. They have served as a great stimulus to new research and in many instances have revealed how ignorant scientists still are of disease carrier biology.

Thus no scientist can yet say with certainty what causes death when insects are exposed to insecticides and what the physiological and chemical bases of resistance really are. As Dr. B. de Meillon, of the South African Institute of Medical Research in Johannesburg, writes in the *Unesco Courier*: "More research is being done today than ever before because of the gaps that have been revealed in our knowledge through studying the effects of DDT."

Thus World Health Day on April 7 this year will, it is hoped, serve to make people everywhere realize that although the insect-borne diseases are increasingly held in check, they are a long way from being conquered. "To achieve that final victory," Dr. Candau has said, "man will need all his intelligence and resourcefulness. Above, all, he will need to act in concert, for this group of diseases is one of the greatest challenges to international health action."—*Unesco Science News*.

Bhakra Project Enters Final Phase

Nangal, Punjab.—Today, out of the rugged foothills of the Himalayas Indian and American engineers are building a new era of prosperity for India. For here, some 200 miles northwest of Delhi, despite the most difficult and precarious conditions, is fast nearing completion the Rs. 159-crore Bhakra-Nangal River Valley Project.

Prime Minister Nehru, in November, 1955, threw the first bucket of concrete in the Bhakra Dam thereby signifying that the project had entered the final phase of construction, that is concreting.

The project is one of Asia's most ambitious and daring schemes to harness and utilize her huge water and power resources. By damming the swirling Sutlej River in a narrow gorge at Bhakra, the project will, through a vast network of canals, irrigate some 10 million acres. The result will be dependable production of over 2½ million tons of food grains, cotton, sugar, and pulses, annually.

SECOND HIGHEST

At the same time, the Bhakra Dam—which will be 680 feet high, second in the world only to the Boulder Dam in the United States—will provide 400,000 kw of power. This cheap power is expected to attract factories of all types, including a new fertilizer plant, and help transform northern India into an industrial stronghold.

From the start the United States has been closely associated with this biggest river valley project of India. Top American experts on high dams like A. J. Wiley, John L. Savage and F. A. Nickell have been giving valuable guidance on the complex problems arising from time to time. A board of consultants consisting of distinguished U.S. engineers has been set up to whom problems are referred.

The Bhakra Dam is similar in design to the Grand Coulee Dam, the design of which was also prepared by Dr. Savage. The construction of the dam is now being executed under the supervision of M. H. Slocum, who is assisted by about 40 American technicians and 300 Indian engineers. The thorough mechanization of all constructional operations, the proper servicing and maintenance of all machinery, and the highly efficient and organized manner in which work is being carried on there clearly bear out the impress of the American way of doing things.

It may be mentioned that on no other river valley project in India is mechanization so thorough as at Bhakra Dam, and this change for the better is mainly due to the American influence. The United States has also helped in supplying all the necessary machines and spare parts required on the project, such as shovels, Euclids, bulldozers, cranes, and belt conveyors.

The construction of the Bhakra Dam has proved to be a very tough job. It has sometimes presented problems of unprecedented nature, more complex than those encountered on the high dams in the United States. But for the guidance given by the American engineers, it would have, perhaps, been not possible to achieve the progress so far maintained on the project.

The construction work at Bhakra has now entered the last phase, that is of concreting. It is estimated that 51 lakh cubic yards of concrete will go into the building of the dam. This quantity is next only to that used on the Grand Coulee Dam. A very efficient and elaborate construction plant based on the models of those used at Shasta Dam and Grand Coulee Dam has been designed and set up at Bhakra for concrete formation. This plant is the first of its kind in Asia.

The construction plant at Bhakra has been designed to make available 400 tons of ready-made concrete every hour. A four-mile-long belt conveyor designed to carry sand and gravel at the rate of 750 tons per hour, from the quarries to the dam site, has been laid.

BEST CONCRETE USED

Extreme care and vigilance are being exercised to see that the best concrete is used and in the manner calculated to ensure strength and stability of the dam. A fully equipped research laboratory has been set up in order to determine the best quality of concrete available under local conditions.

The concreting operations will continue for four years when the dam is expected to be completed in 1959. The greatest advantage will be that Indian engineers, while working under the guidance of the American experts, will gain the necessary training and experience in high dam construction. This will be a standing monument of Indo-U.S. co-operation.—*American Reporter*, November, 1955.

Baroda Prepares Edition of "Ramayana"

Dr. S. N. Vyas contributes as follows in the *American Reporter*, December 7, 1955:

The *Ramayana* of Valmiki, the first national epic of India, somewhat comparable to, but older than, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, will have its first critically prepared edition within a few years.

The huge task of screening and collating manuscripts, scattered in the libraries of home and abroad, has been undertaken by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, with the co-operation of Indo-logists of Europe and America. The ambitious scheme will cost Rs. 8,25,000 and is expected to be completed in 1960.

The *Ramayana* is generally ascribed to a period earlier than 500 B.C., but it depicts the events of a still earlier epoch, the reign of Rama who ruled about 1600 B.C. It was composed by Valmiki, from ancient ballads lauding the glory of Rama and his age. It consists of seven parts and 24,000 verses.

As writing was then not much in vogue, rhapsodists sang the epic to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument before enthralled hearers. A lot of additional matter crept into the book by way of interpolations, some of them added by clever poets and some by Sanskrit scholars. These interpolations were considered good and useful by them who desired to propagate ideas of their own or who thought that the original epic could be made more beautiful and fuller in detail in certain parts.

The interpolators did not feel that they were deceiving anybody, because they thought they propagated sound ideas. The larger the copy was the greater the respect shown by devout students, for it was generally thought that the original was very big and many parts had been lost. Some people came forward to supply "re-discovered portions," doubtless valuable but belonging to different periods to the time of Valmiki.

SEVERAL RECENSIONS

The oral transmission of the epic gave rise to several recensions and versions of the text in different parts of the country, each preserving its own peculiarities.

This was a great handicap in the critical study of the book. Some eminent Western scholars of the last century felt the urgency of preparing a critical edition of the epic, as they thought that no scientific generalization of any kind was possible on account of the admixture of the old and the new in the text.

Several editions of the *Ramayana* have been published since 1806 A.D., but none of them can be said to enjoy the status of a critical edition.

The preparation of a critical edition of the other epic, the *Mahabharata*, by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, under the chief editorship of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, a pupil of the late Prof. C. R. Lanman of Harvard University in the United States, highlighted the need for a similar edition of the *Ramayana*.

The Oriental Institute of Baroda University, at the instance of several eminent scholars and institutions, decided to take up the work. In 1951 its *Ramayana* department was started. It has prepared a descriptive catalogue of about 2,500 *Ramayana* manuscripts with the help of all the printed catalogues of the manuscript libraries of the world.

MANUSCRIPTS COLLECTED

Two hundred and thirty-five manuscripts of the *Ramayana* have been collected from different parts of India and the world. A photostat copy of the oldest manuscript from 1020 A.D. and preserved in the Bir Library of Kathmandu (Nepal) has also been obtained at great expense. Prof. Filliozat of Paris supplied a photostat copy of an old complete Bengali manuscript belonging to the 16th century A.D.

Each of these will be judged on its own merits, and that form of the text which commends itself by

its documentary probability and intrinsic merit will be finally accepted.

A strong editorial board of Indian scholars, with Prof. G. H. Bhatt as the general editor, has been constituted. Besides, some foreign scholars will be consulted for reference and guidance, such as Dr. V. Kirfel, Bonn; Dr. W. Ruben, Berlin; Dr. L. Renou, Paris; Dr. V. Pisani, Milan; and Dr. F. Edgerton, Laramie, Wyoming, U.S.A. Dr. Edgerton is well known in India for his critical edition of the famous Indian book of fables, the *Panchatantra Reconstructed*.

The *Ramayana* has engaged the attention of not a few American Indologists. Prof. C. R. Lanman guided in the early twenties of this century an Indian student S. K. Belvalkar, in critically translating the *Later A. of Rama*, a drama of the eighth century A.D. Bhavabhuti based on the *Ramayana*. The most notable contribution to *Ramayana* studies was made by E. V. Hopkins. He devoted a considerable part of his time and energy to a critical and comparative study of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, which together constitute the storehouse of the wisdom of ancient India. He discussed the important problem of the interrelation of the two epics in his *The Great Epic of India* (London and New York, 1902). He also contributed a scholarly paper on the *Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India* in the *J.A.O.S. (Journal of American Oriental Society)*, Vol. 13, 1888, pp. 57-376, drawing his material largely from the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*.

NOTABLE PAPERS

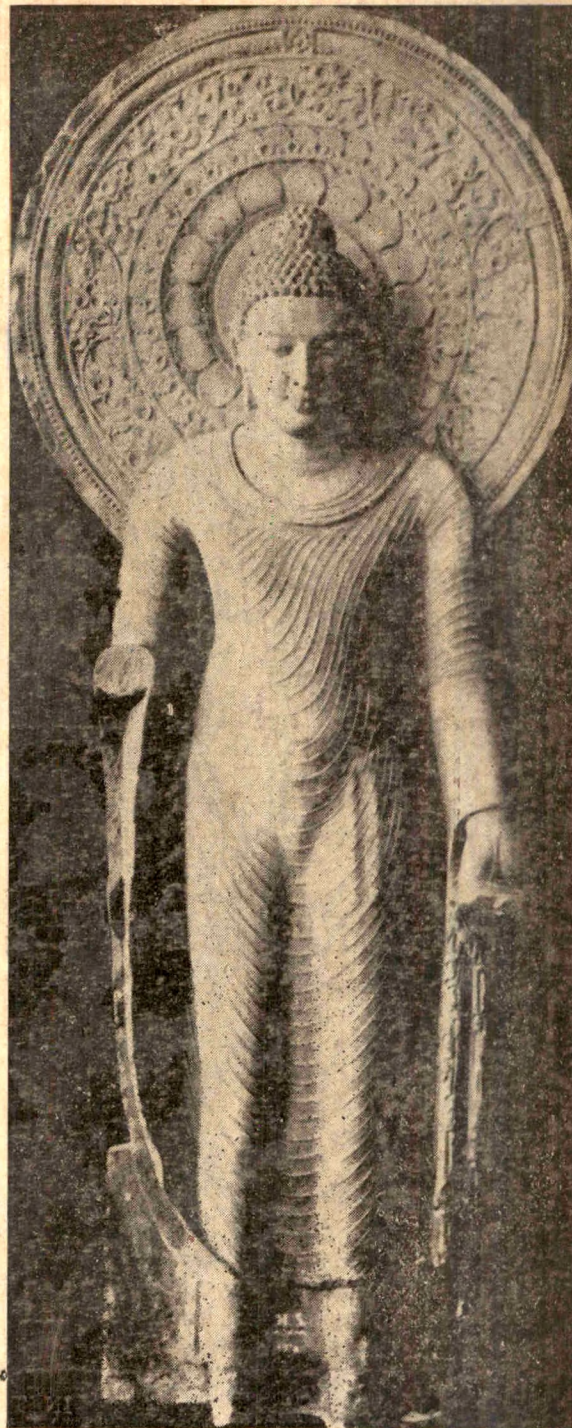
Among other notable papers of Hopkins on the *Ramayana* are the following:

Phrases of Time and Age in the Sanskrit Epic (J.A.O.S., Vol. 23, Pp. 350-7); *Epic Chronology (J.A.O.S., Vol. 24, Pp. 7-55)*; *Allusions to the Rama Story in the Mahabharata (J.A.O.S., Vol. 50, pp. 85-103)*; *the Oath in Hindu Epic Literature (J.A.O.S., Vol. 52, pp. 316-33)*; *Parallel Phrases in the Two Epics (American Journal of Philology, Vol. 19, pp. 138-51)*; *Proverbs and Tales Common to the Two Epics (American Journal of Philology, Vol. 20, pp. 22-39)*; and *Magic Observances in the Two Epics (Proceedings of American Philosophical Society, Vol. 49, pp. 20-24)*.

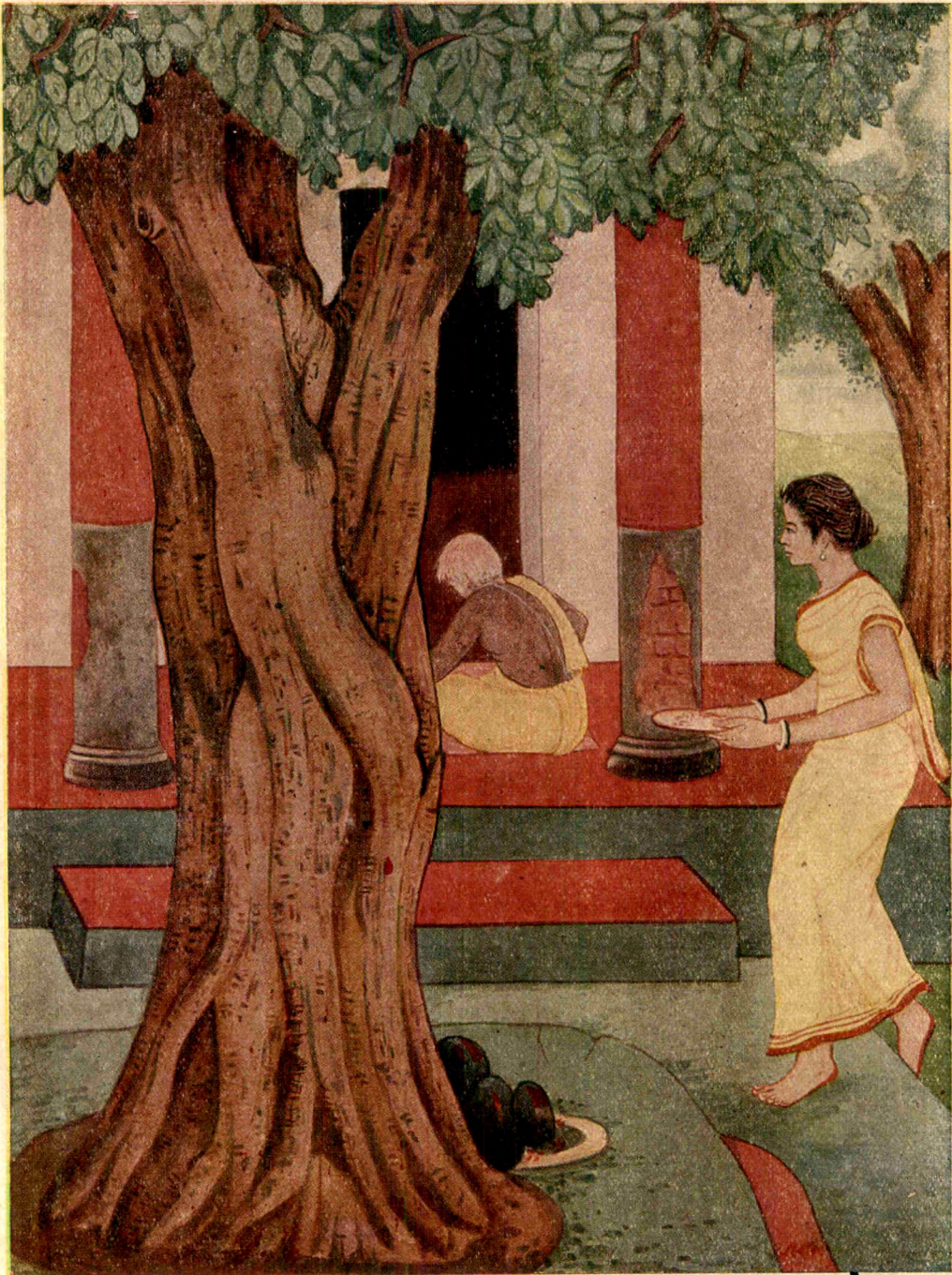
All these studies will be greatly helpful in the preparation of the projected edition being undertaken at Baroda.

Indeed the Western studies and translations of the *Ramayana* have proved that the epic, with its moving story of conjugal love, paternal devotion, truthfulness, and willingness to sacrifice one's interests to secure the welfare of others, has got a universal appeal, strong enough to establish a bond of affinity and brotherhood between India and other countries of the world.





The Buddha figure seated in meditation in *stucco*, Buddha (*stone*), Mathura, Gupta Period, 5th century A.D. (National Museum, New Delhi)



Prabasi press, Calcutta.

IN THE TEMPLE
By Manojkumar Sen Gupta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

Moral Values

The Congress Working Committee, which is the executive committee of that extension of the Congress Governments at the Centre and in the States, called the A.-I.C.C. for short, has been greatly exercised over "the increased tendency in the country towards violence, indiscipline and the lowering of standards of public life and behaviour." It has framed a resolution, which we shall discuss in due course, for placing before the All-India Congress Committee, and for passing for public consumption under the spurious stamp of the All-India Congress, which is *in extremis*.

We have all along pointed out in these columns that the perilous lowering of moral values, all round, is endangering the life of this nation. As our satraps are not only self-opinionated, but are also arrantly intolerant of criticism, we have no doubt that our writings have failed to reach their eyes. Nevertheless we would make bold to remark that the incidents at Kharagpur and Kalka have not come as a surprise to any one excepting our Rip Van Winkles of New Delhi, and their satellites in the various States. If the so-called All-India Congress Committee contained anyone besides the bureaucratic myrmidons and their clacquers and camp-followers, then it would have been impressed with force on the crania of our Tintags, that Kalka and Kharagpur are but the minor surface indications of the festering disease that is veritably rotting the vitals of the Nation.

Has anyone in the high and mighty circles tried to determine the etiology of this disease? We think not, else the wording of the resolu-

tion, which we quote *infra*, would have been a little less Pecksniffian, and there would have been a note of *mea culpa* underlying the ebullitions of the supermen.

Arrogance at home and a show of humility abroad, extreme intolerance of criticism from one's own people, and sanctimonious sermonisation of foreign peoples, holding up of Mahatma Gandhi's principles of *ahimsa* and *anasakti* in public, and intrigue, parochialism and intense nepotism in private, these are the besetting sins of our public men of today, whether in power or out of power. Indeed, the speeches of the High Command are standing examples of the Hindi saw about elephants' teeth, "*khaneka ek, dikhaneke aur*, one set for show another for masticating," and this divergence between example and precept is getting more and more glaring as the days pass.

The bureaucracy under the Congress is fast becoming as soulless and inhuman as in the worst days of British rule. Corruption is rife in the Police, the Railways and in all other public services it is slowly spreading far and wide. How can moral values be maintained by the common man, under the circumstances, when all the aid he can expect in his travail is hot air from the A.-I.C.C., in itself an effete body containing a large number of persons whose standards of morality are notorious?

Violence is becoming a part of the everyday life of the man in the street. For example, there have been two robberies, with murder, in Calcutta, within the last week. In one, a man was shot dead, in broad daylight and in a most crowded area of the city, and a bag containing about a thousand rupees taken away, by three

highway robbers. In the other about twenty dacoits broke into the house of a merchant in the early hours of the morning, stabbed to death one occupant of the office-room and severely wounded others. Then they lifted an iron-safe weighing seven maunds, on to a lorry and departed with some twenty thousand rupees worth of loot. The police arrived half an hour after they had been telephoned but, needless to say, the dacoits had departed. In the first instance, the people of the neighbourhood gave chase to the armed highway robbers and one man was caught.

These are but outstanding cases, but in the main life and property of the law-abiding is getting increasingly unsafe, due to the most lax control over the executive and the Public Services, such as the Police. The main trouble is that the corrupt executive, to say nothing of the lax and the inefficient, get scot-free under the Law and the Constitution, as framed by the Tom-noddies of the legislature.

The "Violence" Resolution

We append below the text of the Working Committee draft of the resolution against the mounting tide of lawlessness :

"The All-India Congress Committee has noted with grave concern the increasing tendency in the country towards violence, indiscipline and the lowering of standards of public life and behaviour. India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi set the unique example of peaceful and disciplined revolutionary action with discipline and sacrifice and the maintenance of high moral standards of public behaviour that gave strength to her people and enhanced her reputation in the world. Mahatma Gandhi always laid stress on the importance of means to achieve any objective. It is in the measure that we adopt right means that we shall achieve right objectives. Any other methods are improper, and can only injure and weaken the nation, apart from resulting in the lowering of moral standards and values.

"In recent months mounting violence has been witnessed in connection with the controversies relating to States Reorganisation and also in some industrial disputes, notably concerning the Railways. Some students have also been misled into wrong directions. However the policies of different organisations or groups

might differ, it should be common ground among all that for the working of a democratic system peace and order are essential. Even more so are they necessary for a fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan on which the nation is launched.

"The Congress has always stood for the advancement of the Working Class in the country and has helped in the organisation and strengthening of the trade unions. The strength of a trade union lies in unity, discipline and responsible leadership. Adventurist tactics and violence do not strengthen the worker or his union. Recent examples of such action taken by some railwaymen have alienated public sympathy and have brought no credit to them or to their organisations. They have also caused considerable loss to the country.

"The progress of a country and indeed of civilization is not measured merely in terms of factories or even greater production and consumption, important as these are. Every civilization is based on certain moral values, and every nation has to maintain certain moral standards of behaviour. If these are lacking in a nation or a people, then all the advances of science and technology, which we wish to make our own, will avail little. A people raise themselves ultimately by the moral qualities they possess and the civilized behaviour to which they are accustomed.

"India has stood for peace in the world and has laboured to that end. But if we belie our professions and do not function peacefully and with restraint, then India's voice would count for little.

"The A.-I.C.C., therefore, appeals to the nation and every party and organisation, in the country to work to overcome these tendencies towards violence and indiscipline and adventurism. These, if not ended, may well imperil democracy and progress."

We have no doubt that the above resolution will receive the A.-I.C.C. stamp and will be publicized accordingly. But what then?

The Congress itself, inclusive of the A.-I.C.C. and the Working Committee, is filled with many people whose record will not bear scrutiny, where service to the nation, integrity and the ethics of moral values are concerned. It is incumbent on Shri Dhebar to clean his own house first.

The Incidents

We append below the news of the violent incidents at Kharagpur and Kalka, and part of the Lok Sabha debate, from the reports published in the *Statesman* :

"Sixty-three people were injured at Kharagpur Station shortly after 6-30 a.m., on Saturday, when a train, started by a mob of persons, ran without its crew into the dead-end buffer at the station, mounted the platform and hit a building before coming to a stop.

"According to a Press Note issued by the Railway authorities, the train was carrying employees of the Railway workshops. As it stopped, according to schedule, at the 'passenger halt' near the down outer signal off Kharagpur, a mob surrounded it, assaulted the driver, the fireman and the augwalla and pulled them off the engine's footplate.

"The engine was then started by some members of the mob who jumped off after having done so. Before coming to a stop on the platform, the engine had dragged the first bogey off the track.

"Of the injured, 58 were railway employees travelling in the train, one was a civilian passenger and four were men standing on the platform. Five of the injured, all railway employees, were admitted to hospital.

"The South-Eastern Railway Administration has expressed its regret over the 'unfortunate accident occurring as a result of mob violence.'

"About 10,000 of the 15,000 employees of the Railway workshops and the loco-sheds at Kharagpur have been on strike for the past 20 days demanding classification of certain types of employees.

"The strikers and their sympathizers—including women and children—who had gathered near the gates of the workshops in the morning, stoned willing workers who were proceeding to duty. A group of workers were also attacked near the 'passenger halt.'

"As a result of these assaults, 64 persons, including a Deputy Superintendent of Police, were injured, 23 of them seriously. The Chief Medical Officer of the Railway, who was on his way to Calcutta by the Bombay Mail, detrained at Kharagpur and attended the injured in hospital."

"New Delhi, May 28.—A two-hour discussion on the Kharagpur train smash in the Lok

Sabha today revealed that the Government was engaged in a far-reaching reappraisal of its policy towards trade unions.

"Quoting with approval the similar views expressed by the I.N.T.U.C., the Railway Minister said he was thinking of making an assurance that they would not call a strike during the second Plan a condition for recognizing unions.

"In response to interruptions from the Communist benches, he explained that this meant that no union should call a strike until all avenues of negotiation and arbitration had been exhausted.

"The Government's grave concern over the train smash and the incidents preceding it was clear from the fact that the Prime Minister took part in the discussion and the Ministers for Labour, Home Affairs and Defence were present throughout.

"Both directly and indirectly, the Communists were repeatedly implicated in the strike, though no one blamed them for the smash. The fact that the only speakers to defend the strikers (although they also deplore the accident) were two Communist members added fuel to the criticism.

"Mr. Shastri stated quite plainly that several of the strike leaders held pro-Communist views and still believed in coercion and violence. Amidst mounting protests from the Communists, he also insisted that they were attempting to infiltrate into trade unions and warned them that if they followed their previous methods they would injure the cause of the workers."

Ambala, May 29.—Four workers of the Kalka railway workshop were killed and seven others injured when police fired this morning on a crowd of violent railway demonstrators at Kalka Railway station.

The incident was referred to in the Lok Sabha this afternoon and the mob excesses that forced the police to fire were described by the Home Minister, Pandit Pant, as "even more monstrous" than the letting loose of a crewless train at Kharagpur last week-end.

A Press Note issued by the Northern Railway in New Delhi said that the police fired after demonstrators had assaulted the Station House Officer at Kalka, tried to snatch his revolver and injured a number of policemen by stone-throwing.

The Northern Railway gave the following account of the incident:

When the Chairman of the Railway Board Mr. G. Pande, arrived at Kalka on his way to Simla, his carriage was surrounded by a crowd of railway workers who had gathered at Kalka station to present certain demands to him. A list of demands was handed over to Mr. Pande who told the workers that the matter would be examined. The workers, however, "insisted on getting an assurance regarding the fulfilment of their demands.

"The crowd moved to the narrow gauge railway line and tried to obstruct the movement of a rail-car and the shunting of rolling stock on to the platform. The first rail-car left 17 minutes late. Stones were hurled at this rail-car, which was carrying 12 passengers, and as a result several glass panes were damaged.

"The police advised the crowd to move away from the track and to allow the train operations to proceed. The crowd, however, grew violent and assaulted the Station House Officer and tried to snatch his revolver. They pelted the police with stones, injuring a number of policemen and also the Assistant Superintendent of Police, who was present on the spot. The police thereupon had to fire.

"Information received so far shows that four persons were killed and seven injured. Arrangements were made for the civil and railway medical officers to attend to the injured. Police reinforcements led by the D. I. G. of Police, Ambala, proceeded by road to Kalka at 10-25 a.m."

Problems of Public Expenditure

In a Welfare State where the State assumes a large share of total expenditure in the country, the problem of regulating and controlling public expenditure is of considerable difficulty. In pre-independence days, it was the problem of spending only about Rs. 400 crores by the Union Government; but now it is the problem of spending nearly Rs. 5,000 crores and to spend this huge amount in a regulated way. Irregularity in public expenditure in this country has become an inevitable feature of our economy and it has become so very common and widespread among the Government departments that the reports of irregularity in public expenditure do not raise any public consternation. As though the people and the Government take it that it is merely a question

of public expenditure, and it does not raise any question as how to spend, and it is of no considerable significance whether the expenditure has been incurred with regularity or irregularity. These two terms have almost become synonymous with our Government in so far as irregular expenditure by officials does not invoke any punishment. Or it may be that the authorities think that the irregularity in expenditure is so widespread among the officialdom that infliction of punishment for irregular expenditure would spare nobody, so it is better to spare everybody for that alleged offence.

The Central Audit Report, Part I, on the accounts of 1953-54, presented to the Lok Sabha on May 23, 1956, gives many instances of irregular expenditure by the Government departments and officials. The report has been prepared by the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India. The report draws attention to a number of important financial irregularities involving losses, extravagant expenditure, infructuous lease of building, uneconomic use of Government funds, uneconomic purchases, irregular utilization of Government funds for private purposes and abuse of exchange facilities. We are giving below several instances of gross irregularity in public expenditure in order to show that how, when the Government is progressively increasing its burden of taxation, the public money raised by taxation, is squandered away by official inadvertence or otherwise.

The report says that with a view to establishing an Embassy in a foreign country a residential building was taken on lease in 1950 for 15 years at an annual rental of Rs. 9,800. The building has so far remained unoccupied. The expenditure up to March 1955, was Rs. 68,133 and there is a recurring liability at the rate of Rs. 9,800 per annum for the next 10½ years in addition to charges for repairs, rates taxes, insurance, etc.

An infructuous expenditure of Rs. 20,906 was incurred on rent and maintenance of residential accommodation reserved for the occupation of the Charge d' Affaires of a certain Indian mission. The premises had remained unoccupied, as they were considered unsuitable for occupation even by the First Secretary of the Mission.

In another foreign country, a building with a vacant plot of land attached to it was purchased at a court auction for Rs. 5½ lakhs. In addition to the purchase price, a sum of Rs. 1,08,350 was paid to two intermediaries as com-

mission, etc., though the Government of India had been informed earlier that no commission for any intermediary was being paid. One of the major considerations which influenced purchase of the property was that residential buildings for the Embassy staff would be constructed on the vacant plot. But before the purchase was effected, the consulting architect had expressed doubts about the building regulations of the country permitting the construction of residential buildings on the vacant plot. Nevertheless the purchase was made. It has since been found that the architect's doubts had proved to be real.

The report further says that an officer of the Foreign service drew advances for the purchase of motor cars on three occasions within a space of four years from March 1948 to March 1952. The cars were sold each time without the prior approval of the Government who afterwards regularized the deals by *ex post facto* sanctions. The first of these advances was drawn without sanctions, and it was drawn in sterling by the officer's wife when the officer himself was stationed in India. The car itself was transferred to a relative of the officer and was not used by the officer for even a single day. There were various other irregularities in these transactions. It says that the same officer brought away with him a silver set from an Embassy, and left behind his own inferior set. This incident indicates that inventories of Government property are not being maintained in sufficient detail for purposes of identification of Government property.

The report says that on as many as nine occasions, a permanent officer of the foreign service, serving in various Indian missions, withdrew Government funds to the extent of thousands of rupees in excess of the amounts which were ultimately found due to him. Some of these overdrafts still remain unrefunded.

All these instances do not merely indicate simple lapses; in legal terminology, they amount to laches or negligence in performing legal obligations. These examples are examples of fraud and theft sufficient enough to throw the persons responsible in prison for several years, instead of roaming and romping freely as any other free man who is not guilty of any such offences. Had any other person misappropriated Government funds or exchanged his old good for a more valuable Government good, certainly he would have been a fit person for being sent to prison. The

officer who took away the Government silver set leaving behind his own betrays the elementary principle that it is simply a case of theft to take away other's property without permission. And strange it is that these are the persons who hold high offices and represent this country abroad. But stranger it is that such persons are condoned by the Government of India or their responsible officers who should have been convicted for complicity in such gross offences, not to speak of their holding and continuing still in high offices. The foreign department of the Government of India contains these septic elements that drain away country's valuable funds by theft and fraud bearing the stamp of official sanction, *ex post facto*.

Our Government boasts that in this country there is the rule of law, the same law being applied to all. There is equality before the law and all persons are treated equally. But that is far from the truth. In India a worse form of administrative law has developed that is invoked to condone officials guilty of heinous offences by issuing official sanctions, *ex post facto* or otherwise. The people of this country certainly deserve to know what steps have been taken by the Government to bring the persons concerned to task for above laches mentioned by the Auditor-General in his report. Why the persons in the Delhi Secretariat lent their seal of approval to these laches? And these instances show that the Government departments require thorough overhauling because it is rotten. The Auditor-General has rightly stressed the reorganization of the administrative machinery of the Government of India with appropriate delegation of financial powers, consistent with responsibility at all levels to prevent chronic lapses of funds.

We cited the above instances with a view to stressing that the Government of India is not at all alive to the danger of misuse of Government funds, notwithstanding widespread lapses within and outside the country and detection of such lapses. Two recent instances will be adduced to prove our contention that the authorities do not view seriously the misappropriation of Government funds and hence they simply amuse themselves by blinking over such incidents. The State Bank Act and the Insurance Corporation Act betray Government's reluctance in getting their lines washed before the public. It is common knowledge that misappropriation or misuse of Government funds is the order of the day with our officialdom. The

Indian Parliament can keep itself informed about the state of public expenditure in this country through the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The said high official is responsible to Parliament for keeping it informed regarding the expenditure of Government funds and as such he does not owe anything to Parliament's door. But unfortunately, he has been excluded from the audit of the State Bank of India and also from the proposed Insurance Corporation. During the passage of the Life Insurance Corporation in the Lok Sabha, members vehemently urged upon the Government to make the Auditor-General auditor of the proposed Corporation. But the Finance Minister turned a deaf ear to all these requests. The Union Finance Minister reiterated his views that if the Auditor-General was made responsible in any way for auditing the Corporation's accounts, it would hinder its development. But he favoured the constitution of a third committee which, he felt, could ensure a positive achievement audit instead of the negative type of audit undertaken by the Auditor-General.

The Finance Minister's above statement calls for much enlightenment. What does he mean by negative audit and positive audit? What is positive audit? Audit simply means official examination of accounts, that is, whether the funds have been lawfully expended. We assume that by positive audit, the auditor will not point out the Government lapses, but will simply whitewash over all such lapses. Of course, he is bound to do that because his next time appointment shall depend on the will of the authorities and hardly the auditor shall dare to incur the displeasure of the authorities concerned by putting negative type of audit as is being done by the present Auditor-General whose only fault is that he discloses in his report all the incidents of irregular expenditures for which the Government feel themselves discomfited. The opposition members in the Lok Sabha rightly demanded that the audit of the Life Insurance Corporation should be entrusted to the Auditor-General, otherwise how the Parliament could exercise its control over the funds of the Insurance Corporation? The Auditor-General is responsible only to the Parliament and not to the Executive and as such his is the proper machinery for being entrusted with the audit of the Government institutions and trading concerns.

In India, illegally legal expenditure is so rampant among the Government departments

that the entire system of auditing should be overhauled so as to check unauthorised expenditures which are, in other words, illegally legal expenditures. Just to cite an example of such expenditures which drain away a huge amount of Government funds raised by taxing the people. In West Bengal, under the Publicity Department there is a network of publicity arrangements in the districts and for the last few years radio sets are supplied in the villages at the Government cost for publicity work. So far that is good. But now the Department has decided that the former radio sets should be replaced by sets of higher voltage. The former radio sets are hardly two to three years old and no useful purpose would be served by a change of voltage. To replace all these old sets by new ones will involve a large expenditure and who will be benefited by it? Of course, the fortunate producers whose products will be purchased. And, who else will be benefited? That shows the inefficiency of the Government department in its failure to decide upon the right type of voltage in the initial stage. Anyway, this is an example of illegally legal public expenditure for which public funds are squandered away.

Gandhi Smarak Nidhi

The inaugural issue of the quarterly bulletin of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, an organization formed with leading personalities in India "to assist in a small way . . . some of the activities which Gandhiji initiated in his life-time as also preserve and popularize his writings" has just come to our hand. The bulletin is designed primarily to provide information on the work of the Nidhi and thus increasingly to activate its own members. The first issue contains some account of the various activities carried on by the Nidhi—including the museums, the films, anti-leprosy work, collection, preservation and proper utilization of the vast correspondence of Gandhiji, constructive work, etc.—on Central and State levels.

The Nidhi proposed, among other things, to establish four *sangrahalayas* (museums) in the country—at Delhi, Madurai, Wardha and Sabarmati—to contain articles and objects of importance and of sentimental value associated with Gandhiji. These museums would also collect books, letters and other literature by and about Gandhiji for study and research.

But we find no mention of any attempt either to revive the *Harijan* or to bring out in its place another weekly which would be totally independent either of the Governments or of the advertisers. This was one of the most significant and valuable services rendered by Mahatma Gandhi, and there is urgent need for it now.

Calcutta's Homeless Population

The *Statesman* reports: One per cent of Calcutta's population has no separate room in which to live, according to a socio-economic survey undertaken by the Department of Economics, Calcutta University. The survey was started at the instance of the Planning Commission in July, 1954. It is stated that these homeless people, comprising mostly migrants, live in the compounds of other people's houses and on footpaths.

The findings of the investigators, who covered 5,000 households distributed in each ward of the city, reveal that 37 per cent of these households have no separate room to themselves: they share one room with other families. The term 'household' means one family unit that has its own cooking arrangements. About 68 per cent of these households live in overcrowded rooms and 47 per cent do not have separate bathrooms. More than two adults to a room means overcrowding here. Ten per cent of these households have no latrine at all while 77 per cent share latrines with other families. Forty-six per cent of the households do not have electric lights.

Pakistani Venom

The *Bombay Chronicle* in an editorial comment on May 14 draws attention to the Pakistani practice of officially reprinting American propaganda slandering India's policy and leaders for distribution. More often such reprinted material did not contain any praise of Pakistani policies but mainly concentrated on attacking India. This was distinctly purporting, writes the *Chronicle*, since the motives of such action by the Press Information Department of the Government of Pakistan were pure venom. The *Chronicle* refers to a recent hand-out distributed by Pakistan which carried the comment of the *Tribune* of Minnesota containing 109 words of extremely prejudiced and malicious criticism of Mr. Nehru. "Not one

of these words quoted by Pakistan," the *Bombay Chronicle* points out, "was in praise of Pakistan, and as such we should like to know what purpose the Karachi Government had in mind in publicising such slanderous material against a neighbour . . ."

Concluding, the newspaper writes that it was one thing for a government to propagate other's praise of its policies; but it was "quite another—and objectionable—thing for it to quote some obscure foreign paper which makes a mean attack on another government. Not that it will have any deleterious effect on anybody but this sort of thing merely exposes the Pak policy of malice toward some and goodwill for few. How can an American paper's attack on India please Pakistan."

Pakistan's Debt to India

The recent Indo-Pakistan financial talks in New Delhi led the *Hindu* of Madras to examine the question of Pakistan's debt to India in an editorial article on May 13. Tracing the history of the matter the *Hindu* notes that though Pakistan was bound by agreement to repay her share of the debts of undivided India, for which India had graciously assumed the entire responsibility, in fifty annual instalments beginning from 1952, nothing had been paid by Pakistan up till now to meet her estimated debt of Rs. 300 crores to India.

"Pakistan's obligations under the partition settlement are clear and unmistakable. Even if there are minor differences over some items, there can be no doubt that there is a very large amount owing from Pakistan, well in excess of Rs. 250 crores, the burden of which India is now bearing. The longer Pakistan postpones sterling repayment, the greater is the burden on India. India, it should be realised, need not have assumed all these obligations at the time and she could have legitimately demanded that the assets transferred to Pakistan should be limited to the liabilities she was willing to take over. The fact that this was not done just because India wanted to facilitate the transfer of power and to give a fair start to Pakistan should not be taken advantage of for wriggling out of a basic obligation," the *Hindu* writes.

The newspaper refers to the reported Pakistani acceptance of liability to the extent

of Rs. 240 crores and remarks that there were other obligations in regard to Pakistan's share of various unfunded debts. It asserts that Pakistan should reasonably begin repayment from now without prejudice to the final settlement of all the items.

Referring to Pakistan's recent claims for a share in the sterling balances the *Hindu* points out that at this time of day this was an amazing claim because the sterling balances had never formed part of the assets of the Government of India and Pakistan "cannot lay" any claim to a share in them on the ground that they are such assets. Actually the sterling balances constitute the external reserves of the Reserve Bank and Pakistan has received her share of the gold and sterling securities in proportion to the volume of Indian currency circulating in Pakistan. Beyond that she can have no claim on the sterling reserves because they constitute the backing for the notes in circulation in India. The claim about sterling balances, if seriously advanced, is obviously another of the typical Pakistani dodges for postponing a settlement."

Presidents' Rule in East Pakistan

Eastern Pakistan has been experiencing a political crisis since the 1954 general elections in which the Muslim League party was trounced by the United Front. Immediately after the elections the United Front showed signs of strain. The crisis deepened with the dissolution of the Huq Ministry and the United Front was disrupted with the defection of the Awami League from it. The re-instatement of the Huq Ministry and the installation of the Sarkar Ministry could not overcome the strain which became more acute with the accentuation of an unprecedented food crisis in East Bengal.

In this background of a heightening political tempo the Assembly met on May 22 to consider the provincial budget presented by the Chief Minister, Shri Abu Hossain Sarkar, who also held the Finance portfolio. Political observer had forecast that the session of the Assembly was going to be one of the liveliest and they were not proved far wrong. On the very first day of the meeting of the Assembly the Speaker, Shri Abdul Hakim, ruled that the Ministry had no authority to move the budget in the Assembly. The Speaker gave his ruling

on points of order raised by two Opposition members—Sheikh Mujibar Rahman of the Awami League and Shri Goolam Hafeez of Ganatantri Dal.

The two Opposition members had contended that the Sarkar Ministry had no authority to introduce the provincial budget because the Ministry had been holding office illegally. The Ministry, it was further contended, had illegally spent the provincial revenues during the past months because the Budget estimates certified by Mr. Shahabuddin, the then Governor of East Pakistan, on March 24, 1955 under the 92A regime, had been rendered null and void when that section had been amended in November, 1955.

According to the reports published in the *Statesman* on May 23, the Speaker, giving his ruling, had held that Section 81A, which had been introduced under the Government of India Act, 1935, as adapted to Pakistan, by the Constituent Assembly in February 1956, authorizing the Government of East Pakistan to set aside the Budget for two months till May 31, had suspended the operation of Chapter III of the Act and had thereby suspended the provincial Legislature itself. As such the Ministry, which took its life from the Legislature, did not exist, especially as recourse had not been had to Section 83 of the old Act which had not been nullified by Section 81A.

The *Statesman* report adds that the Speaker "also agreed with the Opposition contention that the Ministry's failure to put forward new Budget estimates after replacement of Sec 92A of the Act by Sec 93 in November made the expenditure of public resources by them an illegal act. When a Government member intervened to state that legal opinion had been taken, the Speaker replied curtly: 'Legal opinion was taken after murder was committed.'"

"The Speaker contended that he had not been consulted in fixing the time-table for discussion of the Budget. He also clashed with the Government on the question of M.L.A.s being detained as security prisoners. He declared that detention did not mean that they had forfeited their membership. If this was the Government's intention, it should have declared their seats vacant."

The Government party was highly critical of the Speaker's ruling disallowing the Minis-

try to move the budget in the Assembly and said that the Speaker's action was illegal, *ultra vires* and a deprivation of the fundamental rights of the members of the Legislature to discuss the budget.

The Awami League members, who were at first not quite sure of the consequences of the Speaker's decision, welcomed the prospect of Governor's rule in the province.

Giving the reactions of political circles in Dacca the *Statesman's* Staff Correspondent wrote on May 23:

"The imposition of Governor's Rule and the dismissal, suspension or resignation of the Ministry and the certification of the Budget for 1956-57 by the Governor before May 31, are taken for granted. It is to watch what is to happen thereafter and who is to be up to form the Government. This uncertainty is also a vivid indication of how the Speaker's decision has thwarted a solution of the great riddle that has torn this province into two camps during the past two weeks, namely, who commands the majority in the legislature. Both sides lay extravagant claims to such majority, the Awami League stating that it can back its claim with signatures.

"Many were surprised today by some of the nine names of the United Front M.L.A.s who had announced their decision late last night to withdraw their support from the Front and remain Independent. They include such stalwarts of the Front as Mr. Kafinuddin Chowdhury and Mr. Bokainagari. The Awami League also claims that four other United Front M.L.A.s have joined their party."

The Governor, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, prorogued the East Pakistan Assembly on May 24.

The Speaker's unexpected ruling ensued a host of manoeuvres among the various political parties towards the formation of a coalition commanding a majority in the Assembly. Most significant of such moves was an effort by the Awami League and several other opposition to establish a joint front on a five-point common programme. These five points were: joint electorate; handling of the food and flood problem on a war-time emergency footing; cancellation of all public safety Acts; restoration of civil liberty; curtailing the rising cost of Government administration; and the adoption

of active measures to stop the exodus of minorities from Pakistan into India.

Mr. Suhrawardy figured prominently in these talks of a political coalition. He was reported to be in correspondence with President Mirza over the future political set-up in East Pakistan and the latter had reportedly assured him of his sympathetic consideration.

As the only logical step after the Speaker's ruling, President Iskander Mirza, in a proclamation on May 26, suspended the operation of the constitution in East Pakistan. The President, in a notification on May 29, authorized expenditure from the revenues of East Pakistan for a period of three months with effect from June.

At the time of our going to press, President's rule was withdrawn from East Pakistan after about six days of working.

East Pakistan Survey

We append below a special report, from the *New York Times*, on the background of the President's rule:

"Karachi, (Pakistan), May 26.—President Iskander Mirza, advocate of 'controlled democracy,' assumed complete control today of the province of East Pakistan. Abu Hussain Sarkar, Chief Minister, and his twelve-man cabinet were dismissed for inability to conduct the Government.

"The proclamation followed what has been described as the demoralization of civil service in the face of a threat of famine among the 44,000,000 inhabitants of East Pakistan.

"President Mirza's decision to end the seven-month-old Sarkar regime was taken after the Central Government Cabinet had held a four-hour emergency session for the second consecutive day to discuss one of the worst food and political crises in the delta province on the Bay of Bengal.

"Foreign government observers had informed General Mirza yesterday that people were dying of starvation in inland villages of the province following a desperate shortage of rice owing to two years of monsoon floods and extensive devastation of crops by insects.

"As long ago as last fall, United States agricultural experts warned provincial government officials that famine was inevitable unless emergency supplies of rice were imported. The United States donated 60,000 tons of rice six

weeks ago and since then more than 30,000 tons of United States rice have been delivered to the port of Chittagong.

"However, inland distribution of the grain was thwarted by a breakdown in the river, rail and road transportation systems attributed to rising flood waters and 'gross inefficiency of distribution agencies, coupled with graft, corruption and nepotism by provincial government officials,' according to Central Government investigators.

"In addition, numerous cases of black-market profiteering have been reported. The price of rice has risen in the last two months from the Government-controlled price of 11 rupees for eighty pounds to 50 rupees. The rupee is worth 21 United States cents.

"Dismissal of the provincial ministry marked the second return of Central Government control since June, 1954, when General Mirza, then Secretary of Defense, was ordered by Ghulam Mohammed, then Governor-General, to govern the province. His assumption of control followed a series of labor strikes in which more than 600 persons died.

"General Mirza was recalled to Karachi in September, 1954, and appointed Interior Minister. Central Government control continued under two other appointees until last October, when Mr. Sarkar was named Chief Minister.

"Prior to General Mirza's appointment as Governor, the Chief Minister was Fazlul Huq. After serving two months, Mr. Huq was dismissed for publicly advocating that East Pakistan should become an independent State. He was dismissed by Mohammed Ali, then Prime Minister, who now is Ambassador to the United States.

"The administration was returned to the United Front party last October when Mr. Huq, leader of the party, nominated Mr. Sarkar as Chief Minister. Mr. Huq was taken into the Central Government Cabinet as Interior Minister last August. He was appointed Governor of East Pakistan two months ago. He will continue as Governor but will act under direct orders and instruction of President Mirza."

Ferment in the Middle East

Of late the ferment in the Middle East has assumed world-wide importance and who knows that the spark of the future world war

does not lie hidden in the Gaza strip or the desert sands of Buraimi Oasis? There goes the saying that "he who controls the Middle East controls the world." The great figures in history from Alexander to Napoleon are reported to have said to that effect. Ever since the days of Crusades, the Middle East has been the battle ground of conflicting civilizations, of the jealousies and rival ambitions of European nations. With the decline of the Ottoman Empire, mastery of the Middle East became a major object of the great Powers. Catherine the Great, Napoleon, Nelson, Canning, Castlereagh and others tried their hand at either controlling it themselves or at preventing others from doing so, but nothing conclusive has yet occurred to settle the matter once for all.

The Middle Eastern countries today are divided—Iraq and Iran have joined the Baghdad Pact and are definitely with the side of the USA and the UK, while Arab League countries including Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen have joined forces in a demonstration of Arab unity unparalleled since the Crusades. The Arab League was originally created essentially with British inspiration. It was devised to supply a British Empire progressing towards a paternalistic Imperial system with a convenient political structure in which, through an Arab regional organization of pro-British governments, British strategic, political and commercial interests could be served. The British installed Hashemite dynasties in Iraq and Jordan; a grateful Syria and Lebanon freed from the French domination, and a corrupt party governing Egypt, could all be expected to supply the pro-British faction on the Arab League Council with an overwhelming voting majority.

But the calculations were much too optimistic in so far as they failed to see the rising tide of Arab nationalism that has now completely swept away the political plans of the British. The Arab League today is the active instrument of Arab unity with a voting majority on its Councils of five votes to two. Hashemite Iraq and Jordan, where British interests were strongly entrenched behind British created governments, alone resisted and alone sought to serve a receding British position. The Palestine War further strengthened the Arab unity with the ever-growing sense of nationalism.

During January, 1956, Jordan, a small Arab State, became an arena of stormy events. They were prompted by Western attempts to draw Jordan into the aggressive Baghdad Pact. Situated in the heart of the Arab world, Jordan has strategic importance. Jordan's neighbours are Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria and Israel. The USA and UK expected that Jordan would join the Baghdad Pact in view of the strong British positions in Jordan. The alliance and mutual assistance treaty imposed in 1948 on Jordan by Britain provided for the latter's right to maintain military bases and armed forces in Jordan. In the Jordan army—the Arab Legion—there are many British officers, and its Commander-in-Chief until recently was Glubb Pasha, an Englishman. The Turkish President Celal Bayar visited Jordan in early November, 1955, to persuade Jordan to join the Baghdad Pact; but he failed in his mission. Early in December, 1955, there came to Jordan General Sir Gerald Templer, Chief of the British Imperial Staff, and Mr. Michael Rose, Chief of the Levant Department of the British Foreign Office to pave the way for Jordan's membership in the Baghdad Pact. As a reward for joining the Pact, General Templer offered to Jordan a large sum of money, heavy arms, jet fighters, and munitions for the Arab Legion. The General also promised that some of the articles of the Anglo-Jordan Treaty would be reviewed in Jordan's favour. He also extended a threat that if Jordan rejected the offer, Britain would withdraw her financial aid to that country.

General Templer's proposition met with stiff opposition from the Jordan Government and Parliament. As a protest the Government of Said el Mufti resigned and El Majali was entrusted to form a new government. Majali was a supporter of Jordan's participation in the Baghdad Pact. General Templer thought that the Jordan problem was now solved and she would join the Baghdad Pact. The people of Jordan, however, put up strong opposition and as a result the supporters of the Baghdad Pact in that country had to change their plans. On December 16, 1955, stormy popular demonstrations took place in Amman where they were joined by many parliamentary deputies, and in other cities also popular demonstrations were made. The people demanded the resignation of

Majali Cabinet. The Government resorted to the police and Arab Legion to suppress the popular opposition. A wave of mass arrests swept the country. A state of emergency was proclaimed and demonstrations and meetings were prohibited. But mass demonstrations continued unabated and finally Prime Minister Majali had to resign. On December 19, 1955, the King dissolved the Parliament and Majali Cabinet fell. There would be a fresh parliamentary election and Ibrahim Hashim formed the Cabinet in order to conduct the parliamentary elections. But the supporters of the Baghdad Pact became afraid of the new elections and accordingly, on January 5, 1956, the Constitutional Court announced the decree on the dissolution of the Parliament to be null and void. The result was that the Hashim Government had to resign. A new wave of popular protest broke out all over the country. A new general strike started in Amman on January 7 of this year. Sami el Rifai formed a new cabinet on January 9. On assuming office Rifai published a statement in which he particularly emphasized his Government's opposition to Jordan's participation in any foreign groupings.

The Anglo-American block now realized that Jordan was not going to join the Baghdad Pact and continued to exert pressure on Jordan in this direction. Premier Sami el Rifai summoned the British Ambassador and the Iraqi Minister at Jordan and protested against their interference in the internal affairs of Jordan. Subsequently Glubb Pasha was dismissed from Jordan's army and that indicated that Jordan had parted way with the Anglo-American Block. The dismissal of Glubb Pasha has generated popular opposition against the Prime Minister Eden as it indicated the failure of his Middle East policy. The scandal over secret shipments of British arms to Egypt and Israel *via* Belgium, provided one of the grounds for attacks on the British Government's Middle East policy.

The Buraimi Oasis dispute has estranged Saudi Arabia from the Anglo-American Block. On October 26, 1955, armed British forces acting on orders of the Home Government captured a large area of territory in Eastern Arabia, and further during this forcible military occupation two Saudi Arabian officials in

Buraimi were wounded. The Saudi Arabian Government was shocked by the arbitrary action taken by the Government of the United Kingdom in resorting to military force against the Saudi Arabian Oasis of Buraimi. Eden defended the action in the British House of Commons stating that the attack on Buraimi was sanctioned from London in order to restore the control of the British protectorates of Abu Dhabi and Muscat over the Buraimi Oasis and the district west of it. Some British papers reported that the Abu Dhabi ruler lays claim to the Al-Qimi, Hili, Al-Quttara, Al-Muwaikil, Al-Mu'tarad, and Al-'Ain settlements in the Buraimi district, while the Sultan of Muscat claims the settlements of Hamasa, Sa'ra, and Buraimi.

Buraimi is an oasis in the shifting sands of the Rub'al Khali Desert. It consists of several watering places and nine settlements scattered in palm groves. Buraimi settlement, the biggest in the district, is a small trading centre for adjacent Bedouin tribes who have been for the last 150 years regularly paying taxes to the Saudi authorities. The desert territory of about 39,000 square miles surrounding the oasis is one of the richest oil-bearing areas in the world. The British Papers made no secret of the fact that it is not so much a matter of Britain defending the interests of her vassal protectorates of Eastern Arabia as a struggle of the oil monopolies. Commenting on the developments in Buraimi, the *London Times* admitted that the only reason why the British Government was seeking to include the oasis in the British colonial empire was to meet the demands of the oil companies. Delineation of the political frontier between Saudi Arabia and Oman would define the boundaries of the concessions of rival U.S. and British interests.

The British claim that in 1869 Al-Buraimi was occupied by the tribes of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi and the Sultanet of Muscat and that the situation changed in 1949 when the Saudis claimed authority on it. But the fact is otherwise. Saudi Arabia in support of her claim has drawn world's attention to the treaties of Jeddah and Alaqair between Britain and herself whereby the UK recognised that what belonged to the Saudi Dynasty always belonged to the Saudi Sovereign. The Buraimi dispute may be traced to 1935 when an

American oil company began to entrench itself on the territory of Saudi Arabia. The Anglo-Saudi negotiations over the frontiers between Saudi Arabia and the Muscat and Abu Dhabi British protectorates continued from 1935 to 1938 and were resumed in 1949. In July, 1954, Saudi Arabia and the UK agreed to submit the dispute to an independent and an impartial tribunal for arbitration. The tribunal was composed of representatives of Britain and Saudi Arabia, and legal authorities from Belgium, Cuba and Pakistan. Sheikh Yusuf Yaseen represented Saudi Arabia and Sir Reader Bullard represented Britain. The arbitration tribunal met in January 1955 in Nice and in September in Geneva. The tribunal took evidence, collected documents and noted complaints and grievances and when the tribunal was about to announce its final judgement—the fate of Al-Buraimi—then suddenly Sir Reader Bullard resigned his seat and retired from the tribunal. It may be stated that both the Governments had nominated their own representatives and they in turn selected their three neutral colleagues and that indicated that they had complete confidence in these neutral members of the tribunal.

The aggression in Buraimi has enraged the people of Saudi Arabia. The incursions of colonial forces in the oasis are also a form of putting pressure on Saudi Arabia because of her refusal to join aggressive military blocks. During the latter half of 1955, Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia entered into mutual defence agreement. Political leaders in these countries have been protesting repeatedly against the Baghdad Pact which is being regarded as a pact for pursuing aggressive aims. The Baghdad Pact is viewed as an instrument in the hands of the Anglo-American block for the sole purpose of making colonial expansions in the name of international peace and security.

The Governments of those Arab countries which are against the Baghdad Pact claim that the organization of defence in the Middle East is their own affair. Prime Minister Nasser recently declared, "The defence of the Middle East concerns only the countries of the region, and we reject the guardianship of any country or group of countries. We are fully resolved to defend our freedom with our armed forces." The conclusion of Arab defence organization

without the participation of either the UK or the USA hampers the expansion of the Baghdad Pact and the adherence of other Arab countries to it.

Iran has joined the Baghdad Pact and India objected to it. By joining the Baghdad Pact, Iran has placed herself in opposition to many Middle Eastern countries that condemn this military alliance of aggression. Iran's decision is regarded in Egypt, Syria, the Lebanon and Saudi Arabia as a step running counter to the interests of Iran and harmful to peace. The accession to the military pact means for Iran greater dependence on the imperialist forces and militarization entailing large additional expenditures. Iran is compelled to spend 60 per cent of her budget for military purposes. By joining the military pact, Iran is thus spending on the army her entire oil revenues. This reminds us of the position of Turkey. Owing to her participation in Western military blocs Turkey's economic situation is grave and getting worse daily.

Hitherto the Middle East was the preserve of the United Kingdom. Since the end of the Second World War, Britain's influence has been on the wane against the growing influence of Soviet Russia in this region. It must be admitted that the post-war British policy on the Middle East has been a total failure. The countries of this region have got their independence and are now free from the clutches of Britain. Britain failed to rise to the occasion to take the Middle Eastern countries into confidence. She failed to realize that the old colonial outlook is outmoded and unworkable today in the Middle East. The failure of the British policy has paved the way for the growing influence of Russia with whose help the Arab nations are arming themselves.

The United Nations-created Israel is another apple of discord and it has become a constant source of conflict between Arab nations on the one hand and the Western countries on the other. The Arab world united as never before and armed with Russian assistance are prepared for a final showdown with Israel. Israel also relying on Western help is no less prepared to face the situation. So long the USA was more or less a mute spectator in this region of the world. But realising on the onset of British might, and the growing influence of

Russia, President Eisenhower pledged that the USA would oppose any aggression in the Middle East.

Through American Eyes

We append below three reports, taken from the *New York Times* to illustrate the position in the Middle East:

"Cairo, May 24—Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser accepted today an invitation to visit Communist China in the near future.

"Government sources said he also had decided to invite Chou En-lai, Chinese Communist Premier, to come to Egypt to attend the celebration of the third anniversary of the Egyptian revolution July 23. The sources added that Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Prime Minister, and Mohammed Daud Khan, Premier of Afghanistan, also were expected to visit Egypt on that occasion.

"The Communist Chinese also have invited Gen. Abdel Hakim Amer, Egyptian Commander-in-Chief, to send a military mission to Peiping and General Amer has accepted.

"According to Egyptian Government sources, plans have been made to send a special envoy to Peiping to carry Colonel Nasser's invitation to Mr. Chou.

"An official spokesman released today the letter Colonel Nasser had written to Mr. Chou accepting the Chinese Communist Premier's invitation."

"Tripoli, Libya, May 23—United States and British diplomats in Tripoli are becoming alarmed over extensive efforts by Egypt to woo Libya away from her staunch pro-Western position.

"In promoting the neutralist 'anti-imperialist' policies of Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser, the large Egyptian representation in Libya has in effect turned to the extraordinary measure of openly sponsoring Soviet penetration in the country.

"So far the Egyptians have had little or no success except in the propaganda field. However, the fact that the Libyan Government of Premier Mustafa ber Halim has done nothing to curb Egyptian maneuvers has created tension and anxiety in a country that had been considered the most solidly and reliably pro-Western nation in this turbulent area. Libya is the major Western military base for guarding the Mediterranean and the Middle East."

"Beirut, Lebanon, May 22—The change of government in Jordan is a definite loss for the

Western powers, according to Arab opinion here.

"It might be a prelude to basic changes within Jordan."

"Said Mufti, the new Premier, who was sworn in today, announced yesterday that he would ask a revision of the defense treaty with Britain.

"The new Premier succeeded Samir el-Rifai, who resigned for reasons of 'health.' Mr. el-Rifai took office four months ago after the Government, then headed by Mr. Mufti, fell when it split over moves to align Jordan with the British-sponsored Baghdad Pact.

"Up to now Jordan has resisted pressure to join the neutralist bloc headed by Egypt on the ground that she could not legitimately abrogate the 1948 treaty with Britain.

"One practical reason for clinging to the British treaty is that under it Jordan gets a defense subsidy equivalent this year to \$25,642,400, about 60 per cent of her total national revenue."

Algerian Independence Movement

Algeria in North Africa is very much in the news at the moment. The country has a settled European Community mostly French numbering about a million. The Arab Community number about eight million. Between these two communities there is no equality. The Europeans have monopolized all the best lands and all the good jobs in mining and the utilities—the principal industries. Arab standard of living falls much below that of the Europeans. Politically the sparsely populated desert area of Southern Algeria is ruled as a French colony. The coastal strip is considered an integral part of metropolitan France. The heavily outnumbered Europeans enjoy voting parity with the Arabs and occupy all the key positions in civil and military administration.

The Algerian-French relationships were marked for a long time by the absence of any friction. By 1954, however, nationalist sentiments developed sufficiently and the demand for national independence began to be voiced. At the same time a National Liberation Army was formed whom the French termed Fellaghas or outlaws. The 15000-strong guerilla army reportedly operated from its headquarters at Cairo and established a military base in the mountains of eastern Algeria.

The first reaction of the French Government at Paris at the outbreak of nationalist revolt in Algeria was to crush the nationalist movement by the force of arms. About 300,000 French soldiers were despatched to Algeria. But the reign of terror let loose by the French apparently failed to have any appreciable effect on the Algerian nationalists so that with every day the intensity of the nationalist revolt began to spread through wider areas. The fury with which the two sides were fighting could be gauged from the following figures of casualties given by *Reuter* which says that according to reliable sources the rough estimate of losses on both sides between November 1, 1954, when the insurrection began, and May 10, 1956, was:

French forces—900 dead, 2,000 wounded and 350 missing.

Nationalist forces—8,000 dead, 500 wounded and 3,500 captured.

European civilians—190 dead, 120 wounded and 70 missing.

Muslim civilians—1,500 dead, 1,000 wounded and 500 missing.

A *Press Trust of India* dispatch from Cairo dated the 20th May says that Ben Bella, reportedly in command of the Algerian Nationalist Army, indicated his willingness to negotiate with France, if the French accepted Algerian independence in principle.

On May 22, Prime Minister Nehru presented in the Lok Sabha five proposals for peaceful settlement of the Algerian dispute. The proposals were summarised by the *Statesman* as follows :

✓1.—The atmosphere of peaceful approach be promoted by formal declarations by both sides of the substance of their recent statements in favour of ending violence.

✓2.—The national entity and personality of Algeria be recognized by the French Government on the basis of freedom.

✓3.—The equality of the peoples in Algeria irrespective of races be recognized by all concerned.

4.—Recognition that Algeria is the homeland of all the people in Algeria, irrespective of race, and that they shall all be entitled to the benefits and share the burdens arising from the recognition of the Algerian national entity and personality and freedom.

5.—Direct negotiations based on the above

basic ideas and in accordance with the principles of the U.N. Charter be inaugurated.

Pandit Nehru expressed the Government of India's concern at the continued hostilities in Algeria. "The conflict, it must be recognised," he said, "is one in which basically all the urges, the passions, the hopes, the aspirations and that mass upsurge of peoples which go to make the great movements of rising nationalism, are engaged. Too often are such movements and their consequences regarded as mere challenges to constituted authority which can and must be suppressed. The result has been violent conflicts and mounting hatreds which render peaceful settlements of them more difficult each day and less fruitful, when they may at last be reached.

"The conflict in Algeria is part of the great wave of national upsurges that have swept Asia and Africa in the last two generations. Whatever view we may take of particular aspects of the present Algerian situation and however much we may recognize, as we must, the practical difficulties and complexities involved, we and all concerned may not fail to recognize this basic issue.

"The position taken by the Government of India in regard to all such movements for national liberation, and specifically with reference to Algeria, has been repeatedly stated. It was also adopted by the Government of India, in unity with the other independent Governments of Asia and Africa, at Bandung last year when they joined in declaring their support of the rights of the peoples of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence, and appealing to the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay. This approach has two essential aspects which must be always remembered—our support to freedom movements and our adherence to a peaceful approach."

Pandit Nehru praised French statesmanship and the generosity of all concerned in bringing about a solution of the problems of Morocco and Tunisia and expressed the hope that the same attitude would also be displayed in dealing with the Algerian issue also. He recognised the "special factors and complexities in the Algerian situation" but considered that those factors called all the more for negotiation and accommodation. While there was increasing

evidence of the realisation in France of the need to meet the claims of Algerian nationalism the presence of a large number of French troops in Algeria was a grim fact. The immediate suspension of violence and bloodshed was the first step to any settlement of the outstanding issues, he said.

Shri Nehru said: "The House will recall that in Indo-China the first step towards termination of a long conflict began with the cessation of hostilities, and that a similar appeal as the present one evoked the unanimous approval of the House and helpful responses elsewhere.

"It is our hope that in a situation no less fraught with danger to the parties and to international peace than the war in Indo-China, now happily ended, this fervent appeal will reach the friendly ears of the parties to the present conflict, both of whom we regard as our friends and for whose co-operation and friendship with each other and with ourselves we are dedicated."

The French Government was interested in the proposals put forward by Shri Nehru for the re-establishment of peace but found them not to be in accord with their viewpoint, a spokesman of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs said on May 25 in Paris.

Mendes-France Resigns

It is not all Frenchmen who can tolerate the dragooning of the Algerians into submission with tranquillity, as the following news indicates :

"Paris, May 23—Pierre Mendes-France, Radical party leader, resigned today from the Cabinet in disagreement over Government measures to counter the rebellion in Algeria. In his letter of resignation to Premier Guy Mollet, a Socialist, M. Mendes-France expressed his conviction that the Government's failure to accompany its massive military effort in Algeria with political action designed to restore Moslem confidence in French intentions would lead to the loss of Algeria.

"I should like at least that my resignation should have the effect of a new anguished appeal for the Government to take the necessary decisions, however difficult they may be," he told Premier Mollet."

U.S. Attitude to Bases in Ceylon

The declaration of the newly-elected Premier of Ceylon, Shri Bandaranaike, that he would seek for the withdrawal of the British military bases from Ceylon at the earliest opportunity has apparently not been received with much sympathy in the United States political circles. In an editorial article entitled "Bases on Ceylon" the *New York Times* criticises Shri Bandaranaike's stand as being "unsound both economically and strategically" and expresses the earnest hope that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers at their forthcoming meeting in London would put "all reasonable pressure upon their colleagues from Ceylon to modify his position on the British bases there."

The *Times* says that the removal of the military bases would deprive "quite a few Ceylonese" of a useful living and would "break a link in the chain of Commonwealth Defense communication." The existence of the bases, the *Times* continued, did not constitute any denigration whatever of Ceylonese sovereignty because the British had never used the bases as instruments of political pressure nor intended to do so.

"What the Commonwealth Prime Ministers can and ought to make clear," the *Times* concludes, "is that these are not 'British' positions but Commonwealth positions. They exist for the good of all the Commonwealth, of which Ceylon is a part, and for the good of the defence of a free world. It is not wise or right to forget that for the sake of a local political campaign."

Highly critical of the position taken by the *New York Times*, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes that the *New York Times*, the unofficial spokesman of Washington, had not allowed the ink on the recent \$5 million U.S. ("No strings") aid to dry before asking for pressure to be put on Shri Bandaranaike to change his stand. "For a country which aims at girdling the world with its bases and dancing on the brink of war it will be difficult to appreciate the stand of nations who want to promote world peace by keeping out of armed camps and jealously guard their newly-won freedom from infringement whatever the pretext," the *Chronicle* writes.

The *Chronicle* refers to the fact that even

the British Government seemed to be sensible enough to recognise the justness of the stand taken by Bandaranaike and they were reportedly planning a new base at Mombasa. "In such circumstances when the Anglo-Ceylonese problems are likely to be amicably settled, American interference would be highly mischievous and unwelcome."

Refuting the arguments put forward by the *Times*, the *Chronicle* writes that in case Ceylon faced danger in the future she could easily invite British help. "If the Commonwealth feels Ceylon is strategically important it may as well hand over the naval base and the air station to the island itself and help it maintain them under its own command. It is time the United States realized that it cannot force war bases on unwilling countries and maintain them in the face of strong opposition. This is no way to win friends or maintain world peace," the *Bombay Chronicle* concludes.

President Soekarno in USA

President Soekarno of Indonesia arrived in the USA on May 16, on a 18-day tour at the invitation of President Eisenhower. On the day following his arrival President Soekarno addressed a joint session of the United States Congress. In a "hard hitting" speech delivered in "clear and vigorous" English President Soekarno urged for a better U.S. understanding of Asian aspirations. He said that Asia and Africa were passing through the phase of nationalism. "Nationalism may be an out-of-date doctrine for many in this world; for us of Asia and Africa, it is the mainspring of our efforts. Understand that, and you have the key to much of post-war history. Fail to understand it and no amount of thinking, no torrent of words, and no Niagara of dollars will produce anything but bitterness and disillusionment." The striving of the Asian and African peoples for the achievement of their national independence required sympathy and understanding of the rest of the world. "We ask you to understand," the President said, "our national struggle, and we ask you to sympathize with it. We ask you to understand and sympathize with the fact that our national struggle is still incomplete. How can it be complete when millions of our people in Asia and Africa are still under colonial domination, and are still not free? How can the national struggle in Indonesia be com-

plete when part of our own country [West Irian] and part of our own nation are still unfree?"

He strongly attacked colonialism and said, "We are told that the people of West Irian are not ready for a change from their colonial status, and that they need the continued guidance of the West to train them for the transition to liberty.

"We know this 'guidance,' we have had experience of this 'training'! It left us, after 350 years with an illiteracy rate of 94 per cent. It left us without sufficient doctors to treat even those who are sick unto death. . . ."

President Soekarno said to the congressmen: "I tell you in all solemnity. In the eleven years of our independence the Indonesian nation has made more human progress, and has been the scene of greater human happiness, than in all the tens of generations of colonialism that went before. . . . The figures are available—the lists of schools built, of infant mortality decreased."

President Soekarno said that Asian nations needed American help for their development. But while USA had granted aid liberally that aid had brought variable results—good somewhere, of doubtful benefit elsewhere. He said that military aid was no substitute for Asian stability for which Asian nations needed political and economic development. For the development of their economies Asian countries would gladly accept assistance from whatever sources it came, he said. "But, from whatever quarter of this divided globe that assistance comes, we are determined that no material advantage will buy from us any part of our hard-won freedom, for that freedom is more dear to us than the products which any country can give or sell."

Soekarno's Visit

We give the following extracts, from the *New York Times*, to show the American viewpoint:

"Last week Sukarno paid his first visit to the nation that furnished him with many of his ideals—the United States. He arrived in Washington Wednesday on a state visit, transported from Hawaii aboard President Eisenhower's private plane. At National Airport he was greeted by a delegation including Vice President Nixon and Secretary of State Dulles. From all that

Washington had heard of Sukarno, it expected a man of great charm, eloquence and erudition—and it got him. Sukarno captivated official and unofficial Washington.

"The highlight of the week was his address on Thursday before a joint session of Congress. Observers characterized it as one of the most forceful statements of the Asian point of view that the capital has heard. Sukarno pulled no punches; he criticized the American approach to the question of foreign aid in Asia ('Military aid is no substitute for Asian stability'); he said Asians rejected assistance that would force them to relinquish their independence. And he made an eloquent defense of Asian nationalism:

"For us, nationalism means . . . the effort to provide equal esteem for our peoples; it means the determination to take the future into our own hands. . . . Nationalism . . . is the mainspring of our efforts. . . . Fail to understand that, and no . . . torrent of words, no Niagara of dollars will produce anything but bitterness and disillusionment. . . . We ask you to understand and sympathize with the fact that our national struggle is still incomplete. How can it be complete when millions of our people in Asia and Africa are still under colonial domination?"

"The Congressmen interrupted him frequently with applause and when he finished, they gave him a standing ovation.

"Despite the impression Sukarno made, he is not likely to get much concrete United States backing for his position. The colonial powers Sukarno attacked are the United States' allies and for reasons of friendship, security and international politics, Washington feels it cannot abandon them. Specifically, Sukarno would like American support for his demand that the Netherlands relinquish West New Guinea, which Indonesia claims as part of its territory. (Australia holds the rest of New Guinea.) But Dutch control over the western part of the island is considered strategically important; Washington is reported to feel that evacuation by the Dutch would weaken the West's defenses in Asia."

British Press Criticized

Two publications were reproached on May 1 by the General Council of the Press,

watchdog of British newspaper ethics, for having intruded on the privacy of others, reports *Reuter*. The Council, which did not possess any disciplinary powers, criticized the magazine *Woman* for publishing a series of articles by a former official of the royal household and asked for the Queen and her family to be allowed to lead their home lives in privacy. The *Daily Sketch of London* came in for sharper criticism for the "callous intrusion" of the newspaper in having telephoned to Cyprus to talk with the widow of an army sergeant within twenty-four hours of his murder. The *Sketch*, however, rejected the criticism of the Council as "unfair and unjust."

It seems to us that the old newshound's tenet of "news at any price" is again gaining ground in Britain. Here in India, this system of yellow journalism is the rule of the day in all papers, with the honourable exception of a few.

Crabb Affair

Commander Lionel Crabb was a retired underwater expert of the British navy. On April 29, the British Admiralty issued a brief statement that Commander Crabb had not returned "from a test dive which took place in connection with trials of underwater apparatus in Stokes Bay in the Portsmouth area, about a week ago," and that he was presumed dead.

The disappearance of frogman Crabb caught the attention of the press and the public in Britain right from the beginning and there was widespread speculation that Commander Crabb had been sent by British secret service authorities to spy upon the Soviet cruiser, "Ordhonikidze," which had brought Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev, anchored in Portsmouth. Five days after the Admiralty announcement, it was said by an unidentified Soviet diplomat that a frogman had been seen to surface for a few seconds and then disappeared near the "Ordhonikidze." The Admiralty refused to say anything on that news.

Mr. John Dugdale (Labour) raised the question of the frogman's death in the House of Commons. But the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden refused to say anything on the matter adding, however, that while it was the practice for Ministers to accept responsibility,

he thought it necessary in the special circumstances of this case to make it clear that what was done was done without the authority or the knowledge of Her Majesty's Ministers." He said that appropriate disciplinary steps were being taken against the persons responsible.

Mr. Dugdale declared: "This is one of the most extraordinary statements ever made by a Prime Minister. He criticized that the Prime Minister's refusal to give any details was a complete evasion of Ministerial responsibility.

In response to another question from Mr. Shinwell, a former Defence Minister, Sir Anthony refused to say anything against whom disciplinary action was being taken or whether action was being taken for defiance of authority or for not consulting the Ministers.

The Speaker refused a Labour motion on May 9 for an immediate emergency debate on the frogman mystery on the ground of a previous ruling that a debate could not be forced when a Minister refused to answer a question for reasons of public interest.

The Labour Party tabled a motion of no-confidence against the Prime Minister by putting forward a motion seeking a cut in the Prime Minister's salary. The motion was lost.

Meanwhile, according to the *New York Times*, the *Times* of London had found that Commander Crabb and a friend named "Smith" had registered at the Sallyport hotel in Portsmouth the day before the Soviet Cruiser had arrived, but that the pages of the hotel register covering that period had been removed by police order. The hotel staff had been advised by the police not to discuss the matter.

On May 12 the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* reported that Britain had apologised to the Soviet Union for the fact that frogman Crabb had swam without authorisation near the warships which had carried Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev to Britain.

The *Bombay Chronicle* editorially deplores the frogman affair because the incident was certain to add to international distrust and tension. The newspaper notes that the British Prime Minister's silence "is likely to serve neither the Admiralty nor the Secret Service, which seem to have collaborated in carrying out a piece of espionage without the authority or knowledge of the Ministers. If it were not

so Sir Anthony would not have talked of disciplinary steps or contradicted the earlier statement of the British Admiralty that the frogman was merely testing, under orders, a new diving apparatus."

It says: "If a civilized nation like Britain can allow its secret service to sink to such a depth what must be the standards followed by other nation? As the London *Times* points out, the inevitable conclusion the public will draw from the incident that 'the decision to use the visit of Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev as an opportunity of making a close and furtive underwater inspection of the Soviet cruiser, while she was in Portsmouth Harbour, was an unwarrantable breach of hospitality and an act of reckless folly' . . ."

The *Bombay Chronicle* recalls the tragic incident of the "Kashmir Princess" in the British controlled airport of Hongkong and writes that, "Owing to lack of vigilance and prompt action the culprit got away to Formosa and feeble efforts to extradite him have failed miserably. However necessary the peacetime espionage may be those who swear by peace and democracy must observe rules of decency in international relations."

Wife Deserters

A conference was meeting in New York under the auspices of the United Nations to deal with the problem of heads of families who fled from their native lands to escape their obligations. Sir Senerat Gunewardene of Ceylon was elected President of the conference.

Opening the conference the chief legal officer of the United Nations, Mr. Stavaopoulos referred to the problem of wives and children left without support by husbands and fathers who had moved to another country and said under the existing conditions it was for all practical purposes wholly impossible to bring erring husbands and fathers to book.

The Conference would draft an international convention dealing with the problem.

Fadeyev Dies by Own Hand

Alexander Fadeyev, noted Soviet writer, committed suicide on May 13, says a communique issued by the Central Committee of

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The announcement of Fadeyev's death was made on the 15th May—two days after the event. Mr. Fadeyev was Secretary of the Board of the Union of Writers of the U.S.S.R., alternate member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. His works were translated into many languages of the world. A *Tass* report says: "The findings of the medical commission says that A. Fadeyev has committed suicide in a state of mental depression caused by an attack of a severe disease."

Fadeyev's suicide reminds one of Mayakovsky, the greatest Russian poet of the Soviet era, who had also killed himself in the early thirties.

Colonial Britain

The following extract from the *New York Times*, shows that the die-hard mentality is still present in Britain:

"London, May 21—The British Government's unswerving allegiance to a firm policy, including the use of force when necessary, to hold Cyprus, Aden and Singapore was emphasized by Selwyn Lloyd today.

"Speaking at a Conservative party rally, in Newark, Nottinghamshire, the Foreign Secretary declared it would be a 'breach of faith' for the Government to 'cast away those overseas possessions which are vital to our strategic interests.'

"The speech was delivered in the midst of increased questioning and criticism of the Foreign Ministry's policy toward Cyprus and Singapore, which are Crown colonies seeking self-government, and Aden, which includes a colony and a protectorate.

"There was no sign of a policy change in Mr. Lloyd's speech. He declared maintenance of the strength and influence of Britain and the British Empire was one of the main purposes of the Conservatives' foreign policy.

"Mr. Lloyd condemned what he called the 'dastardly' crimes of Cypriote 'terrorists.' He asserted that Cyprus was vital to Britain to carry out her responsibilities under the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to maintain her position in the Middle East and 'to honor our great obligations there.'

"The Foreign Secretary bitterly assailed Laborite speakers, including Earl Attlee, former Prime Minister, who have said the number of attacks on British soldiers in Cyprus had increased since the deportation of Archbishop Makarios, leader of the Greek Cypriote church in March to the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean.

"These attacks have been going on for nine months, Mr. Lloyd said. One of the reasons for the breakdown of the negotiations with the Archbishop was his 'refusal to denounce terrorism,' the Foreign Secretary declared."

Nehru and American Labour

The *New York Times* gives the following report, which shows the latest reaction to labour leader Reuther's report:

"The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America charged today that John Foster Dulles was 'unfit' to continue as Secretary of State.

"The demand for new leadership in the State Department was made in a resolution adopted by unanimous vote at the closing session of the convention.

"Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the 400,000 member organization, and other top officers were re-nominated by acclamation for new two-year terms. Their formal election will be by referendum this summer.

"The convention's resolution on foreign policy took indirect issue with the stand taken by George Meany on India.

"In a speech in New York six months ago, the head of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization said that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India and President Tito of Yugoslavia were 'aides and allies (of Communist nations) in fact and in effect, if not in diplomatic verbiage.'

"Without referring to the Meany statement, the Amalgamated said: 'Communism is making a desperate bid to conquer the entire continent of Asia. The bulwark of our successful defense

against that threat must be the strengthening of the people and the Government of India.

"Two years ago at our last convention, he said: 'We must not ask conformity . . . the building of a free and independent India is a far greater military and political asset than we could purchase in the bargain basement of power politics.' This statement is equally true today.

"The wording of the section on India went through three redrafts in the resolutions committee before agreement was reached. The Amalgamated was anxious not to add to the feud that has developed between Mr. Meany and Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, on the Indian issue.

"Mr. Reuther, who heads the A. F. L.-C. I. O. industrial union department, made no secret of his sympathy for the Nehru government on a recent trip to India. This had raised a question over who speaks for the United movement. The issue is scheduled for discussion by the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Executive Council at a meeting here June 5. Mr. Potofsky, a vice-president of the merged group, is expected to seek a peaceful resolution of the issue.

"The principal theme of the foreign policy declaration was an assertion that three and one-half years of Republican rule had seen the loss of this country's international prestige and leadership.

"It said: 'Secretary of State Dulles has demonstrated, through repeated major blunders, that he is unfit to hold an office calling for decisions on which the fate of our nation and the fate of the world may rest.

"To regain American leadership in the fight for peace and freedom, we must have an administration which will pursue a foreign policy which accords with America's traditions and meets the needs of our times.'

"Renominated with Mr. Potofsky were Frank Rosenblum, secretary-treasurer; Hyman Blumberg, executive vice-president, and seventeen other vice-presidents."

INDIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS—PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS*

By GRAYSON KIRK,

President of Columbia University, New York City

I must be frank and admit at once that I am not an expert on matters relating to India or Indo-American relations. This past winter I did have the opportunity to spend a trifle less than a month in India, and I did visit many cities and many universities, and I had the privilege of talking with many political, as well as academic, leaders. But, as you realize, a month's stay is too long if I had planned to write a book and far too short for me to have learned enough about that vast and diverse sub-continent to speak about it with any authority to you tonight. All that I can do, therefore, is to pass on to you some of my observations and impressions, coupled with the warning that you should weigh them against your own knowledge and experience. All that I ask is that you do not weigh them against your prejudices, of which we have already a God's plenty in the world.

Currently, we hear a great deal, perhaps too much, about the low temperature of Indian-American relations. We hear that the Indians do not like us, that Americans are badly treated in India, and that Indian officialdom looks upon our foreign policy with a distaste akin to genuine hostility and antagonism. In our own papers, we read statements from prominent men to the effect that Prime Minister Nehru is a quasi-Communist or that he is, at the very least, overly sympathetic toward Communism and overly critical of us. It is widely believed that India, despite official protestations, is so favorably oriented toward Communism that the country is destined to slip one day behind that metal curtain from which no country has yet emerged.

At the outset, let me say quite frankly that I did not encounter any experiences which would verify the charge about Indian hostility toward Americans. In thousands of miles of travel across the country and in scores of con-

versations with Indian leaders, I encountered, not merely exquisite courtesy, but genuine friendliness and warmth as well. I found complete frankness of opinion, which was frequently and honestly critical of this country, but I did not find any of that bitter and vindictive antagonism which, I must confess, I have found on occasion in many a country of western Europe. One university scholar, and only one, was "correct" rather than friendly in receiving me, but, as mutual friends hastened to tell me, his attitude was colored by his personal experiences. He had been invited some time ago to give a series of lectures in one of our great universities, but this long-hoped-for first visit to the United States had failed to materialize because we had denied him a passport visa on the grounds of an alleged affiliation with some suspect organization in the past. Who would not have been bitter over such an experience?

I must add also that even student audiences, and I had many of them, proved far less of an ordeal than I had been led to anticipate. Many were badly informed about the United States but no more so than many of our student audiences are about India. I was far more impressed by their almost desperate eagerness for information than by any evidences of hostility or antagonism.

My visit, however, did leave me with the feeling that our two peoples do have serious misconceptions about each other. These relate to a great many different facets of our relations, and they should be examined calmly and objectively; otherwise, they might fester dangerously in an environment of ignorance and misunderstanding. With your permission, I should like to select three of these for our special attention.

Perhaps we might begin with what one might call the American misconception about the orientation of Indian foreign policy. In the last eight years the United States has made strenuous efforts to bring the non-Communist States of the world into various forms of political and military association which, in the aggregate, would present a bulwark against further Communist expansion anywhere. In pursuit of this policy, which I would prefer to

* Partial text of the Second Vivekananda Memorial Lecture, delivered by President Grayson Kirk of Columbia University at the University of Chicago, at 8-15 p.m., May 1, 1956. The Vivekananda Lectures were established by the Taraknath Das Foundation to promote India Studies and to foster understanding between the peoples of the United States and India.

all organized and united resistance rather than containment, our government and our people have been impatient with other peoples who, though they profess to be non-Communist, have been unwilling to side openly with us in what we familiarly call the "defense of the Free World." Our irritation over such a position has led us to the overly-simple conclusion that all those who are not willing to join with us must, in point of fact, be against us whether or not they are willing to admit it openly.

With this conclusion, the Indian disagreement is complete. Their view is that we ask too much when we say that all those who would be our friends must agree that they will regard as their enemies all those whom we regard as our enemies. They are quick to point out that their policy of friendship for all nations, and alignment with none, was adopted at the very outset of their independent existence and was actually announced by their leaders even before independence was achieved. Their position, therefore, is not a covertly pro-Russian response to our overtures, but an expression of the most firmly-held and long-standing principle guiding their foreign policy.

The reasons for this Indian policy of obstinate neutrality are not difficult to discover. Indian leaders point out that their greatest immediate need is to build up and to develop their country. They need industrialization; they need roads; they need schools; they need hospitals; they need land-reform; they need as rapidly as possible to up-grade the standard of living of several hundred million human beings, so many of whom still exist in the squalid poverty endured by their ancestors for a hundred generations.

If you ask why this need is more imperative now than at any time in the past, the answer is that India, now free at last to determine her own destiny, is eager to show by demonstrated accomplishment and in the shortest possible time her fitness to be regarded as a great, as well as an independent power. Many a government official will tell you with pride—and with complete assurance—that there will be but four Great Powers in the world of tomorrow. These are the United States, the Soviet Union, China and India. It is my observation that there is another reason why the Indian leaders are determined to hurry their people into the

modern world. For the first time in history, the present generation of Indian citizens has a genuine awareness of the differences between their standards of living and those of the masses of many other more fortunate countries. Increased travel, motion pictures, illustrated magazines—all the media of mass information have had an effect not yet fully felt in raising the level of popular expectation of what ought to be provided by government. If this is true, it follows that a government which fails to show significant results will be replaced by another whose leaders are more extravagant in their campaign promises.

An American visitor is also reminded, firmly but not too pointedly, that the present-day Indian need to avoid external commitments and obligations in order to concentrate upon domestic development is closely comparable to our own situation in the early post-independence decades of American history. And they point out that, in this respect, our historic policy of neutrality and isolation grew out of the same national need as their own. They are inclined to argue that, without such a policy, the United States would never have grown to such world power in such a short time. They recognize the differences in the two situations, chiefly those which arise from an over-populated India versus a vastly under-populated infant United States, but they are firm in their view that India must follow, as we once did, Jefferson's policy of ". . . peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none." As one high government official said to me:

"You should at least be willing to allow India to follow for a few years a policy which you followed for a century and a half."

The same official gave me another reason, this time from the field of domestic politics, why Indian neutrality is so imperative at this time. He was quite firm in his view that any Indian alignment with the West would have been impossible so soon after India had freed herself from the political domination of one of the Western powers. With the memories of the struggle for independence so fresh in men's minds, any proposal, less than a decade after freedom's attainment, to become closely associated with the Western powers, including the

former ruling power, would have been regarded by too many people as being tantamount to a yielding of part of independence and a return to political subservience. I do not know how accurate such a political judgment may be, but I do suspect that Americans would not have been friendly, a decade after the Revolution, toward any alignment with a group of foreign powers which would have included Great Britain.

The natural American response to any such presentation of the Indian position on neutrality is that it is based on an unrealistic view of the Communist threat to the outside world. I should like to direct your attention to this problem for a few moments because I believe that it is a second major difference of opinion between our two peoples. Indian and American leaders are very far apart indeed in their estimates of Russian intentions in the field of foreign policy. The important thing to remember, however, at the outset is that because the Indians do take a different view, we are not entitled to jump to the conclusion that they must be pro-Communist in their political leanings.

My first observation is that one does not encounter, in or out of official circles, in India the fear of and hostility toward the Soviet Union so generally prevalent here at home. For this, there are many reasons. Because India does not have the same deeply-rooted traditions of individual rights, there is not the same sense of outrage over Russian disregard of individual rights, particularly when that disregard is not widely understood. Also, the vast majority of people possess so little material wealth, whether in land, money, or goods of any kind, that they cannot easily be moved to fear of Communism because of its rejection of free enterprise. In other words, the Indians simply do not view Russian policy from the same perspective as we do.

These, of course, are broad generalizations and like all such general statements they are subject to endless qualifications when one attempts to apply them to such a vast and endlessly diverse country. Obviously, what I have just said would not at all apply to the middle classes and still less, to those of the upper classes. But the right to vote is not limited to persons of education or substance.

If I may hazard another observation, I would say that the Indians lack a fear of Russia because they do not share our view that Russia is likely to undertake the spread of Communism by military conquest. They do not believe that the power of the Russian army and air force is likely to be unleashed against them or anyone else in the foreseeable future. They do not approve of Russian militarism; they regard it as a factor making for world tension and apprehension, and I fear that they have exactly the same view of our own military policy and activities.

There remains the danger of subversive activities. Here, the Indian reply to an American questioner is that the Indian Communist party is numerically small and that Nehru frequently has had more Communists in jail than could be found in the jails of any Western country. One has the impression of full awareness of the subversion problem, but one does not find any tendency to lapse into the acute fear, even hysteria, which at times seems to sweep this country. It may be that the Indians would do well to be more alert to this danger. All I can do is to report to you that I did not find anything among governing circles except confidence in their ability to deal with these activities to whatever extent circumstances might make necessary.

Finally, I should report that the Indians sometimes indicate overtly, sometimes by implication, that they are better able, as Asians, to understand and appraise Russian motives and policies than we of the West. In taking this position, they tend to think of the Russians as fellow Asians and not as Europeans. Whether there is such a thing as an Asian mind, and whether, if so, the Russians are, in fact, Asian rather than Western in their thinking—these are matters about which I am not competent to speak. Personally, I am more inclined to accept the view that differences among national groups arise from linguistic and historical influences than I am to be receptive to such a notion as an Asian mind which has a common characteristic separating it from the West even though those who share it have had no language kinship and no very extensive historical association with each other until modern times.

(A third source of misunderstanding is related closely to the two which I have just mentioned. This is the Indian impression of the American attitude toward colonialism. In today's India colonialism is still perhaps the most detested word in the English language. We must understand that to them colonialism is far more of a bugbear than Communism. The Indians all have had experience with the one but not with the other. To them, a State which practises or even condones colonialism is a greater enemy than a State which advocates Communism. Not enough time has elapsed since attainment of independence for these people to take a calm and historically objective attitude toward colonialism. One must remember that the major leaders of present-day India have served jail sentences, some for many years, because they opposed British rule. One could not expect them to remain indifferent to the striving of other peoples to end even the vestiges of alien political domination.

In consequence, the Indians are generally impatient with the failure of the United States to take a more clear-cut stand on this issue. They point out that our country by its historical experience ought to be firmly opposed to colonialism. They respect the record of this country in the Philippines, but they deplore our silence, or at least our ambivalence, with respect to the colonial issues of today. Since they do not share our apprehensions about the Soviet Union, they do not understand why we have felt that we must not "rock the boat" in our associations with Britain and France by supporting the aspirations of their subject peoples for complete independence. They are disappointed in us and their view is that, for diverse reasons, our leaders fail to express in policy terms the real and enduring attitudes of the American people. We may reply that this view is shortsighted, but, as I have said, it stems both from the fervor of their own feeling and from an entirely different estimate of Soviet intentions. From this brief analysis, it is easy to understand why Secretary Dulles' famous statement last winter on Goa should have produced such an explosion of nuclear proportions throughout the length and breadth of the country. That it should have been a joint United States-Portuguese statement, and not a unilateral one, was even more galling.

At this point one may ask if Soviet tactics are mainly responsible for these Indian attitudes. My answer would be in the negative, and I believe that what I have been saying is sufficiently explanatory as to the reasons for this conclusion. Nonetheless, we ought not to underestimate the Soviet danger in India. It poses a formidable threat to India and to the West, and I think we would be ill-advised, despite bland official assurances to the contrary, to cling to the belief that we are meeting the Russian challenge effectively and successfully. I disagree flatly and completely with the view that the great shift in Russian tactics was a victory for the West and an admission of defeat by the Kremlin. The new Soviet policy is based upon great self-confidence; it is being conducted with skill; and it presents a greater threat to the long-range interests of the West than ever did the tough militarism of Stalin. I was tempted to say "the unlamented Stalin," but I suspect that, before long, we may wish that Stalin were still alive and at the helm.

The reasons for my concern about Russian tactics in India are not based on any lack of confidence in the patriotism or intelligence of Indian leaders. My fear is that current Soviet tactics may create in time an attitude which the successors to these leaders may not be able to counter even if they wished to do so.

Let us not overlook the fact that the Russians are reaching the Indian masses as, I fear, we are not. I will grant that my view may be colored by the fact that I was in India immediately after the visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev. But, even so, one cannot overlook the impact of that visit upon the hundreds of thousands of Indians who saw them and who listened to their speeches. Let us remember that most of these people are illiterate. To them, the visit was one made by leaders of a great and powerful neighboring State in which a new social order, created for the benefit of the common people, was producing successfully the benefits which they, the Indian spectators, hoped to have one day for themselves. Without laboring the point, I ask merely if we of the West have reached these same masses in any direct or meaningful way. My own conclusion on this point is completely negative. I say this in no criticism of our American Ambassador in India who is a man of the highest ability and

who deserves the lasting gratitude of our people for his intelligence, courage, and devotion. My criticism is that our efforts to date to check Soviet infiltration have not made a significant impact upon the masses.

A second reason for my apprehension is that the Russians are profiting skilfully from our embarrassment over the heritage of colonialism. The Indians are unduly, but naturally, sensitive in their dealings with the West. They remember how a short time ago they were regarded by so many peoples of the West as inferior. They remember their treatment, not only at the hands of those who were crude and insolent, but even more painfully, their treatment at the hands of those who were condescending as a parent is to a child. Since the Indians still have a chip on their shoulder in this respect, they continue to look for evidences of racialism or discrimination in their dealings with the West. Occasionally, they find them because we, too, have not entirely freed ourselves from this corroding heritage of the past.

This sensitivity can be illustrated by a reference in a major foreign policy address given by Prime Minister Nehru in the Indian Parliament on March 29, 1956. Referring to the failure of "some great countries" to recognize the existence of China, he went on to say:

"But it is not merely a question of China. It is really a question of the outlook on all Asian problems or African problems and the idea that, as previously, they have to be settled by the great powers whom we all respect, hardly taking into consideration what the countries of Asia might feel about it. There has been a slight change, and the countries of Asia are sometimes asked about it, or, maybe they have even been allowed to sit in the corner of the council chamber. But the fundamental fact, this basic conception, still remains—that it is the duty, the responsibility, and obligation of these great countries of the Western world to carry the burden of the world, of Asia and Africa; like weary Titans they face all these problems and carry this burden of Asia when progressive Asia does not want them to carry that burden."

The Russians have no such Old Man of the Sea on their backs. They flatter their Indian colleagues; they treat them with enthusiastic equality. If at times they seem to lack finesse in dealing with sophisticated, cultured Indians, they make up for this omission by the warmth of their praise for Indian accomplishments in the post-independence

years. If they have ever criticized Indian neutrality or the moderate socialism of the present regime, I have never discovered it. They do not say that because Nehru is devoted to neutrality, he must be secretly favorable to capitalism and, therefore, hostile to Communism.

By such tactics and by open statement, the Russians have gone very far successfully to identify themselves as the leaders of all Asian peoples against the colonialist-imperialist West. The Indian masses know little or nothing about Soviet imperialism, but they know from experience about Western imperialism, and they are not overly critical about the Soviet claims. Worse still, one suspects that they are led by this prejudice to accept at near face value the Soviet interpretation of Western policies of the present-day.

Against these clever tactics of identifying oneself with the aspirations of a people, praising their accomplishments, flattering their leaders and their intellectuals, and offering to be helpful in any needed way, what have we done? As I have indicated, I do not believe we have reached very many people at the mass level. I am equally concerned over the inadequacy of our other programs.

I know that much attention is given to projects of technical and financial assistance. I know that we have devoted men and women who are striving to build dams, improve health conditions, guide industrial development. All these things are good and creditable, and they should be continued and, where appropriate, expanded. But my fear is that we may expect these programs to yield more political dividends and at an earlier time than is altogether likely.

The underlying assumptions are that an improvement in living standards will help to defeat Communism because people will be less desperate in their political choices and because more of them will acquire a modest vested interest in the *status quo*. This is undoubtedly true, but one wonders, in view of the magnitude of the Indian problem, when it will be true. Can such a development possibly take place fast enough to meet the rising level of popular demand? The great danger is that the level of expectation, even insistence, may rise, under Soviet encouragement, faster than the Indian Five-Year Plans, aided by outside technical

assistance programs, can improve living standards.

Another source of concern, which applies to all our American overseas assistance programs, is that we may expect too many political returns, in the form of support for us against Russia, just as a matter of sheer gratitude for our generosity. Among nations even more than among individuals, gratitude for favors given is seldom a powerful motivating force. The donor state may believe that its motivation is sheer philanthropy, but the recipient is sure to look the gift horse in the mouth in an effort to locate the motive of national interest which he assumes, and with good cause, to be there.

As Mr. Nehru said at another point in the speech to which I have already referred:

"The great powers . . . like to distribute largesse to the poor and needy and have not only the mental satisfaction of having done good but also that of knowing that the other knows that they have done good to it, and, may be, getting something in exchange."

Moreover, and with reference to those who represent us in these various assistance programs, it is important to remember that what we do is not more significant politically than how we do it. To be effective, our representatives must have rid themselves of the psychological impediment of the past. If they go to their posts filled with a burning zeal to bring the blessings of the modern age to a backward people, they are likely, unconsciously, to do more psychological harm than material benefit. If they are ignorant of the history and the culture of the people among whom they work, if they are ignorant of the religions and the customs, they, and we, would be better off if they remained smugly at home.

These observations lead me to a conclusion which I am sure you will share with me. Under the geographic, technical, and political conditions of the past century, we have failed to learn as much about the Asian peoples as we now need to know. It would be fair to say that the educated Asians know far more about the West than our educated classes know about the East. Our school system is oriented toward Western Europe. If we study history other than American history, we read the history of Western Europe. We study the art of Europe, its architecture, its philosophy, and its lan-

guages. If we know much of the East, our knowledge is usually confined to the record of our Western contacts with Asia. Of Asian thought, of Asian art, of Asian culture generally, we know far too little. We are still in the toils of that archaic notion that the "heathen" peoples of the earth may deserve our sympathy but not our serious study.

In a day when our national interests were not concerned by events of the outside world, save for Europe, such a point of view could be held without any injury to us except to our own cultural development. But today it is a crippling millstone about our necks. In a sharply divided world, the strong powers no longer dominate the weaker ones; they are more likely to be dominated by their weaker neighbors who will have tasted the joys of playing off the powerful ones against each other and of allowing each to vie with the other for possible favors. Also, in days when strategic conceptions have become global rather than regional, there are no events of importance in any country in the world which fail to have genuine significance for us. Our world, now so small and growing so much smaller with the whistling of jet planes and the dread menace of intercontinental guided missiles, is filled with states all of whom live politically in a chain-reaction relationship to each other.

In such a world, it behoves us to move with every possible speed to improve our understanding of other peoples. While there will always be larger and smaller States, we have no longer any room for notions about superior and backward peoples, for outworn conceptions of racial and cultural superiority. We have room only for the basic view that the nations have greater areas of common interest than of difference and that the commonality of their interests must grow as the globe shrinks. The price of co-existence in such a world is for all nations a willingness to allow others to live as they choose, to insist in every practicable way that the choice be a free one, and to refrain from all efforts, whether by violence or cunning, to impair that freely chosen status.

These are some of the considerations which lead me to place great stress upon the need for more cultural interchange between the United States and India. I do not advocate this merely because I think it will be a potent weapon with

which to combat Soviet infiltration in the sub-continent. I advocate it because I think it offers promise through a variety of means. It will provide a basis of future popular understanding because it has a possibility of mutual-ity of effort not to be found in financial or technical assistance programs. Its psychological benefits will be useful.

Through such increased interchange we will both rid ourselves of some of these misconceptions which I have sketched. Indians will lose the notion that we are crass and materialistic and without true culture or philosophy. Through increased knowledge and understanding, we will find Indian culture less

exotic, perhaps, but richly deserving of our careful study.

Understanding breeds tolerance and tolerance opens the way for soundly conceived and enduring political collaboration. I believe firmly that India is to become one of the great powers of the earth. It would be more than a pity; it would be a tragedy, if from these early days of Indian statehood our two countries were not to maintain those close ties, friendly and beneficial associations, which would give reassurance to the world that our differences will always be less than our agreements, and that we share a common determination to strive to bring to all men the fruits and not the terrors of the modern world.

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SOCIALISTIC PATTERN IN THE ANCIENT INDIAN ECONOMY

By NARAIN SARAN GUPTA, M.A., M.COM.

MUCH is heard of Socialism these days specially in those countries which have been under the domain of foreigners, for they have begun to realise that the concentration of power or wealth in the hands of a minority in a community leads to the exploitation of, and injustice to, the majority of the people. This is not a new doctrine but an old one as Plato (429-347 B.C.) advocates the abolition of private property inasmuch as the possession or desire for private property inevitably corrupts the individual, obscures his moral and intellectual vision and makes him incapable of pursuing truth and social justice. In other words it may be stated that

"Socialism is a body of teaching and practice resting upon the belief that most evils are due to excessively unequal distribution of material resources; and that these evils can be cured only by the transference, gradual or immediate, total or partial, of the ownership of property and the means of production and distribution from private to public control."

But this idea of socialism is somewhat different from Marx's Socialism which states that the history of society is but the history of the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and that when the latter class is much oppressed, it is bound in the course of time to acquire such power, centralization, organisation, international solidarity and effective revolutionary indignation that it will find it at once inevitable and relatively easy to take over the whole economic system by

removing the dwindling number of capitalists from their highly centralised position of control, thus at last obtaining the fruit of its labour in its entirety for its own use. Marx's Socialism may be called not actually Socialism but Communism although both these terms remained in a state of confusion up to this century.

On the other hand it is surprising to note that Socialism was prospering in India during the ancient times under Imperialism. Every institution had a socialistic background which may be examined from the following discussion.

ORGANISATION OF SOCIETY

In order to explore the possibilities of attaining equality regarding the distribution of wealth, which is the fundamental principle of Socialism, the whole society was divided into four sectors on the basis of qualities possessed by individuals and not on the basis of birth which is taken to be granted at present. According to the Geeta each sector of the society was allotted a different task although individuals were at liberty to change from one profession to another as Buddhist texts reveal that Brahmans and Kahatriyas tilled the soil and took up trade and did menial work, Vaishyas worked as tailors and potters, and Sudras took to other trades and professions which were not warranted under the caste division without any effect on their position in society. Brahmans were to acquire, learning and teach and preach,

Kshatriyas to rule, Vaishyas to trade and Sudras to serve. This division of society was based on the socialistic line. The first and the fourth sectors were to depend upon the second and the third for their livelihood. It was a legal and moral obligation on the part of the Vaishyas and the Kshatriyas to give away a certain portion of their income to the Brahmins and pay the Sudras their appropriate share in exchange of services rendered by them. Kshatriyas mostly belonged to the royal families and were attached to them and maintained by royal revenues which were paid by the remaining caste, i.e., the Vaishya, in terms of different types of taxes. The third sector was the only sector which was rich and mostly controlled the agriculture and the trade of the country.

Although Vaishyas were rich they had no such store of wealth as is found under the present capitalistic economy because they were morally and legally bound to pay from one-twelfth to one-sixth of their produce of agriculture by way of state revenues and (much of the taxes in respect of trade and commerce together with about one-tenth of their total income to Brahmins by way of charities and other religious affairs as also some part to Sudras. Thus wealth could not be stored and possessed by any particular individual or a group of individuals belonging to a particular sector of the society. Besides this, kings and emperors were not greedy and had no craze for accumulating wealth, and they tried to make their subjects happy and discouraged capitalistic economy.

It seems Megasthenes has confused castes with classes as he mentions that the whole society was divided into seven classes. On the other hand, the thing was that since the advancement of society more divisions of labour came in which resulted in divisions in trades and professions and people belonging to the same trade and profession formed a separate class.

AGRARIAN ORGANISATION

Either in the inscriptions or in other records there is no reference to landlords owning large estates, nor to beggars and very poor men in villages. Thus, society was prosperous and happy. It has already been pointed out that peasants and farmers formed the majority of the society and they followed the peaceful pursuit of agriculture. Besides a few cities and towns which were ports or seats of kings the whole country was divided into small villages. The administrative affairs of

a village were managed by the village council under a headman who was selected by the council and not by the king of the country. It was the headman, an important person in the village, who was held responsible for the collection of State revenues. Revenues in the shape of grains were collected and stored in Government granaries in various parts of the country as a protection against famine or drought, which proves the generosity and benevolence of the rulers. The peasants were generally a contented lot and developed, along with a sturdy civil spirit, the method of co-operative life for the common good. The Buddhist texts mention that all able-bodied villagers co-operated together to construct reservoirs, irrigation canals, roads and fencing for the common benefit of the village which is practised at present under the name of Shramdan sponsored by the Government of India.

The other characteristic of the ancient agrarian economy was that there was the "peasant-proprietorship." Land was considered as a valuable piece of property and the transfer of ownership was not permitted till the consent of fellow villagers or the permission of either the town-council or village-panchayat was obtained. Practically this idea has a socialistic background. The fallow or the waste lands belonged to the State in theory but their disposal was made in accordance with the wishes of local village-panchayats or town-councils. The state owned a very small fraction of the cultivable land and this land was called Rajyavastu, i.e., the Crown-land or the property of the state. Thus generally "the ownership of the cultivable land vested in private individuals or families and not in the State." This further proves that the kings and rulers had no craze for storing and accumulating wealth. The villagers who possessed so much land that it was difficult for them to manage used to lease it to tenants and the latter in return of their labour used to get from 33 per cent to 50 per cent of the gross produce. It has already been emphasised that there is no mention either in the inscriptions or in the Smritis about the modern system of Zamindari which remained in vogue in Bengal till the other day.

From the above remarks it may be concluded that for the purpose of disposition the land was considered as public property and the purchaser and the price were determined by the public. In order to bring about a parity of wealth among the peasants it was thought necessary that the

purchaser should be determined by the society so that one might not become the owner of so vast an area of land that he could monopolise wealth through the possession of the source of wealth. Further, the state encouraged socialistic tendencies by framing rules and regulations to that effect in regard to the sale of land and its ownership.

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION

Besides agriculture, which was the main profession of most people, trade and industry also flourished on the same line. The economic prosperity of the country was at a high level and a great many arts, crafts and occupations developed well. One of the characteristic features of the industries of those times was that they were carried on by hand and were widely scattered all over the country both in rural and urban areas with a further dispersion from house to house. This tendency struck a heavy blow against the very motive of capitalism which gains ground by the concentration of industries in a particular area. In villages lived the agriculturists, the ranchmen and the craftsmen. Ranchmen were peasant-proprietors. Craftsmen lived not only in villages but also in towns inasmuch as the whole of the country's economy was based on small-scale and cottage industries. This reveals that the whole country was industrially advanced and the problem of rural industrialisation did not exist as at present. The industrial prosperity can be estimated by the fact that the industrial structure consisted both of heavy and light industries which were localised in towns and villages respectively in view of the necessary benefits derivable from the factors arising out of the localisation of industries.

During that period there was no present-type factory system where hundreds of workers work in one building under one boss and the same management, which in other words may be called the capitalistic economy. Every worker was independent and was under no direct boss. He was in a position to reap the fruits of his own labour. The unit was very small. It was under one shed, and the factory unit did not go beyond family members. It may rightly be said that such a type of organisation was on socialistic lines.

To safeguard the interests of the craftsmen and to avoid competition among themselves as also to attain the economies of a large-scale

production, eighteen of the more important crafts were organised into economic corporations called Srenis or Pugas or guilds. Each craft had its own guild. Contemporary inscriptions and seals refer to the guilds not only of merchants and bankers but also of manual workers like weavers, oilmen, bamboo-workers, corn-dealers and artisans fabricating hydraulic engines.

The affairs of the guilds were managed by a President or Pramukh (Foreman) or Jyeshtha (Elder) or Sresthin (Chief) and a small executive committee of four or five members. "At Basrah, the ancient Vaisali, and the seat of provincial government under the Guptas, 274 sealings were found of the joint guild of bankers, traders and transport merchants having its membership spread over a large number of towns and cities in northern India."

In some places the guilds managed the affairs of temples. Guilds had a great reputation and status as they were autonomous bodies, having their own rules, regulations and bye-laws which were normally accepted and respected by the State. Disputes among the members of the guilds were settled by their own executive and not by the State tribunals. Guilds used to do banking business also by accepting deposits by guaranteeing a regular payment of interest, and grant capital and loans to those who required it. Such loans and capital were payable in easy instalments.

Under this industrial economy almost all the points of the socialistic economy were present. The ownership of the property was public and not private as it was vested under the guilds in respect of industries and crafts, and under town-councils and village-panchayats in the sphere of land and agriculture. When there was any possibility of concentration of wealth, ways and means were found and provided for transferring and diverting that wealth to the sector of society which possessed less.

It may be said that under such an industrial organisation the country flourished a good deal and civilisation attained its zenith. India in those days had trade relations with almost all countries of the East and the West. The ample gold coins issued by the Guptas and the large number of Roman gold coins found in the South prove clearly that India was filled with yellow currency, and since gold was coming from outside it may be concluded that it was towards the payment of the balance of trade.

A NOTE ON GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

By P. C. BANSIL, M.A.

THE Second World War broke out in September, 1939. As it approached the Eastern borders of India in the closing months of 1941 and war with Japan began on December 8 the South-East Asian markets were totally shut off.

By this time, India had also become an important war base. Huge quantities of food had to be made available for the large concentrations of military and auxiliary services at various centres throughout India and adjacent countries.¹ All these factors combined together put the maximum pressure on the food resources of the country. At the same time short-staple cotton also lost its export market in Japan.² The condition of the cotton-grower came for discussion in the Central Legislative Assembly on October 27, 1941. This being the situation, the Central Cotton Committee suggested in January, 1942, that the land under short-staple cotton should be diverted to food crops.

The conditions were getting worse every day with the Japanese advances. Singapore fell soon after. The Advisory Board of the then Imperial Council of Agricultural Research realised the gravity of the situation. It passed a comprehensive resolution in February, 1942, stressing the need to grow more food. Burma fell next month and Rangoon was evacuated on March 7, 1942. This made the position worse.

Agriculture being a transferred subject the Central Government was unable to take any effective measure in that direction. It had to

consult the Provincial and State Governments before anything could be done in the matter. The then Department of Education, Health, and Lands thus convened a Food Production Conference on April 6, 1942, which was fully represented by the Provinces and States. The need to grow more food was unanimously accepted. It was also emphasized by the various representatives that the Centre should play a more active role in the matter. The idea of a Central Food Advisory Council which was set up later in August, 1942, was mooted out at this Conference. The Council was "to pool information, plan food production on an all-India basis and to tender advice with regard to production and equitable distribution."

BROAD OUTLINES

This is how the scheme was launched rather in a hurry. It took hardly a few months for the whole thing to be completed. Those were the days when public tension against the Government was maximum. Every action of the Government was looked at with serious doubts.³ The administration on its own side lacked technical personnel. There was also very little cultivable land readily available. Although the scheme laid emphasis on both intensive and extensive cultivation, and the whole work was split up into 13 heads as detailed below, yet the chief plank was the diversion of land from short-staple cotton to food-grains :

- (1) Increasing the acreage of land under food-grains.
- (2) Emergency Irrigation Projects.
- (3) Land Improvement and Minor Irrigation Projects.
- (4) Agricultural machinery.
- (5) Manures and fertilizers.
- (6) Seed multiplication and distribution.
- (7) Vegetables and vegetable seeds.
- (8) Agricultural implements.
- (9) Protection of crop grains.
- (10) Fisheries.
- (11) Fruit development.
- (12) Live stock and dairying.
- (13) Agricultural statistics.

Some of the reasons were :

- (a) the presence of foreign forces in large numbers,
- (b) abnormal food wastages inherent in Government handling and war conditions,
- (c) complete cessation of imports,
- (d) need for some exports to Ceylon, etc.

Prof. M. L. Dantwala in his *A Hundred Year of Indian Cotton* gives details of the effect of war on the cotton trade of India with Japan. Before the War India had a flourishing trade with Japan and the Far East in cotton of say, five-eighths inch staple. Japanese purchases of Indian cotton had reached a record level of 2.4 million bales (p. 24). The July-August Broach contract on the Bombay Market for the year 1939-40 was Rs. 340 per candy (784 lbs. of cotton lint). [Broach is a cotton-growing area in Gujarat district. Cotton of this area was used as a standard for such contracts. Later on when Broach cotton could not be relied on for its purity, it was substituted by Jarila, a new introduction of the plant-breeders of the Bombay Agricultural Department.] As a result of export difficulties this came down to Rs. 180 per candy in 1941 (p. 107). All exports practically ceased after July 1941 when orders were issued by the Government of India on July 26 freezing the accounts of all persons or firms domiciled in the Empire of Japan and Manchuria (p. 25).

3. We are in this connection reminded of Lowes Dickinson's Immortal John Chinaman, who demonstrated so wittily and effectively that what an Englishman calls white a Chinaman would call black. (Quoted by Lord Irwin in his foreword to *Socrates in an Indian Village*—F. L. Brayne, Oxford Press. Eighth Edition, 1946).

The first phase of the Campaign which lasted up to 1947, consisted of a number of *ad hoc* schemes. No detailed plan was, in fact, prepared. Only some specific lines of work were indicated and the cultivators as well as State Governments were promised certain subsidies. Some work was no doubt done by way of new minor irrigation works and seed, manure and fertilizer supply schemes. But the success achieved being rather meagre, no discussion of each head separately seems to be necessary. We will confine ourselves to the first head—increasing the acreage of land under food-grains—which played an important role.

INCREASING ACREAGE UNDER FOOD-GRAINS DOUBLE CROPPED AREA AND FALLOW LAND

Various measures adopted by the Government for increasing the acreage under food-grains were:

- (a) Increasing the double-cropped area.
- (b) Bringing fallow land under cultivation.
- (c) Diverting land from non-food to food crops.

Statistical information is not available with regard to the first two items. It would, however, be seen from Table I that there was some increase in the area sown more than once in the Indian Provinces and some decrease in the fallow lands.

TABLE I⁴
*Fallow Land and the Area Sown More
than Once in Indian Provinces*
(In thousand acres)

Year	Fallow land	Area sown more than once
Average		
1936-37 to		
1938-39	36,072	26,786
1939-40	36,861	27,235
1940-41	35,213	26,435
1941-42	35,733	23,980
1942-43	35,296	28,496
1943-44	33,648	29,327
1944-45	33,671	29,621
1945-46	36,275	29,906

Whatever reliance can be placed on the data given above, it shows that there was some definite increase in the area sown more than once and a decrease in the fallow land for the duration of the war at least. It can also be safely assumed that most of these increases were devoted to food-grains, because as we would

see from the following pages, the land already under cash crops like cotton and jute was being diverted to food-grains. The question of bringing new lands under cash crops would not have arisen under the circumstances. It is, however, quite difficult to assess the actual increase in the food potential as a result of these two measures.

Besides bringing additional fallow lands under cultivation, steps were also taken to lease Government waste lands to cultivators at economic or concessional rates of rent or fee (as the case may be) for the production of food crops. Some 9 lakh acres of such lands were distributed in the various provinces. It was expected that these waste lands would be able to add some two and a half lakh tons of food-grains to the stocks of the country. But it is not known as to how much of this land was actually cultivated and what addition to food did it make. Some details have been provided by Dr. Natarajan with regard to these waste lands in the case of Madras. He says:⁵

"Between 1942-43 and 1949-50, some area assigned free of cost to landless agricultural labourers, petty landholders, political sufferers, ex-servicemen and others had totalled up to 392,958 acres, of which only 175,386 acres or 44.63 per cent have been brought under cultivation. The rest about 217,572 acres, remains yet uncultivated."

This sorry state of affairs is attributed by him to either the assignees of lands lacking finance and belonging to non-agricultural classes or lands themselves being not easily cultivable. Whatever the case, the conditions in Madras can more or less be presumed to be representative of the country as a whole. And it can be safely assumed that much progress could not be made on this front either. It may be added that Dr. Natarajan made some calculations of additional production, adjusted to seasonal factors as a result of 285.75 thousand acres of land assigned and 169.8 thousand acres actually cultivated for the period 1942-48. The cumulative additional production calculated by him is of the order of three lakh tons of food-grains.⁶ It would seem to be difficult to place much reliance on these calculations. Firstly, it is very difficult to find the actual

4. Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in Undivided India—1936-37 to 1945-46.

5. Dr. B. Natarajan : *Food and Agriculture in Madras State*, 2nd Edition, p. 163.

6. Dr. B. Natarajan : *Op. Cit.*, 2nd Edition, p. 86.

Additional area brought under cultivation and secondly, the yield from such area cannot be calculated. Table II will show that if adjustment is made with regard to the increases in the area sown more than once, there was hardly any increase in the total net area sown during the period.

DIVERSION OF LAND FROM CASH TO FOOD CROPS. COTTON FUND

Short-staple cotton having lost foreign markets, every possible effort was made to divert land from cash to food crops. The Government of India had imposed a duty of anna per pound on the imports of raw cotton. The proceeds—known as cotton fund constituted on January 29, 1942—were intended to help the cotton-growers. It was now decided that grants would be given from this fund at a rate not exceeding Rs. 2 per acre of the area diverted from short-staple cotton to food crops. The rate was increased to Rs. 4 per acre later on in the case of Madras. The Central Government also offered to purchase Jowar and Bajra from the United Provinces, Central Provinces and Berar, and Madras at fixed prices, quite favourable to the cultivators. The various Provincial and State Governments promulgated certain Ordinances regulating the cultivation of crops like cotton, tobacco and jute.⁷

All this did have the desired effect. The success was no doubt due more to the fact that food-grains prices were attractive as compared with cash crops. The results for the Indian Union are shown in Table II.

TABLE II
Acreage Statistics
(In million acres)

Year	Area under all food- grains	Area under cotton	Area under jute	Area under groundnut	Total sown net
Average for 1936-37 to					
1938-39	158.8	21.0	.86	8.0	171.
1939-40	155.8	18.2	.79	8.4	169.
1940-41	156.0	19.8	1.3	8.8	171.3
1941-42	156.0	20.5	.78	7.0	171.1
1942-43	164.3	16.1	.85	7.7	171.9
1943-44	166.3	17.5	.70	9.8	174.2
1944-45	183.0	11.4	.58	10.6	175.4
1945-46	177.9	11.6	.57	10.3	172.4

7. The Legislations passed were: The Cochin Proclamation of 1942, the Bombay Growth of Food Crops Act, 1944 and the Hyderabad Restriction of Cash Crops Cultivation Regulation, 1944.

It would be seen from the table above that the net area remained practically stationary. There was not much of change even in the case of jute. The decrease in cotton was counter-balanced by an increase in food-grains and groundnut, another crop which fetched better price.

The whole of the success during this period was based on the pricing policy followed by the Government. After a fall in the cotton acreage in 1942-43, it went up by about a million acres the next year. This was due to the cotton prices having been pushed up as a result of speculation in the Bombay market. Forward contracts had actually been prohibited by the Government of India from April 30, 1943, for the current as well as the next crop. Prices for the standard Jarila deliveries for May and July had been fixed at Rs. 565 and Rs. 568 per candy respectively. But the cultivator who had witnessed a big increase in cotton prices the previous year after harvest, could not be convinced about the utility of these orders; hence an increase in area.

In order to counteract all this for the next year, the Government offered to purchase the 1944-45 crop of Jowar and Bajra at Rs. 5-8 and Rs. 6 per maund respectively in the markets of the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Madras, Punjab and Sind. It was also declared that no floor prices would be fixed for short-staple cotton and no transport would be provided for the same. Huge money was spent on propaganda for the purpose.

It may be added that such an economic incentive is not peculiar for an Indian cultivator. This is applicable to agriculture all over the world.⁸

IRRIGATION

Even the irrigated area remained practically the same in 1941-42, it was 38.4 million acres. Having touched down to 36.8 in 1942-43 it could hardly recover to 38.1 in 1944-45 and

8. Economic opinion is divided on the issue of whether the large divergence of area from non-food crops to food crops was the result of the Grow More Food Campaign. Excepting for Bombay no systematic attempt had been made to bring about this diversion. Further, wherever such diversion was effective it was due to purely commercial causes. (Thirumalai: *Op. Cit.*, p. 32). Even in the United States "throughout the war many farmers used imported fertilizers, labour deferred from military service, and fertile land to grow short-staple cotton, of which there was a surplus, water melon and other low priority crops." (*U.S. Burden of the Budget—The United States at War*, 1946).

39 million acres in 1945-46. This only shows that some of the tanks and wells that might have gone into disuse temporarily, were again put into use after renovation. If, however, the study of Madras⁹ is to be given serious notice of, even this may not be true. Most of the wells and tanks for which loans were sanctioned and grants made did not actually come into existence.

THE EFFECT

There is, all the same, no denying the fact that the increase in the area under food crops led to an appreciable increase in the available food supplies in the country as would be seen from Table III.

TABLE III
Production of Food-grains
(In million tons)

Year	Rice	Wheat	Bajra	Total incl. gram
Average				
1936-37 to				
1938-39	19.4	7.0	2.3	43.8
1939-40	18.4	7.3	2.2	42.8
1940-41	16.6	6.9	2.7	41.9
1941-42	17.3	6.4	2.6	40.6
1942-43	18.1	6.9	3.4	44.2
1943-44	20.8	6.3	3.3	45.4
1944-45	19.8	6.8	3.3	46.1
1945-46	18.2	5.9	2.8	40.8

Although the cry all around has been that the campaign had failed, it would be seen that it did serve a very useful purpose during the war period when the pressure on food was the maximum.¹⁰

It is very difficult to make an appraisal of the effect of the campaign on food production in the country. The true facts were obviously distorted by the various State Governments. For example, the original report for the year 1942-43, for the State of Travancore, said:¹¹

"The seasons were not favourable for important crops like paddy, tapioca, sugarcane, etc.," while the slip pasted on this reads,

"The seasons were favourable for important crops like paddy, tapioca, coconut, sugarcane, etc."

Such opposing reports only support the view that no genuine effort was made to post the public with the factual position in the field.*

The promoters of the campaign launched it purely as a temporary measure¹² to tide over the difficulty during the war period and we cannot deny the fact that it did help to achieve this objective.

As regards the permanent effect on the food potential of the country, it was never envisaged by the planners. Those were the days when the nation as a whole was against the then ruling party. The 1942 Movement had set the whole nation astir. It was a folly under those circumstances for the then Government to expect any co-operation from the public in any of the schemes formulated by it. The various charges levelled against the campaign like that of lack of interest on the part of the authorities, absence of public co-operation and confidence, and inefficiency of the administration would, therefore, seem to be misplaced when studied in their real perspective. Nothing had, in fact, been done and nothing could possibly be done to win the co-operation of the farmer.

THE POLICY AFTER THE WAR

As the War came to an end on September 12, 1945, the fate of the GMFC came up for discussion. Food position in the country was deteriorating everyday and food imports were mounting. Our imports went up to 2.6 million

* There is evidence available that inflated figures were given even for fallow lands. The area under current fallows which had practically remained at the level of 1919-20 till the early forties, has registered an increase thereafter. Since this increase is reported to have been confined to the cotton-growing tracts, the official policy of discouraging the growth of cotton during the war period may have been partly responsible for the lands being left fallow. In the State of Hyderabad, there has been a continuous increase in fallows which has been explained away as somewhat of an exaggeration by a special committee of the Hyderabad Government which investigated the position. —(Thirumalai : *Op. Cit.*, p. 86).

This is confirmed by Mr. S. Kesava Iyengar who concluded on the basis of his enquiries that "the main reason for more and more land being shown as fallow, appears to be incorrect reporting on the basis of collusion between peasants and village officers, with a view to evade the burden of levy deliveries of controlled foodgrains." —(*Rural Economic Enquiries in the Hyderabad State, 1919-51*, p. 109).

12. *Report of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee, 1952*, p. 42.

9. Dr. Natarajan : *Op. Cit.*, p. 162. While describing the well subsidy scheme he says: "There had been cases where old wells with cement plastering were passed off for new wells, and cases where all that was paid by the Treasury by way of subsidy did not reach the ryot. This shortcoming was remedied by the expansion of the inspecting staff in 1948-49 based on the standards in the Takkavi Manual."

Also refer to the verifications made by the ICAR—GMFEC—*Op. Cit.*, pp. 16-18.

10. Refer to Foot Note 1.

11. *Travancore Information*, Volume V, December, 1944, p. 6. Quoted by K. G. Sivaswamy and others in *Food Famine and Nutritional Diseases in Travancore (1943-44)*, p. 127.

tons in the year 1945-46.¹³ The policy of the Government was announced on January 21, 1946, in a press note issued by them, which stated *inter alia* that

"The All-India policy is to promote the welfare of the people and to secure a progressive improvement in their standard of living. This includes the responsibility for providing enough food for all, sufficient in quantity and of the requisite quality. For the achievement of this objective high priority will be given to measures for increasing the food resources to the fullest extent, and in particular to measures designed to increase the output per acre and to diminish dependence on the vagaries of nature."

The Indian Central Cotton Committee in their meeting of February 1 and 2, 1946, realised that an increase in the cotton acreage was essential from purely cotton standpoint, but passed a resolution that

"The Provincial Governments and State Governments be required to take whatever steps are necessary to restrict the cotton acreage for the season 1946-47 so that it may not exceed the acreage sown in 1945-46."

"On October 1946 the Government of India appointed an Advisory Planning Board, which issued a preliminary report early in 1947. This report suggested that as regards cereals a reasonable target to be obtained by 1951-52 was an additional annual production of 4 million tons and that each Province and State should make plans for its share of such targets."

SECOND PHASE

PARTITION

The country was partitioned into India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947. This created many more problems. The installation of the National Government was the only silver lining in this otherwise cloudy weather. The immediate problem before the national Government along with the settlement of the refugees, was the question of food. The national leaders who had first-hand knowledge of the countryside, were rather sore about the working of the GMFC and were quite keen to reorientate it. This created the necessity of putting the scheme on a permanent footing.

FOOD-GRAINS POLICY COMMITTEE

A decision had, in fact, already been taken in September, 1946, to continue the campaign for another five years on the basis of detailed targets of production fixed in relation to available resources. These targets were again revised in 1947 after partition and definite rules were

laid down governing the grant of assistance from the Centre for Grow More Food Schemes. The temporary nature of the campaign had already been given up. The Second Food-grains Policy Committee was set up in September, 1947, under the Chairmanship of Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas. The Committee which included among its members prominent people of all shades like Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao and Thakur Phul Singh, was charged with the duty of chalking out measures which can be taken to increase domestic production along with important problems relating to food policy.

The Committee submitted its report early in 1948 and held the view¹⁴ that

"The policy so far pursued has only resulted in reduced production and exports of jute and cotton without corresponding gain in the food-grains."

Target put up for food production was 10 million tons, out of which 3 million tons were to be achieved by the reclamation of about 10 million acres of land. The effect of the Campaign on food has already been discussed. May be that the increase in food production was not as much as the loss in cotton and jute, but to say that there was no 'corresponding increase' is, perhaps, not true.¹⁵

The Committee which held that "the measures which were undertaken were doubtless in the right direction, but the objectives were too diversified, the effort was inadequate, and in most areas the necessary vigour and drive were lacking,"¹⁵ reviewed the situation with due consideration to the changed circumstances and made definite recommendations so as to reorientate the whole scheme. The recom-

14. *Foodgrains Policy Committee Final Report*, 1948, p. 2.

15. To quote the example of a small State like Indore (now in Madhya Bharat), culturable waste areas including those in Reserved Forests were allotted there on ordinary tenure for a period of five years on condition that they would be utilized solely for the growth of food crops. It was further ordered that on expiry of the ordinary tenure, the lands would be deemed to have been held on full tenants rights by the respective holders (p. 6).

The result of the policy was a net increase of 2,43,203 acres in 1943-44 on the average of the preceding five years (p. 8). Again, the calculated deficit in 1942-43 was about 17,000 tons. But by the end of 1945, the State had declared a large surplus of about 10,000 tons of wheat, 14,700 tons of millets, 2,078 tons of gram and 4,027 tons of pulses.

(*Our Food Policy*, Pamphlet No. 1, Department of Information, Indore, 1946).

Also refer to the analysis of the results of GMF Aid Experiments in Madras State.—Dr. Natarajan: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 130-31.

16. *Final Report*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3.

13. For details about this malady, refer to Chapter II.

recommendations which were accepted by the Government in toto, were given effect to with immediate effect. Besides placing the scheme on a permanent footing, the Committee laid stress on harnessing the enthusiasm of the masses which was available in plenty for the national benefit. The people at large who had been promised better standards of living and economic status, were eager to follow their leaders who had actually been their heroes in the freedom struggle.

Definite targets for additional food production were now fixed in each Province and State as against ad-hoc schemes which used to be submitted by the Provinces to the Central Government. The targets were 3 million tons for the Provinces and 1 million for the States.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY DRIVE

While the Scheme was in progress, imports of food-grains were causing a heavy drain on the foreign exchange resources of India. From July, 1948, to March, 1949, India showed a deficit of Rs. 176½ crores in her merchandise trade. As food constituted 22 per cent of the total import trade it was felt that if the country could meet all her requirements of food-grains only, the deficit could be wiped out.

This called for a further intensification of the campaign. The Prime Minister accordingly announced in the Legislature early in 1949 that strenuous efforts would be made to achieve self-sufficiency in food in about 3 years time. The decision to make India self-sufficient was reiterated by the Food Minister, Mr. Jairam Das Doulat Ram, in March, 1949, when the budget grant for the Food Ministry was brought before the Constituent Assembly. He said:

"Except in the case of grave calamity such as wide-spread failure of crops or the building up of a Central Reserve, Government will not import any food-grains from abroad after 1951."

The deficit to be made up by March, 1952, was taken as 4.4 million tons and after making a provision for the requirements of increased population during 1951-52, the deficit by March, 1952, was taken as 4.8 million tons. Lord Boyd Orr whom the Government invited in 1949 to study the problem of food in India also accepted this deficit of 4.8 million tons and submitted his other recommendations,¹⁷ which

were mostly accepted by the Government of India. Speaking on the food problem, the Prime Minister in his broadcast to the nation from the All-India Radio in June, 1949, said that the food deficit was of the order of 10 per cent and that it was not difficult for us to achieve a target of 15 per cent by 1951.

STEPS TAKEN

The immediate step taken to implement this policy was the setting up of a special Emergency Branch in the Ministry of Agriculture under the control of the Commissioner of Food Production, Shri R. K. Patel, who assumed charge of the appointment in July, 1949. He was vested with wide executive powers to co-ordinate the food production of the States, to arrange for the financial, technical and other assistance to them and generally to supervise the execution of the food production programme in the country with a view to achieving the self-sufficiency objective by the end of 1951.

The Plan which the Commissioner for food prepared for the increased output of 4.4 million tons was as follows:

Through intensive cultivation	3.610 million
" reclamation of new land	0.300 "
" tube-well irrigation	0.260 "
" diversion of land from sugarcane	0.220 "

The objective was to be achieved by reclaiming 8 lakh acres of land¹⁸ for which a loan of 10 million dollars was obtained from the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development. It was further decided that in case of all private schemes of food production, the agriculturist concerned must pay at least 50 per cent of the total expenditure and in the case of Government schemes, the uneconomic portion of the expenditure would be shared by

ciently without the normal delays of the Governmental apparatus. Therefore he suggested that there should be a Food Controller or a Director of Food Production at the Centre with large powers, and similar controllers of food production in each Province and State.

(ii) There must be perfect co-ordination and co-operation between the Centre and the Provinces and States.

(iii) We must reach down to the farmer in the field. That is, there must be links from the top policy making place to the farmers who have ultimately to carry out that policy. The farmer must understand and must willingly co-operate. The understanding and co-operation of the farmers are most important.

18. Legislation had already been passed by Bihar for reclamation, cultivation, and improvement of waste lands in 1946. Similar Acts and Ordinances were passed by Central Provinces and Berar, United Provinces, East Punjab and Madhya Pradesh in 1948 and by Bhopal in 1949.

17. Other recommendations were :

(i) We must treat this as if it was a national war emergency and have a machinery which can function swiftly and effi-

the Central and State Governments. Attention was also to be paid to the development and use of heavier yielding non-cereal food crops like banana, papaya, sweet potato and tapioca.

ASSESSMENT

For an assessment of GMFC results, which had been unsatisfactory during the earlier years of the campaign, the position was further examined. A system of Achievement Audit was introduced and a small Statistical Section was set up in the Directorate of Economics and Statistics in the Ministry of Agriculture, in August, 1949, to analyse the GMF programme and examine its results.

The post of the Commissioner was, however, abolished in May, 1950, when Mr. R. K. Patel, the Food Commissioner, became a member of the Planning Commission. But for the simple statement that "given an average season it is quite on the cards that we will be self-sufficient in food by our target date in 1952," nothing detailed and authoritative is known regarding the outcome of the Plan.

This second phase of the GMFC lasted up to the beginning of the year 1950, when India switched over to the Integrated Production Programme.

National Government, no doubt, had been in the saddle, but no improvement seems to have been made in the administrative machinery. The results were therefore incommensurate with the efforts made.¹⁹ "This GMFC has been a costly farce," said *The Modern Review*,²⁰ and that "food does not grow on statements and speeches," said Professor Banerjee.²¹ Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiya, the then

19. In agriculture the country has been pre-occupied with GMFC and their results so far, again on account of lack of co-ordination and limitations of administration, as is well known, have been incommensurate with the efforts made.

In the execution of Grow More Food Schemes, popular co-operation has so far not been enlisted.

—Provincial Development Programme, Government of India, December, 1949.

Dr. Pattabhi, the then President of the A.-I.C.C., also said at Jaipur Session that 'what is wanted for ordered and prompt progress in regard to food or other amenities is co-ordination of Departments and a humane view of administration.'

20. *The Modern Review*, January, 1951, p. 18.

21. The failure of the plans may be ascribed to (i) corruption, incompetence and neglect of duty on the part of the Government officers, (ii) greed, profiteering, and blackmarketing on the part of the traders, (iii) apathy and lack of confidence on the part of the general public, and (iv) helplessness and hopelessness on the part of the agriculturist. (P. N. Banerjee : *Op. Cit.*, 1951, p. 342).

President of the A.-I.C.C. said,²² "Our solution for the Grow More Food problem involves not an agricultural issue only, but it is inextricably connected with the sanitary issue as well. Land and water have to be married by the High Priest of Energy."

That was the fate of the GMFC this time. The results of the self-sufficiency goal had yet to be seen, when some other developments and the appearance of Mr. K. M. Munshi as Minister for Food and Agriculture on May 13, 1950, brought about a complete change in the Food policy of the country.

THE NEED FOR INTEGRATED PRODUCTION PLAN

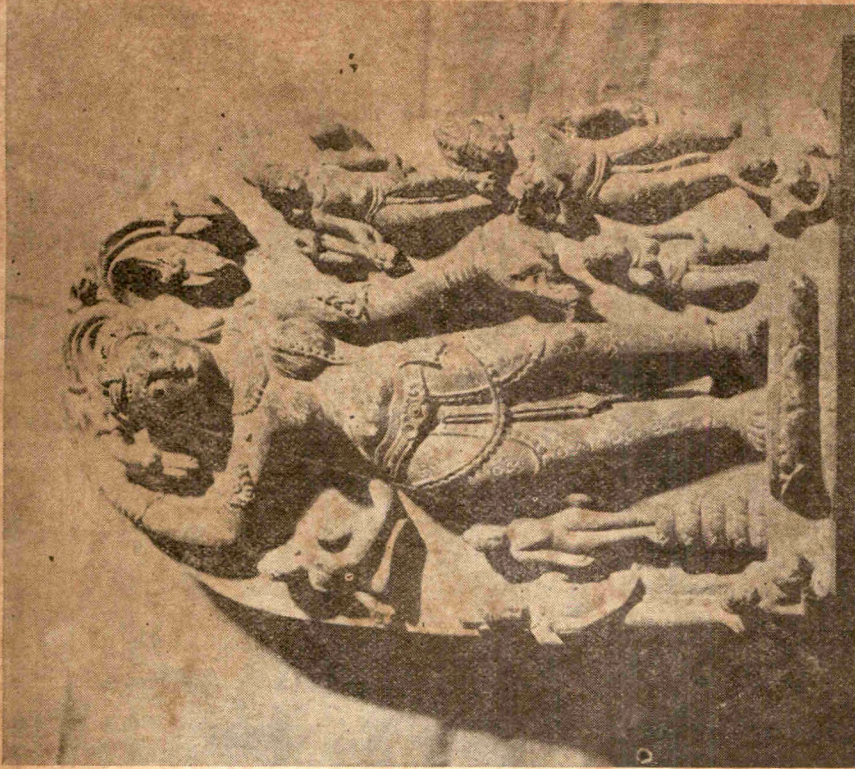
The United Kingdom devalued the Pound on September 19, 1949. India also devalued the Rupee to the same extent. Pakistan, however, maintained *status quo* and this resulted in over-valuation of Pakistani currency to the extent of 44 per cent. Pakistan rate was not accepted by India and consequently trade between the two countries came to a standstill. This deadlock hit hard India's cotton and jute industries which were fed on raw cotton and raw jute imported from Pakistan. It was felt that India should no more depend upon Pakistan for these two commodities but strive to attain self-sufficiency in respect of them.

Under the Grow More Food Campaign the Government had stressed the increased production of food-grains even at the cost of cash crops. The area under cotton had fallen from 21 million acres before the war to 10.6 million acres in 1948. To meet this situation the food policy had to be re-orientated. Mr. K. M. Munshi soon after the assumption of office found that 'Grow More Food' had nothing to do with 'Grow More Cotton and Jute' and specialization in respect of the former was being unnecessarily carried to an absurd length in the Ministry. He put forward his Eight Point Scheme for consideration which embraced increased production of food-grains as well as of a number of commercial crops like cotton and jute. The Government accepted this and formulated the 'Integrated Production Plan.' Sugarcane and oilseeds were also added later to the Plan.

22. Presidential Speech at the Annual General Session of the A.-I.C.C. held at Jaipur in 1948.



Head of the Buddha from Gandhara (*lime*), 4th and 5th century A.D. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

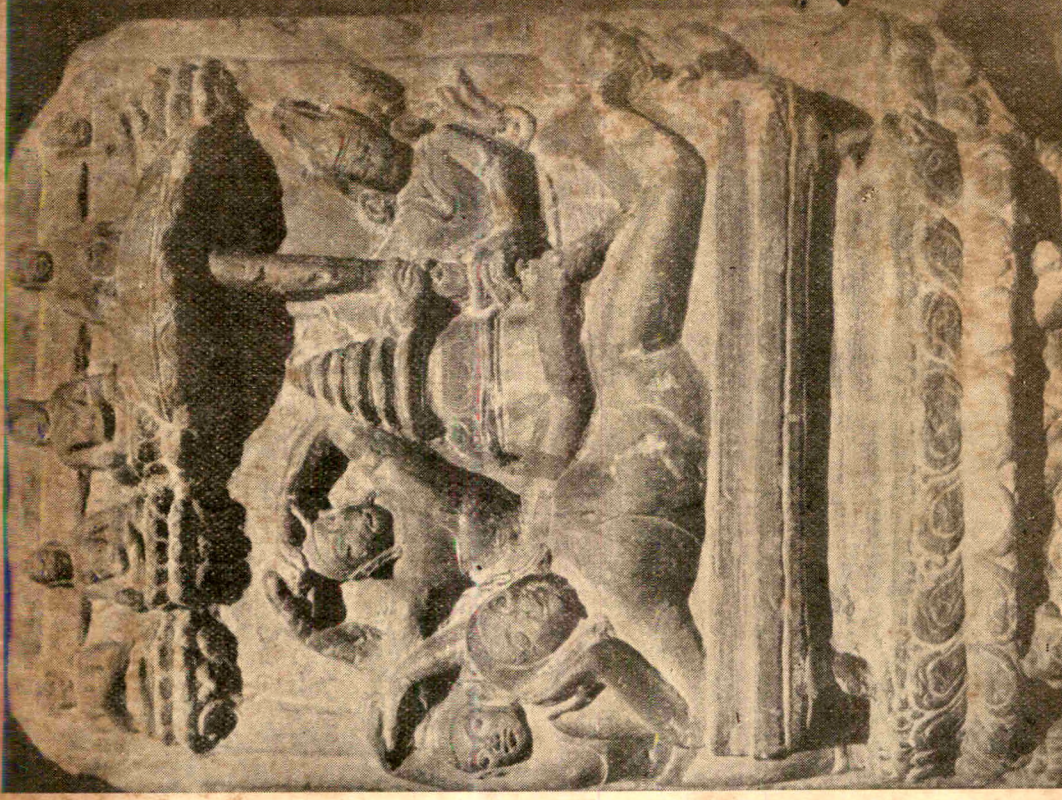


MĀYĀDEVĪ
(BIRTH OF THE BUDDHA)
Circa 11th-12th Century A.D.
FROM NALANDA, BĪHAR.

Maya Devi—Birth of the Buddha (stone)
(Indian Museum, Calcutta)



The dream of Maya Devi (stone), Bharhut, Sunga Period, 2nd century B.C. (Indian Museum, Calcutta)



Mahaparinirvana (stone), Bengal, 10th century A.D. (Asutosh Museum, Calcutta)

THE PLAN

The immediate objective in respect of food was to meet India's normal requirements of food-grains by March 19, 1952, and stop imports unless it was required to

- (a) meet any grave calamity such as wide-spread failure of crops,
- (b) effect replacement due to diversion of crops in national interests or
- (c) build up a central reserve.

During the course of a debate on the food situation in Parliament on November 16, 1950, Sri K. M. Munshi announced that if the necessary funds were made available for the Integrated Production Programme, India would achieve, at the end of March, 1952,

- (a) a food-grains reserve of 10 lakh tons,
- (b) the target of self-sufficiency in food-grains laid down by the Government of India on March 19, 1949,
- (c) complete self-sufficiency in cotton and sugar, and
- (d) over 82 per cent self-sufficiency in jute.

Rationing, he continued, would be necessary only for the industrial areas with a demand of 20 lakh tons of cereals. This supply, he affirmed, would be met by the Surplus States and other areas. The total additional production of food-grains required by 1951-52 was 4.8 million tons. It was estimated that about 3.44 million tons of additional food-grains had already been produced as a result of the "Grow More Food Campaign." The remaining 1.3 million tons as well as about 0.9 million tons which was required to make up the deficiency caused by the diversion of land from food crops to cash crops, was expected to be raised under the Integrated Production Programme. A little quantity was required for building up the requisite reserves against serious crop failures or natural calamities.

WORKING

To achieve these targets, it was decided that efforts should be concentrated on short-term projects of both permanent and recurring nature. The permanent improvements included minor irrigation schemes like construction of wells, tanks, small dams, and land improvement schemes like contour bunding, clearance and reclamation of waste lands, etc. The recurring improvement schemes covered distribution of fertilisers, manures, improved seeds, and plant protection schemes.²³

It was also decided that the operation of the scheme would be concentrated in certain selected zones, most responsive to methods of increased production.

In Madras, it was proposed to concentrate attention on the major river systems of Godavari, Krishna, Cauvery, Periyar and Tambraparni; in Bombay, the Sabarkantha and Basaskantha areas were selected for wheat and the coastal districts of Konkan for rice. In Mysore, three areas, viz., the Simoga area for paddy, some tracts in the North-Western part of the State for provision of pumps for irrigation and the tracts covered by the Cauvery channels for intensive development, were chosen.

A Board of Special Development for the wheat region of Vindhya Pradesh, Bhopal, Madhya Bharat and parts of Rajasthan was also formed under the joint auspices of the Central and State Governments concerned.

Under the scheme it was stipulated that those who would be given financial assistance, would be required to sell about 60 per cent of their produce to the procurement authorities. To supervise the execution of the Plan, and to assess the progress made as well as the help required by each area, the country was divided into a number of regions. Each region was placed under a Regional Agricultural Production Commissioner who was to act as an agent of the Central Government. It was further announced that for successful execution of the Programme, it was necessary,

- (a) to have an effective extension service throughout the country to enlist the co-operation of the farmers and get enthusiastic honorary extension workers,
- (b) to realise the urgency of the problem,
- (c) to utilize the fallow land by some agency which would not brook any delay or considerations not germane to the objective,
- (d) to protect crops against wild animals, pests and diseases through an all-India drive, and
- (e) to make available adequate finance to complete the programme.

At this time, it was also realized that the 'Grow More Food' schemes would have to be extended at least for a further period of two years, i.e., up to the end of March, 1954.

23. Legislation for Improvement in Agricultural Practices was passed by East Punjab and Madhya Bharat in 1949 and 1950 respectively.

The Plan as described above was thus given a go with full enthusiasm. Sri K. M. Munshi asserted that since the 'Quit India Movement' this is the biggest thing that the country has undertaken. The Prime Minister declared that the problem should be treated on war footing.

It, however, became clear before long that self-sufficiency was but a mirage. What could not be realised was that increase in production had no effect on imports.²⁴ It was accordingly decided to launch a Ten-Year Programme at the Coimbatore Conference in July, 1951. This Programme was supplementary to the short-term schemes which were in progress in the States aiming at self-sufficiency in food and other commercial crops.

THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

While the Ten-Year Programme was being formulated at Coimbatore, the country had already decided in March, 1950, to develop the economic resources on planned basis. The Draft Outline of the Plan was presented to the nation in July, 1951 and the country was supposed to be on planned development from April 1951. The final version of the Plan also came out in December 1952. Agriculture being the main industry of India, and the self-sufficiency plan having failed, it rightly received the first priority at the hands of the Planning Commission.²⁵

The Commission made an exhaustive study of the trends in land use pattern for the last 40 years ending 1946-47 and came to the conclusion that

- (a) the net area sown has not increased appreciably, but the area sown more than once increased by about 20 per cent.
- (b) the irrigated area has increased by 10 per cent mainly through the extension of canals, but the area irrigated from minor irrigation works has remained almost static,
- (c) the area under current fallows remained at the level of 1919-20 till the early forties, and thereafter showed some increase, particularly in the cotton-growing tracts,
- (d) the area under food-grains showed a small increase during the forties, when that under cotton declined,

²⁴ For details refer to Chapter III.

²⁵ The Commission says, "The largest portion of the natural resources of India, consists of land and by far the larger proportion of its inhabitants are engaged in the exploitation of land. In any scheme of planned economic development of the country, therefore, agricultural re-organisation and reform hold a position of basic importance." (*The First Five-Year Plan*, p. 153).

- (e) the acreage under cotton decreased during the two World Wars, the trend being reversed in the post-war periods, and
- (f) there is little ground for the belief that there has been a deterioration in soil fertility or in the standard of husbandry in recent years.

Against this background and fully conscious of the fact that there was the necessity of reducing the dependence of jute and cotton industries on imported raw material, the Commission laid down the following production targets for the five-year period 1951-56.

TABLE IV

Targets of Additional Production

Commodity	Quantity (in million)	Percentage increase
Food-grains	7.6 tons	14
Cotton	1.26 bales	42
Jute	2.09 bales	63
Sugarcane	.7 gur tons	12
Oil seeds	.4 tons	8

Besides the target of 7.6 million tons for food-grains, another 5 million tons were earmarked for community projects and intensive areas. This additional production was actually set apart to make an allowance for diversion of areas from food-grains to commercial crops; net increase remaining at the target figure of 7.6 million tons. Out of this, 6.51 million tons were to be produced through programmes worked out by State Governments and 1.6 million tons as a result of supplementary schemes proposed by the Planning Commission. The increase of 6.5 million was to be split up under the following heads :

	Million tons
Major irrigation works	2.01
Minor irrigation works	1.78
Land reclamation and development	1.51
Manures and fertilizers	0.65
Improved seeds	0.56
Total	6.51

AN APPRAISAL OF THE CAMPAIGN

A brief description of the campaign as we have studied would show that the campaign which aimed at relieving the country from foreign food, could not stand the test. And came in for criticism from all quarters.²⁶

²⁶ In the Central Legislature (November, 1950) the scheme was vehemently criticised by Acharya Kripalani and others. The Economic Conference, 1948, discussed the whole question and declared it as a total failure. Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty at the Fifth All-India Commerce Conference held at Madras on

It must be pointed out again at the cost of repetition that such criticism was misplaced. The increase in food production could not show any visible effect in the matter of reduction in imports due to the wrong food policy followed by the Government. Immediately the policy was changed in 1952, reduction in food imports followed.²⁷

This was, however, not acceptable to the Government. It was decided to set up an Enquiry Committee. The Committee submitted its report in June, 1952 and emphasized the point so often repeated, *viz.*, the movement has failed to arouse wide-spread enthusiasm.²⁸ This was because all aspects of rural life are inter-related and that no lasting results can be achieved if individual aspects of it are dealt with in isolation.²⁹

That was the crux of the whole problem. Unless a burning desire to change their time-worn outlook could be created in the 60 million families living in villages, their enthusiasm for a higher standard of living or "a will to live better" could not be aroused.³⁰ The Grow More Food Campaign had so far, as rightly pointed out by Mr. Bhargwa, "hardly reached the villager"³¹ as yet.

December 30, 1951, added, that, "It has lost the moral support of the agriculturists with the result that all appeals to grow more food have proved futile." The Food-grains Policy Committee, 1948, said that "the Campaign has not produced the results aimed at."

27. Refer to Chapter IV.

28. Report of G. M. F. Enquiry Committee, 1952, p. 49.

29. *Op. Cit.*, p. 50. A reference for similar views may also be made to the Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the Board of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (pp. 54-55) where it was pointed out that

"The problem of increasing agricultural production could not be solved by any single formula. It was a complex and complicated problem involving different aspects of social and economic life."

In Denmark, Ireland and elsewhere rural reform was tried piecemeal and proved abortive. It was not till that great co-operative and rural pioneer, the late Sir Horace Plunkett, evolved his triple plan of 'better agriculture, better business, better living' that the European farmer saw the dawn of a new era.—(Sir Sikaander Hyat Khan in his foreword to *Better Villages* by F. L. Brayne, 1946, 3rd Edition).

30. Similar were the findings of Wilcox who in his *Acres and People* (p. 69) opined, "Time and again my informants in India insisted that the first step in breaking the inertia of centuries is somehow to inspire the peasant with a desire for a better life. But simple as that proposition sounds, it is easier said than done. A pessimism born of bitter experience, reinforced by religious precepts, hardened in the rigidity of cast petrification, and infused with the belief that existence is merely a miserable round of reincarnations from which one is fortunate to escape, is not a fertile soil in which to sow a boom program of progress."

31. Note by Pandit Thakurdas Vhargwa, Supplement to the Report on G. M. F. Enquiry Committee, p. 3. The scheme according to him remained confined to Parliament hall for some several years and took good time to percolate to even districts and tehsils.

The Campaign had been conceived "in terms of work and not in terms of production in the villages. The food problem was attacked from the angle of material investments made in land, namely, wells, seeds, fertilizers, etc. Human beings who lived in the villages and cultivated the fields were practically ignored."³²

These were not in any way new findings. The Royal Commission on Agriculture had pointed out as early as 1928 that the demand for a better life could be stimulated only by a deliberate and concerted effort to improve the general conditions of countryside. It was also made clear by them that the responsibility for initiating the steps in the direction lay with the Government.³³

VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

Not that India had not started any village development and village improvement schemes. The pioneering work was done by Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi and F. L. Brayne.³⁴ None of these schemes could, however, make much headway. The then Govt. of the United Provinces also organised a pilot project in 1932. It was given a good deal of impetus after the establishment of popular government in 1937. This finally led to the organization of a pilot project at Mahewa in Etawah in September, 1948.

The major objective of the project was "to see what degree of productive and social improvement, as well as of initiative, self-confidence and co-operation, can be achieved in the village of a district not the beneficiary of any set of special circumstances and resources such as hydro-electric development or large-scale industry or other non-typical high cost and high priority development. The problem is also to ascertain how quickly those results may be obtainable consistent with their remaining permanently part of the people's mental,

32. Note to the G. M. F. E. Committee, Supplement, *Op. Cit.*, p. 19, by Shri T. N. Singh.

33. Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928, p. 672.

34. Rabindranath Tagore founded an institution for rural reconstruction at Santiniketan, West Bengal, in 1922. This comprised an area of about 80 villages.

The Constructive Programme of Mahatma Gandhi aimed at creating a non-violent army by eradicating village evils.

F. L. Brayne tried a bold experiment in the Gurgaon District, Punjab.—(*Village Uplift in India—1937*.)

The American Presbyterian Mission established in 1945 the India Village Service. Firka Development Project in Madras, 1946-47 and "Servodaya Scheme" in Bombay, October 1949 are some of the other such programmes.

spiritual and technical equipment and outlook after the special pressure is lifted. In the context of India's urgent need we must not take too long. But we cannot afford the superficial, nor if the results are to be permanent and self-renewing, must we use "high pressure" methods.³⁵

In spite of its shortcomings, Etawah showed the way. It promised to fill the void by bringing the field and the laboratory in close touch with each other. The approach was direct and humane and technique simple. The field worker not only removed the villagers' age-old suspicion of the outside benefactor but often succeeded in creating enthusiasm among them for development work.³⁶

'Pilot Projects' in Etawah and Gorakhpur Districts (UP) were initiated in 1948 and 1950 respectively, and covered together about 100 villages and 100,000 people. Results so far seemed to have been strikingly successful; in Etawah, for instance, the wheat yield on the entire project area of 6,000 acres had increased by over 20 p.c., largely due to improved seed; and the area supplied seed to a further 45,000 acres. On more restricted areas better tillage in general, including especially the use of legumes as green manures, resulted in increases of as much as 60 per cent.

The other difficulty which had so far stood in the way of increased production was the inability of official organization to bring the results of research to the doors of the cultivator. Research projects in the country had not been planned with this fundamental point in view. Etawah showed the way in this direction as well.

COMMUNITY PROJECTS

The success attained at Etawah encouraged the Government to try the experiment on a much wider scale. The failure of the self-sufficiency programme early in 1952, and the findings of the G.M.F. Enquiry Committee Report in June, 1952, hastened the initiation of the scheme.³⁷ The first set of Community Projects was thus launched on October 2, 1952. They consisted of 55 such projects spread all

over the country, covering 18.4 thousand villages with a population of 18 million. It is proposed to bring 20 thousand villages with a population of 74 million under the influence of the Development Programme, during the period of the First Five-Year Plan, i.e., by the end of 1955-56.³⁸ The idea is to cover the whole of the country during the Second Five-Year Plan, i.e., by 1961³⁹ by Community Projects or the National Extension Service.⁴⁰

The contribution of Community Projects as regards our food targets of 7.6 m. tons under the First Five-Year Plan is only of the order of 5 lakh tons. We do not know the exact basis of this estimate. Food production during the year 1953-54 showed an increase of 12 million tons over the base year 1949-50 exceeding the target by 4.4 million tons. The share of Community Projects in this increase which will certainly be appreciable is, however, difficult to assess.

The Projects which aim at an intensive development of entire rural life include programmes of irrigation, stepping up the standard of agricultural practice by supply of good seeds, and fertilizers, formation of multi-purpose co-operative societies and cottage as well as small-scale industries, are bound to have a profound effect, although mostly indirect, on the agricultural economy of the country. As we would see under each crop, experimental and research work done in the country has been of the highest magnitude. The introduction of these improved techniques on a large scale has

37. The defects of the G. M. F. Campaign pointed out by the Committee have already been discussed. The other point of significant importance was that the departments concerned with development programmes worked invariably independently of one another, following their own programmes and without a sense of common objective.

Even today this defect although removed under the Community Projects still persists in the other programmes of agricultural development. The Administrative Officers hardly extend any co-operation towards officers of Agriculture Department. This mentality will have to be changed before we are able to achieve any appreciable success.

38. Community Projects Administration, Planning Commission—Report for 1953-54, p. 5.

39. V. T. Krishnamachari: Speech before the National Development Council, *Indian Express*, November 11, 1954.

40. The National Extension Service Organisation was started in October, 1953, to expedite rural development by reducing the programme in terms of expenditure. Extension of Community Projects on a nation-wide scale with the existing administrative machinery and resources would have taken 35 years. The new organisation plans to complete it by 1961.

—("Rural Development in India"—S. S. Dhami, *International Labour Review*, May, 1954, p. 467).

35. *Interim Report on Pilot Development Project, Etawah and Gorakhpur* (Lucknow, 1952), p. 23.

36. S. K. Jain: "An Indian Experiment in Rural Development, The Etawah Pilot Project"—*International Labour Review*, October-November, 1953, p. 395. Mr. Jain has also given many examples of the actual way the villager was approached and tackled.

always been a difficult problem in under-developed agricultural economies. It is here, more than anywhere else, that these projects will be of maximum help to us.

A Programme Evaluation Organisation under the directorship of Prof. D. G. Karve has already been set up in the Planning Commission. Evaluation Report on the first year's working of the Projects was published in May, 1954. The conclusion of the Report is that "a year's experience is too short to supply an adequate basis for judgement.⁴¹ But for a very brief initial period of scepticism the rural people in most parts have exhibited not only a readiness but an actual eagerness to 'move with the times'.⁴²

The greatest visible achievement of the Projects is in arousing the enthusiasm of the people. The progress of Community Projects scheme up to June, 1954, placed before the National Development Council in November 1954,⁴³ reveals that while the expenditure actually incurred by the different States has been only 38 per cent people's contribution has been encouraging. Table V summarises the position.

TABLE V

*Expenditure on Community Project Scheme
and National Extension Service till
June 1954*

	Government expenditure (In lakh of Rupees)	People's contribution
Community Projects initiated in		
October, 1953	678	323
Community Development blocks launched in		
October, 1953	54	38
N.E.S. Blocks launched in October, 1953	73	81
Community Projects* started in 1952 up to Sep- tember, 1953	245	147

* (Community Projects Administration Report, 1953-54, Op. Cit., p. 12). The other data is from source given under foot-note 43.

This shows clearly that while the work in Government Departments calls for a re-orientation of the whole machinery, "a stage has already been reached when from participa-

tion people in some parts have moved on to active prodding."⁴⁴

All this has been the result of Village Level Workers' personal contact with the villagers. An enquiry made into this aspect of the problem in 16 villages revealed that "the proportion of respondents who had been personally approached varied in different villages, from 78 per cent in Punjab to 11 per cent in Bihar. The over-all average percentage for the 16 villages being 37 . . . The over-all average for the cultivators was 44 per cent, indicating that nearly half of them had been approached for participation in some programme."⁴⁵

This should not make us complacent about the whole affair. "The circle can be broken," in the words of Sir E. J. Russell, "only when the village welfare movement becomes a vocation for India's young people and they realise the truth of Tagore's saying: 'In the keeping of the village lies the cradle of the race.' The task is enormous, for there are some 700,000 (now 500,000) villages, and if one may judge from income tax returns, the total middle class population of India from which the leadership must come—is only about half a million."⁴⁶

For proper leadership we will, perhaps, have to learn a lesson from America. The method employed for extension work there was to select intelligent farmers and induce them to carry out the improved practices, when these practices had been successfully introduced, to use their farms as demonstration farms for the instruction of their neighbours. During a short period of 10 years the number of such farms went up to 70,000 in five States only.⁴⁷

Progress in America has been tremendous. So much so that a movement from the country to the city is taking place. In 1950, some 80,000 "residential farms" were reported.⁴⁸ We in India have to make our villages equally attractive. A solution of the rural problem will then and only then be somewhere in sight. What we can say is that a start has been made.

44. Evaluation Report, Op. Cit., p. 41.

45. Community Projects, First Reactions, Planning Commission Programme Evaluation, August, 1954, p. 12.

46. Sir E. J. Russell: World Population, Op. Cit., p. 336.

47. Keatinge: Agricultural Progress, Op. Cit., pp. 28-29.

48. Sir Russell: Op. Cit., p. 367.

Mahatma Gandhi also spoke practically in the same strain when he said, "If the village perishes, India would perish too. India will be no more India."

41. Evaluation Report on First Five-Year Working of Community Projects, May, 1954, p. 45.

42. Evaluation Report, Op. Cit., p. 46.

43. The Indian Express, November 16, 1954.

THE RISING OF 1857

From the Letters Preserved in the Office of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London

By PROF. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.,
Member, Asiatic Society

BEFORE I discuss this very interesting topic, I feel it my duty to express my sense of deep thankfulness to 'The Society For The Propagation Of The Gospel In Foreign Parts', and the Society's Archivist Miss E. Rendall, M.A., for sending me at my request the micro-film copies of eight valuable letters in their possession, that were sent from India in the fateful months of 1857. I am sincerely grateful for the co-operation and help I received from them as well as other Foreign Societies and Governments. I have no hesitation to say that they are really very helpful to research workers.

These eight letters are a very interesting study for many reasons. In the first place, this is a non-political source of information. That makes it all the more important. Next, these were letters written by an extremely dignified person only for the Society's information at Home. Thus there was never any idea of publicity or propaganda. That adds to their importance as a very dependable source of information. Then, these letters were written by a member of a Society that had already acquired a profound knowledge of the people and their habits and after they had worked in this country for a few decades. And it is well-known that they moved freely in the masses and understood them thoroughly. And lastly, these letters were all written by Rev. Principal Kay of the Bishop's College, Calcutta, a man of unusual strength of character, dignity, and integrity. Thus, from all considerations, these *Eight Letters* form a very valuable source of information and a very interesting study for the 1857 Rising.

The first letter was dated the 17th of June, 1857. The second was dated the 20th July, 1857. The third was dated the 8th August, 1857. The fourth was dated the 22nd August, 1857. The fifth was dated the 25th September, 1857. The sixth was dated rather not very distinctly. The seventh was dated 22nd October, 1857. And the eighth was dated the 11th December, 1857. Thus the eight letters are fairly well distributed and cover the months most valuable. It should be noted that these eight letters are so few in number that we cannot make any safe generalisation from these. But as an additional source of information, their value is very great.

First of all they give information about a very wide area. The following places are mentioned:—Calcutta (wherefrom the letters were written), Delhi, Kanpur, Allahabad, Mirzapore, Benares, Saugor, Lucknow, Mussoorie, and some minor reference to Burma and the Burmese Mission. The references to

Calcutta are by far the most numerous. No reference, if any, is made of the Deccan. But Northern India is well discussed in these letters.

One especially relieving feature is that the handwriting is excellent, and although at places not readable, on the whole it is very distinct and clear.

The most remarkable feature in these letters is, perhaps, a Christian's undying faith in God, His Mercy, and to accept whatever comes as His Wish. In one place Rev. Principal Kay refers to "the nature of the crisis" "ungovernable as it seems" shall be overcome "through His Mercy." In his letter of the 20th July, 1857, he writes about Cawnpore (and possibly Lucknow?): "Thus it has pleased God to allow his heavy judgements to fall on those two cities, in especial, where the Society had maintained missions". In the same letter he is "commending the College and the Missions to your prayers." In his letter of the 22nd August, 1857, he writes, "May God's Holy Spirit direct His Church aright in this great crisis." Thus a robust faith in God and His Mercy is visible throughout, even in the midst of an unprecedented crisis.

From these letters the severity of the crisis is clear. In his letter of June the 17th, 1857, he writes about the Cawnpore Missionaries who had taken shelter in the Cantonment, "We do not know what is occurring there now as the communication is stopped at Allahabad." In the same letter he writes, "But the roads are very much infested by disbanded sepoys." Here he further writes, "Calcutta has itself been in imminent peril." "The Missionaries have been obliged to leave their houses in Tollygunge and Intally." In his letter on July the 20th, 1857, he writes, "General Havelock, who has retaken Cawnpore, has reported that none of those who capitulated—men, women, or children—have been spared." Referring to a letter from Mr. Haycock of Cawnpore, dated May the 31st, 1857, he writes, "He mentioned to me that his Moulvie had told him 6 months previously, that they 'would soon feel the sharpness of the Mussulman's sword'." This is a very important piece of information. Not only it speaks of the severity of the crisis but also it suggested that there was sufficient planning and organisation in the 1857 Rising so that a Moulvie of Cawnpore knew of it at least six months before. In his letter of the 8th August, 1857, he writes, the "western wing of the College had been assigned to refugees from the N.-W. Provinces." In his letter of the 22nd August, 1857, he writes of "this great crisis." In his letter of the 11th December, 1857,

he writes, "I am sorry that I can supply you with scarcely any particulars about the Missionaries at Cawnpore or Delhi beyond the bare facts which imply their death." In the same letter he gives the news of the death of Messrs. Cockly and Haycock at Cawnpore. In the same letter he further gives the valuable information, ". . . there was for a time a complete severance between us and the North-West Provinces. For weeks together we in Calcutta were ignorant even of what was transpiring at Agra." The letter also gives news of some Indian Christians, such as, Mr. Hari Har Sandel, Mr. Bhabani Churn Choudhury and Mr. Mitter.

In some of these letters there is mention of certain 'Reports' being sent. Thus in his letter of the 17th June, 1857, Rev. Kay writes, "I forward along with this a copy of the Minutes of the last quarterly meeting of the Diocesan Committee." In his letter of the 29th July, 1857, he writes, "I enclose copies of the Proceedings of the Bishop's College Council for the last two months. There is nothing of note in them. All our thoughts are, for the present, absorbed in the wonderful events that are passing around us." In his

letter of the 8th August, 1857, he writes, "I enclose a speech delivered here the other day by a Bengali Zeminder of some note, . . ." In his letter of the 11th December, 1857, he writes, "I send herewith a copy of the last quarterly Minutes, and a short quarterly Report from Mr. Mitter." Thus, these letters refer to certain Minutes and Reports, which must have been of considerable contemporary importance.

Before I conclude I should like to point out that in these letters Rev. Principal Kay of Bishop's College, Calcutta, shows wonderful restraint and nowhere shows any trace of malice. Although the Christian Missions were put to the greatest trial and even suffered much, like a true Christian, he maintains the attitude of tolerance and faith in God. That is probably the greatest proof of character.

Lastly, once again I consider it my duty and privilege to express sincere thanks to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and its Archivist for the kind co-operation, and help in supplying me with the micro-film copies of the above eight letters, as also for the kind permission to utilise these in writing this article.

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THE PROBLEM OF ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

By PROF. RAM NARESH LAL, M.com.

THE march of socialism has commenced on Indian soil. The Second Five-Year Plan with some more radical weapons in its hands is likely to start the work of shaping the destiny of the nation very soon. But still the misgivings prevail in the minds of the people regarding the success of democratic socialism in the economic advancement of this vast land. The success of democratic socialism in the economic and social fields of developments will depend very much upon the strength of public co-operation in response to the crying need of the nation. Therefore, unless the masses are convinced that their active co-operation, devotion and sufferings in the noble fight against poverty and miseries of the people will not be betrayed, we cannot expect anything substantial from them. A flood of literature has inundated public opinion these days regarding the efficacy of centrally planned economy under socialism in stamping out certain damning defects, viz., social and economic inequality, unemployment, lack of foresight and judgement, vandalism and improper use of the natural resources, etc., of an economic order based upon private enterprise in most of the countries of the world; even then an advocate of socialism and centrally planned economic system has yet to prove and convince the people in this country that the system of large-scale management, excessive centralisation,

bureaucracy and red-tape in an expanding public sector will not stand in the way of rapid and smooth economic advancement and will not bring about a loss of speed and adaptability in the economic system.

Excessive caution on the part of our government officials and lack of administrative drive in them, their eagerness to shelve their responsibilities, delay in decisions, their conservative outlook developed under an alien rule, dearth of noble ambition and spirit of service, their being financially corruptible, olden defective technique of administration in the changed circumstances of today, plethora of forms and committees, absence of proper co-ordination in the different departments, delegation of powers without any due regard to the responsibilities and duties; these and many others are the evils associated with the present system of administration, causing loss of speed, efficiency and adaptability. Any one who has happened to work in any government department is aware of these evils. Now if these things are constantly allowed to be injected into the growing and expanding public sector they will paralyse the whole system sooner or later and make it ineffective to promote the cause of the country. Therefore, if we are determined to overcome these various defects and make the creed of socialism in this country an economic and social reality, we will have to be bold enough to invoke a

revolution in the present system of administration and management of industries in the public sector. There is a need of thorough overhauling of the whole administrative machinery and make it suited to the changed conditions.

In the framework of the Second Five-Year Plan, the planners have felt very keenly the absence of a suitable administrative machinery in India for socialistic pattern of economy. 'Planning on bold lines with a steady expansion of public sector and advance to a socialistic pattern of economy would require the building up of an appropriate administrative machinery of a new type at all levels.'

The whole question of delay, inefficiency and inacceptability can be boiled down to two main causes :

1. The question of Government officials, and
2. The difficulties associated with the size of administrative unit.

THE QUESTION OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

To overcome the evils associated with the officials in the administrative grade, in the first instance, seems to be an arduous task, but a little care in their selection, training and system of promotion will go a long way in removing these defects. It cannot be denied that in the post-independence period the civil servants of the British rule did a lot in keeping the machinery of administration going on in its old fashion due to their long experience in the field and thus saved the new Government from utter frustration and disruption. They must be thanked for this. But when we are going to usher in a new era of economic revolution with our ambitious plans, when we are determined to crumble down the older economic institution and thus raise new and strong walls of a new economic and social edifice in its place, I think the old civil servants will necessarily be unsuitable persons to handle these various newer works of development and again the new civil servants prepared on the old models will also naturally be misfit. The fact is that they have to be trained in the new light. Under the British regime they were given a type of training to perform some sorts of work in which the application of brain for the betterment of the system or the life of the people was little required. They were set in an administrative structure, prepared on the British model to perform certain routine type of work and help the British people in exploiting the masses and sucking the blood of the country. And they did it with an air of dignity and false sense of superiority at the cost of wholesale emasculation of the country. They were made too blind to see the deteriorating conditions of their people and extend their helping hand in ameliorating their conditions. Through the agencies of these civil servants the Britishers drained India of her vast riches. Naturally when they are now too old to change their habits, character and speed of work, we cannot rely upon them for the successful

implementation of the various schemes of development which requires altogether a different frame of mind and a different approach. In order to find out suitable officers on the various layers of the management and administration to handle various jobs in the new order we will have to bring about a radical change in the selection, appointment, training and system of promotion of them. The thing is this that a fundamental change in the outlook of top management is necessary along with a change in the mentality of officers at the junior levels. The country faces this problem more acutely as the sudden spurt in economic development and expansion of public sector has created a demand for competent managers and administrators to a very great extent.

Our planners have also realised the seriousness of the problems and they feel that 'Secretariate control of the present type must be replaced to a large extent by control by truly autonomous public corporations set by the Government or through the supply of credit by the State Bank working under the general guidance of the Government in the matters of policy.'

In the first place we will have to break this hackneyed tradition of selection and appointment through competitive examination for provincial and all-India services. In this system little attention is paid to the type of education received by the candidates. No distinction is made among the candidates for the posts of various nature of services in view of the knowledge acquired by them in the various branches of learning. I feel that the selection and appointment of the administrative officers for the various fields should be made in accordance with the nature of education they have received. For instance, if a man with sound theoretical knowledge of Economics and Commerce is given to work in any agricultural or industrial field, we can be sure that he would be a more capable man to look into the matters related thereto from his administrative seat. There is nothing to doubt that if the idea of Economic Administrative Service is materialised it will improve the situation a lot. Along with this a network of technical schools and colleges will have to be spread over the whole country conducting management and business administration studies in the line of many industrially advanced countries of the world. In England, some 80 technical schools and colleges have been set up under the joint administration of the Ministry of Education and the British School of Management. In America, more than 300 institutions of college grade are busy in offering some sort of training in business administration. It is a matter of great satisfaction that on the recommendation of the All-India Council for technical education, the Government of India have decided to initiate and develop a programme of management studies in certain selected educational centres and to establish an Administrative Staff College in association

with industry and commerce. The Government of India have selected different centres on regional basis in order to meet the varying needs of the different industrial and commercial centres, and also to make each region as far as possible self-sufficient in respect of the required training facilities. The Indian Institute of Technology in Kharagpur and the All-India Institute of Social Welfare and Business Management in Calcutta will cater to the needs of the eastern region; the Victory Jubilee Technical Institute in Bombay and the Bombay University School of Economics and Sociology will meet the demand of the western region. The Indian Institute of Science in Bangalore, and the Department of Economics, Madras University will look to the demand of the Southern region; and the Delhi School of Economics will fulfil the demand of the northern region. It is hoped that these institutions will not produce mere the replica of the British or American schools and colleges of business administration and management but will turn out persons imbued with the philosophy of scientific management, conditioned by the spirit of our own socio-economic structure and traditions and adapted to our own practical way of life. We can expect that these and similar other institutions will fill an important gap and will give us persons who will bear bravely the burden of management and administration works in the public and private sector efficiently.

The system of training to the selected candidate also requires a radical change. Over and above the theoretical knowledge that they are made to acquire at the training centres and the chances of casual visits that they are allowed to pay to the various fields of production, distribution and finance, etc., in the economic sphere let them be allowed to work intensively for a pretty long period in the fields for the administration of which their services will be required. Again, this initial training along as the system goes, will not be enough to keep the officers working efficiently throughout the tenure of service. In the dynamic world, ever changing and prospering economy, passing through different stages of evolutionary revolution the idea of 'Sabbatical leave' to the active officers is also very appealing. At intervals they should be withdrawn from the service and be given proper and appropriate time and opportunities to bring their knowledge up-to-date and mind refreshed through study and travel. They should be given easy access to the libraries, Universities and research centres at government cost. The establishment of staff colleges will provide opportunities to persons already in responsible positions to meet and exchange experiences and ideas. These provisions will make the services of these persons invigorated and freshened. Every precaution has to be taken against becoming their work of administration and management monotonous and stereo-typed to them.

In order that the flood of spirit and zeal of work may be sustained throughout the period of service of an individual officer it is desirable that the present system of promotion and penalty undergoes modification. It is afraid that in a socialised sector the work will always suffer due to a lack of incentive in workers as they shall be more free from the penalty of removal and because here the chances of promotion will depend very much on the length of service put in. The gradual development of this tendency in the government departments is to be regretted. Here it is not possible to discuss all the problems relating to the incentive among the workers and officers, but we can very well imagine that by bringing about a change in the system of promotion (giving promotion on the dint of merit) and by inflicting a milder form of penalty and threat of degradation, proper incentive can be maintained.

✓ THE SIZE OF ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT

The second conspicuous problem of the public sector of the economy in the field of administration is that of the size of administrative unit. It is being realised that in most cases in the post-independence era of reconstruction and development the public servants have been made to work under trying conditions and carry a heavy burden of responsibilities without adequate assistance. The difficulties seem to be both ways. In some cases the delay and inefficiency in the work may be said to have been caused due to heavy congestion of work, while in some other cases it is found that the multiplication of departments without any consideration of proper co-ordination between them has been the main cause against the quality and the speed of the work. As a matter of fact with a given technique of administration the output of a concern being administered by a single individual can be increased up to a point only. Beyond this point or below this point there shall be a disproportionate rise in the cost of production. The point has been termed by the economists as 'Optimum Level.' The conception of optimum evolved by the economists may very well be applied in the field of administration. Every unit of administration or management then should be of the optimum size. At any point before this optimum cost of production will be relatively higher because the full use of modern technique of management say, cost accounting, production, planning, quantitative budgeting, etc., will not be derived. And again beyond this point it would be difficult for a single management to control the operation efficiently and therefore, the total production will be pulled down and cost of production will rise. If the nature of industry or production is as such that a unit of management is very small in that case an economic unit of administration and management may be easily formed by merging a number of small units into a bigger and efficient group. In the beginning it

would be difficult to find out this optimum unit. Only an expert will advise us in the matter, but it is just possible that we will have to work under trial and error for sometime to adjust in the end to the optimum point. A number of groups will have to be formed and each group put in charge of a manager or officer who will look to the multifarious day-to-day problems facing the concern and manage them. So we can conclude that the size of each group will have to be kept at optimum where the full use of that managerial talent will be derived and the cost of production will be minimum with the size. And ultimately, in all these various units of administration and management each of the optimum size should be drawn together and their activities directed to consistent unit of action from a central place by some higher authority, who can appreciate all the changes concerning the life of the concern as a whole.

In the first place we have already established a central planning authority, a supreme body which will keep the wholesome picture of the economy before it. It will decide the strategic issues of paramount importance in the economy. To quote Mr. E. F. M. Durbin :

"The relation between industry and industry, output and purchasing power, consumption and investment, change and security, work and leisure, education and industrial demand, of the political conditions at home and abroad—in all these matters it is the strategic principle that is dominant."

A swift, complex and yet consistent response by the total economy is required.

In the second place at the next stage of the administrative problems we expect the establishment of regional boards. They will keep in view and keep constant watch of the progress of industries in a particular region. They will decide the various issues concerning the industries and will try to be faithful to the direction of the Central Planning Authority. As the idea behind our plannings is to grow and develop it from below and not to impose any development from the top, the duty of these regional boards would also be to place their difficulties, experiences and suggestions from time to time before the Central Planning Authority so that suitable changes may be effected in the march. These regional boards will take all possible pains to fulfil their quotas of production, distribution and finance as termed in the General Plan.

In the end, as the last chain of the management we will have a number of administrative units of optimum size in each industry under the charge of an officer or supervisor. These local units will be actual fighting forces in the great economic war against misery and poverty. The officers at the local

level will be facing a thousand and one problems during the actual course of each day's fighting. As Prof. Durbin observed in his article "The Problems of Socialised Sector":

"The truth of the matter lies in the distinction drawn in military matters between strategy and tactics, i.e., between the control of an army throughout a campaign and the conduct of day-to-day administration and fighting . . . the whole must be seen in parts and the end from the beginning."

The purchase of raw materials, the production of finished goods, obtaining of finance, the problem of employing persons, their promotion and penalty, marketing of goods, enforcement of discipline and control in the employees, the introduction of newer techniques of production, the problem of facing innumerable odds arising out of local conditions, habits, customs and manners, the problem of educating the workers and infusing life in them, winning the confidence of the local people (that the work is being done for their wellbeing), these and various other problems will arise everywhere. In all these endless problems very quick decisions are to be made and that too very wisely and carefully. These local officers fighting in the actual fields will, as a matter of fact, lay the foundation-stone of the great economic mansion which is the dream of our life. They must be given extensive powers enabling them to discharge their duties well.

Again, the regional boards which are specialised bodies must keep in mind that the problem of co-ordination will be easier the lesser is the number of specialised organs—the departments. As far as possible the number of departments should be kept to the minimum. The greater the number of departments, the greater the number of times the files will have to move from department to department for final decision causing undue delay and harassment. It saps the vitality and throbbing zeal of the persons who want to do and die for it, public confidence of the work is shaken and the departmental heads get greater chance to shelve the responsibility on the others.

It is a task of great difficulty and complexity to decide the exact division of powers between the Central Planning Authority, the regional boards and the officers fighting in the actual fields of the socialised sector, but here also in the beginning the formula of trial and error will have to be applied and in every case all the care will have to be taken to preserve and increase the local initiative which should remain intact throughout the life of the whole structure of development, because we aim at not getting our economy rolling from top to bottom but emerging from bottom to rise to the top.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BUDDHA'S PHILOSOPHY FOR THE PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS

By Dr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

THE life and teachings of the Lord Buddha have a special significance in relation to the solving of present-day problems. Recent scientific advances and material progress resulting from the vast widening of the horizons of knowledge have not produced in us a sense of confidence about the future.

Indeed, Harold Laski, one of the most unconventional thinkers of the recent past, asserted:

"I do not think anyone can examine with care our contemporary situation without being constantly reminded that we again require some faith that will re-vitalise the human mind."

In so saying, he, in effect, assumed that our scheme of values has broken down and that we are living in an era of frustration.

This frustration at present assumes various unlooked-for shapes. Superstition of various types, the worship of temporary idols which are cast down soon after erection, psycho-analysis and psycho-therapy as substitutes for the old forms of magic, alternate with the creed of Lenin whose thesis was that there is no hope for the salvation of humanity in a society where the exploited are to look for redemption to the exploiters, and the Communist doctrine of Inevitable Struggle is ultimately based on the belief that our Heaven must be built upon the earth.

QUEST FOR PEACE

In spite of all these endeavours, we are in the midst of cold wars and atomic demonstrations and are nowhere near laying the foundations for a heaven upon earth. Men's minds are perplexed and they are on the quest for something to bring them peace and certainty.

At this juncture, there are few doctrines and few philosophies that are so calculated to restore our mental poise as those associated with the name of Lord Buddha.

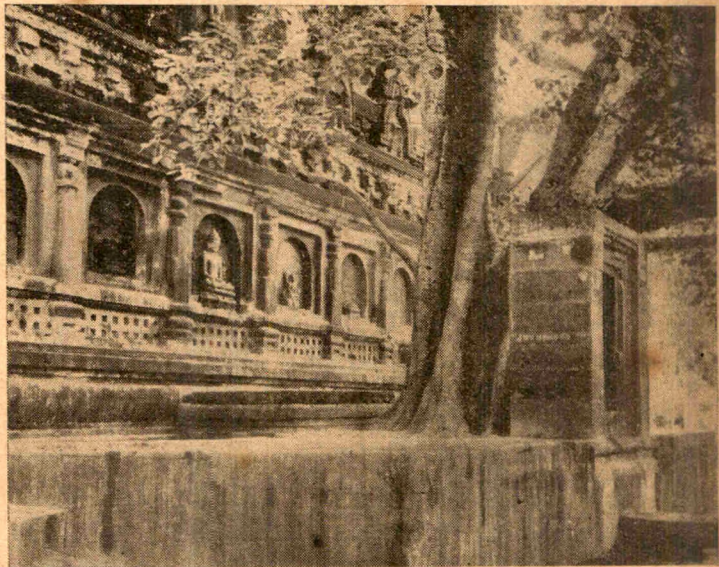
Buddha preached what he always called the Middle Path; averring, in his own language, that by avoiding "the two extremes of a life given to pleasure and a life given to mortification, we shall attain insight."

His was a message of tolerance and catholicity, and on one occasion when he had accepted the hospitality of Amba Pali, a courtesan, he exclaimed:

"I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrines. In respect of the truth, the Tathagata has no such

thing as a closed fist which keeps some things back."

Again when asked to leave some message to be cherished by his disciples after his demise, Lord Buddha emphasised that he was only a path-finder and that the community or Sangha should not be dependent upon him but that the members must find out a path for themselves of self-reliance and self-analysis. The teachings of the Buddha were essentially practical and pragmatic. He insisted on the wise man "making straight his trembling and unsteady thought which is difficult to guard and difficult to hold back." Above all, the Lord Buddha objected to every attempt to idolize him and one of the main lessons that he preached to his chief disciple, Ananda, was, "You yourself must make all the efforts. The Tathagatas are only preachers."



Buddha Gaya. The sacred Bodhi Tree where the Buddha attained enlightenment

AGE OF SPIRITUAL RESTLESSNESS

Borne in an age of spiritual restlessness like ours, he did not question the validity of the essential Hindu doctrines of Dharma, Karma and Samsara. He practised many disciplines, overcame many temptations and wrestled hard with the problems of existence before he arrived at the basic revelation which he outlined and ceaselessly promulgated. In essence, he insisted on the Middle Path, and on universal benevolence and the unflinchingly ethical life. He discouraged metaphysical discussions and questions relating to the origin and end of the Universe and speculations pertaining to other worlds. He held that interest in the supernatural is apt to divert attention from ethical values. It is not true

that he does not affirm the validity of religious experience. In the language of Anguttara Sutta, he says that "to dwell in Dharma is to dwell in Brahman."

IMPORTANCE OF INDIVIDUAL EFFORT

He insisted on the importance of individual effort and rejected the thought of a personal God as a Being interfering with the processes of Nature. Many controversialists have described the Lord Buddha as a narrow-minded agnostic, but he himself dealt with the matter in his Kosambi discourse. He plucked a few leaves from some 'simśapa' trees and pointed out that what he held in his hand was only a small fraction of the leaves in the forest.



Enlightenment (limestone), Amaravati,
1st century B.C. (British Museum)

"The whole of what I have learnt I have not told, and deliberately I have not told what does not conduce to progress, holiness and truth."

In other words, Buddha was not a theorist and he was at pains to describe a way, a method of spiritual development and not a set of doctrines.

One of his disciples, Malunkhyaputra, was troubled by metaphysical doubts relating to the gods and their attributes and their relation to human affairs. Buddha answered him by a parable:

"Supposing a person is suffering from a poisoned arrow that has entered his body, and supposing that a doctor wishes to treat him. Will the sufferer decline to have the arrow drawn out until the doctor

explains to him who shot the arrow, what caste he belonged to and to what family and whether he was tall or short? Likewise in this life, all that you need to know is the existence of suffering, the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the way to such cessation."

MORAL ORDER

Buddha never doubted the existence of moral order, and he insisted on the testing of all opinions by the standard of reason and on the breaking down of barriers that constitute separate existence. The Nirvana postulated by Buddha was not extinction but the unconditioned life of the spirit. He continuously



Mara's attack, stone cave 26, Ajanta,
7th century A.D.

reiterated that all-embracing love and kindness were the chief means of reaching perfection by eliminating the lower qualities and suppressing evil passions. Although Hindu seers before and after Buddha fully realised the efficacy of the virtues of universal benevolence, and although as the Sukla Yajur Veda declares, मित्रस्य अहं चक्षुषा, सर्वाणि भूतानि समीक्षे,

"I view all beings with the eyes of a friend," yet the ancient Yoga system was essentially personal in character and outlook, and depended on चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः the discipline of one's own mind-processes so as to achieve one-pointedness. On the other hand, the

Bodhisattvas are in Buddhist philosophy those beings that having attained perfection have come back deliberately to the earth to help suffering humanity by their example and precept.

BUDDHA'S INFLUENCE

Buddha's influence was exercised directly against the excrescence of the caste system and in truth, he was the earliest protagonist of the dignity and integrity of mankind. As the Brahmana Vaggo chapter of the Dhammapada declares:

"Not by matted hair, not by lineage, not by caste does one become a Brahmana. He is a Brahmana in whom there are truth and righteousness and who does not hurt by body, speech or mind."

It was the peculiar good fortune of Buddha that one of his eminent followers, the Emperor Asoka, has embodied in his Rock-Edicts the substance of the Buddha's original teachings before they were transformed by followers who forgot and even perverted his pristine teachings. Thus for instance, one of the Rock-Edicts asserts*: "Concord of religions is the ultimate good. Why? Because if they exist side by side, one who belongs to one religion can be benefited by another."

Asoka's openly-admitted remorse of the conquest of Kalinga and his realisation that victory by violence is really defeat, and his treatment of border-people and his humanitarian activities are the fullest exemplifications of the efficacy and practicality of the Buddha's teachings.

It has been truly said by Sir Edwin Arnold of the Lord Buddha that history records nothing, no single act or word which mars the perfect purity and tenderness of this Indian teacher who united the truest princely qualities with the intellect of a sage, and the passionate devotion of a martyr.

The following verses from Arnold's *Light of Asia* furnish an adequate summary of Buddha's sermons:

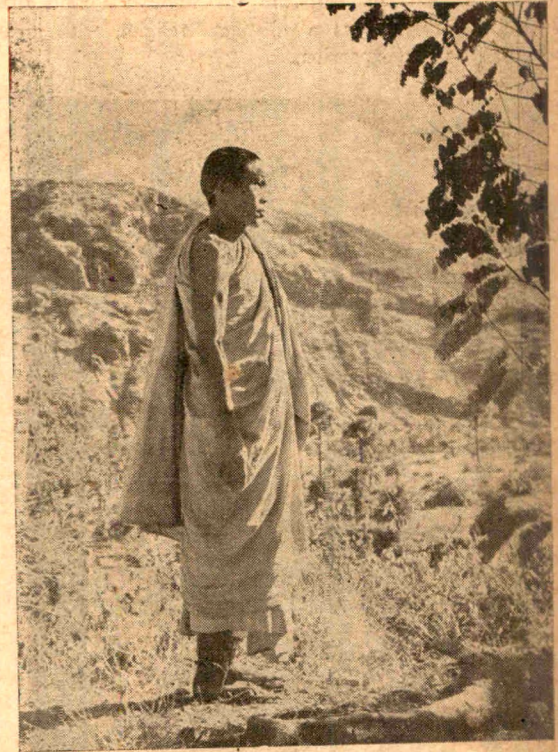
"Nought from the helpless gods by gift and hymn,
Nor bribe with blood, nor feed with fruits and cakes:
Within yourselves deliverance must be sought;
Each man his prison makes.
"Before beginning, and without an end,
As space eternal and as surety sure,
Is fixed a Power divine which moves to good,
Only its laws endure.
"Such is the Law which moves to righteousness,
Which none at last can turn aside or stay:

* समवायस्तव साधुः किमिनि अन्यमनसाधर्मः ।

श्रुणुयुश्च शुश्रूषश्च ।

The heart of it is Love, the end of it,
Is peace and Consummation sweet. Obey!"

On the Vaisakha Purnima day, we shall do well to remember the life and teachings of one whom even an unfriendly critic like Barthelemy St. Hilaire thus described:



Rajgir. Here Buddha spent a number of years after his enlightenment

"He was the model of all the virtues which he preached. His heroism equalled his conviction; his abnegation, his charity and his sweetness were never interrupted for a single instant."

His direct and practical gospel was one of unlimited benevolence and unremitting readiness to sacrifice one's self for the benefit of the world.

In such a message was implicit that sense of the universal and that tolerance which are thus expressed by a Chinese sage:

"The difference between a Buddhist and another lies in this: that the former knows he is a Buddhist; the latter does not know that he is also a Buddhist

—Courtesy: All-India Radio

BUDDHISM: STORY OF ITS EXPANSION IN INDIA

By Prof. B. C. BAGCHI

BUDDHISM met with a limited success only in the beginning. During the first and second centuries after Mahaparinirvana of the Buddha it could hardly be distinguished from the other ascetic movements in the country. It was, evidently, in the Maurya Period that Buddhism emerged as a distinct religion with great potentialities for expansion.

had also been sent to Chola, Keralaputra, Satyaputra and Ceylon. Tradition adds he sent missionaries also to Nepal, Kashmir and Suvarnabhumi.

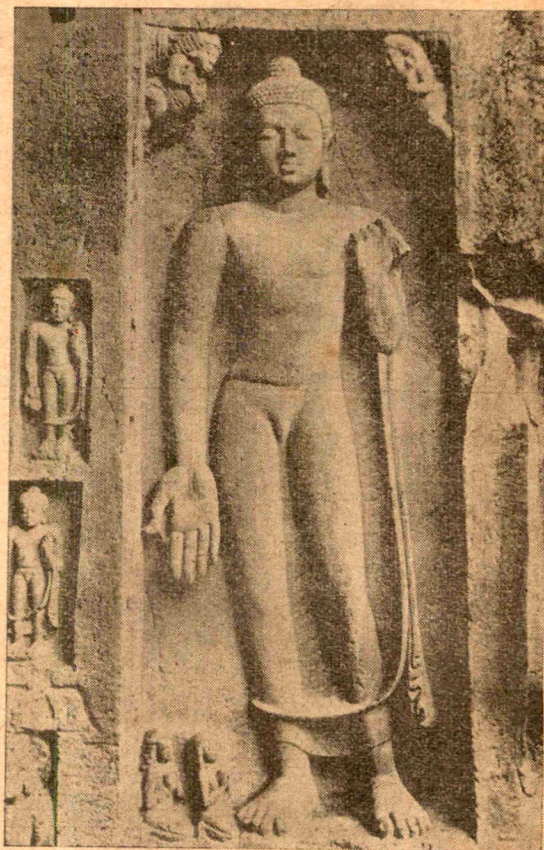
These missionaries, sent for the propagation of Buddhism, achieved great success both inside and outside the country. To this the epigraphic records and Buddhist monuments of post-Asokan times bear



Buddha preaching the first sermon (stone), Sarnath, Gupta Period, 5th century A.D. (Sarnath Museum)

The Mauryas lifted it to the status of a world religion. Surging through the frontiers of human minds Buddhism travelled far and established itself in distant lands. Tibet, Turkistan, China, Korea, Japan, Burma, Siam, Cambodia and the Malaya Peninsula came under its sway.

The patronage of Emperor Asoka, during whose reign the third Buddhist Council was held, was instrumental in the spread of Buddhism. It was the genius of the Emperor which helped in the building of Buddhism as a world religion. In his inscriptions he claims to have sent missionaries to Greeks in Syria, to Egypt and Cyrenaica and to Macedonia. Missionaries



Buddha in Varada mudra, stone cave 19, Ajanta, 6th century A.D.

testimony. And if today, 2,500 years after Nirvana, from Kandy in Ceylon to Kamakura in Japan, the tranquil face of Gautama bids men be gentle to one another and love peace, it is because a dreamer—perhaps a saint—once held the throne of India.

BUDDHIST SECTS

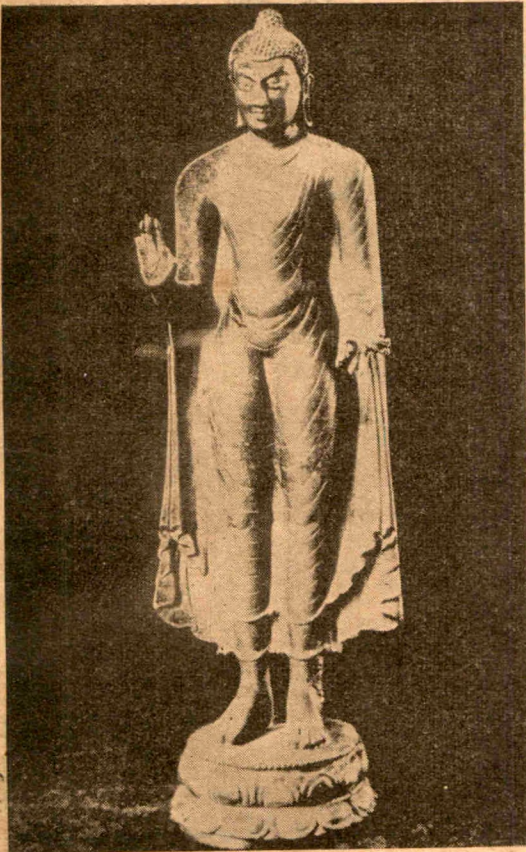
The rapid expansion of Buddhism resulted in the rise of a number of Buddhist sects not due so much to doctrinal differences as to geographical factors at a time when communication was a difficult problem. These sects disappeared later and merged with the others within a short time when two dominant forms emerged. In Ceylon and Southern India the Hinayana form

flourished which worshipped Buddha as a teacher, not God. The Mahayana Buddhism had a popular bias. Adopted to meet the speculative demands of the human mind and suit the needs of Kushans, Tartars and Mongols, the Mahayana school announced the divinity of Buddha and surrounded him with angels and saints. China, Japan, Tibet and Mongolia took to this form of Buddhism.

Under the Sungas Buddhism lost official patronage. Pusnyamitra Sunga even persecuted Buddhists. But thanks to popular support great progress was made by

thousands of people, including women and nobles. The Greeks in India were responsible for evolving a new style of Buddha art, usually known as Indo Greek, which flourished mostly in the Punjab and North-Western India.

Kanishka's reign is a landmark in the history of Buddhism. Tradition not only represents him as a great patron of the religion but also associates him with a galaxy of Buddhist masters who shaped Buddhism in later time. The new form of Buddhism, the Mahayana of far-reaching consequence, came to be evolved at this time.



Buddha in *Abhaya mudra* (bronze), Nalanda, 9th century A.D. (Asutosh Museum, Calcutta)

Buddhism during the Sunga-Kanva period. The Bharhut stupa, Karla caves and the Sanchi stupa belong to this period. Buddhism developed from a monastic religion into a popular one. It became a theistic religion with the Buddha and his relics as cult objects.

It was in this period that Buddhism was adopted by the Greeks in the North. King Menander was a great champion of the faith. Moggaliputta Tissa selected a Greek elder Dharmā Rakshita for missionary work. The latter was sent to Aparantaka where he successfully preached the law of Buddha and converted



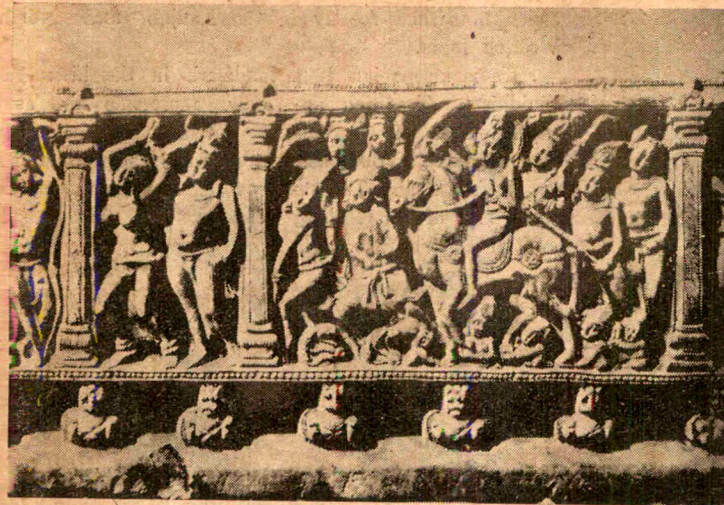
Buddha in *Bhumi-sparsa mudra* (stone), Bengal, 10th century A.D. (Asutosh Museum)

GUPTA PERIOD

With the advent of the Gupta Dynasty Buddhism received a new impetus. Although the Gupta emperors were Bhagwatas and adherents of Brahmanical faith they were sympathetic towards the cause of Buddhism. The Chinese pilgrims who visited India during this period speak of the flourishing condition of Buddhism. Buddhist with its relics at Mathura, Sarnath, Nalanda, Ajanta, Bagh and Dhanyarlataka also eloquently speak of the prosperity that Buddhism enjoyed in the Gupta period.

We have a number of records from the middle of the 7th century giving a clear picture of Buddhism in India. Harshavardhana in his later years became a follower of Mahayana Buddhism. In the west Vallabhi

became a Buddhist centre under the rulers of Maurya dynasty.



Renunciation (lime-stone), Nagarjunakonda, 3rd century A.D.

The century that followed Harsha's rule saw a state of anarchy unfavourable for the growth of a monastic religion like Buddhism, which depended so much on patronage of the rulers. Buddhism still lingered in Kashmir, Swat Valley, Vallabhi and other places in the north but its condition was far from satisfactory. While Buddhism was slowly disappearing from other parts of India it experienced a great revival

in eastern India under the Palas. Nalanda dominated the whole Buddhist world for nearly three centuries, from the 6th to the 9th. New institutions founded under the Palas at Jagaddab and Vikramপুরi, Vikramsila and Odantapuri acquired great importance and almost monopolised the commerce in Buddhist culture from the 9th to the 12th centuries.

The cause of the decline of Buddhism in India has been supposed by some historians to be persecution. There is, however, no real evidence for this. An examination of the latest Buddhist works makes it clear that the system gradually approximated to the surrounding Hinduism. The Buddhas were multiplied and divinised. Bodhisattavas were exalted and worshipped as the givers of merit, and female consorts were attributed to them so that they became indistinguishable, except in name, from the manifestations of Hindu divinities.*

* This article is based on "Expansion of Buddhism" by Prof. B. C. Bagchi, forming a chapter of the forthcoming book *Two Thousand and Five Hundred Years of Buddhism*, to be published by Publications Division, Union Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.—PIB.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE ASOKA CHAKRA A Plea for Reconsideration of Our State Emblem

By DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.P.

THERE has been some misconception in regard to the emblem called *Asoka Chakra* as figuring on our currency notes, and stamps used by Government for various purposes, on official documents and letters. Unfortunately, this popular description of the emblem as *Asoka Chakra* is historically not quite accurate. The source of the figure is the capital of the Asokan pillar at Sarnath. But the original idea of the *Chakra* was not his, but the Buddha's.

It was the Buddha who first used the term *Dharmachakra* in the Discourse that was delivered by him as his first teaching at Sarnath and is called in the sacred Pali texts *Dharmachakra-Pravartana-Sutra*. Its title indicates that the Buddha was out to inaugurate, "to set on foot," the 'Dominion of Righteousness' (*Dharmachakra*), the 'Reign of Law,' or the 'Rule of Right' as against Might (as explained by Childers).

Asoka, as a devotee of the Buddha, proposed to translate into stone, and in a permanent form, these words of the Master. Therefore, the *Chakra* appearing on the capital of the Asokan pillar is to be associated with the Buddha who first thought of it as the symbol of his political idealism and is only secondarily to be associated with Asoka. As is well-known, H.G. Wells counted Asoka as one of the greatest kings of history on account of the ideas inspiring his governance of a vast empire, the principles of Universal Peace, Toleration and Brotherhood as the foundation of the Buddha's contemplated Kingdom of Righteousness which he tried to translate into a reality. It is to be noted that among the measures that he adopted to see the ideal materialise may be mentioned the singular one of his despatch to select foreign States of the West Pacific Medical Missions charged, and

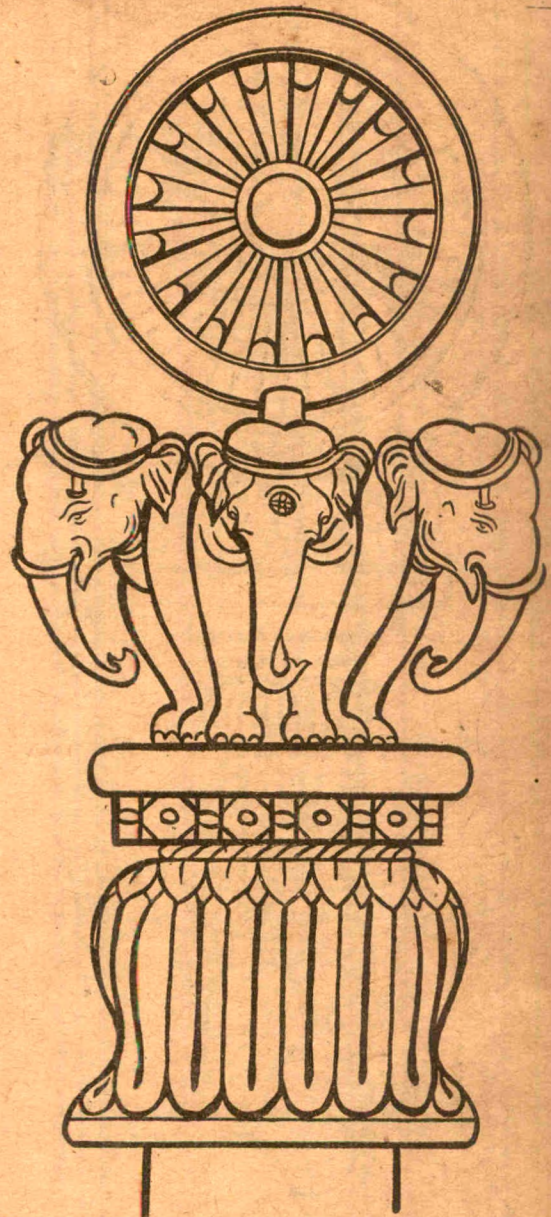
equipped with the duty, and the means, of ministering to the relief of suffering of all creatures, as stated in the Rock Edicts II and XIII. This is the earliest example of a Socialist State in action.

Government does not represent its original form in the Asokan monument. That original form included (1) a wheel of outstanding size which was placed on (2) the shoulders of four lions set back to back as seen in



Marshall's *Monuments of Sanchi*,
Vol. II, Plate 27

An important fact to be noted in this connection is that the wheel appearing in the emblem adopted by



Marshall's *Monuments of Sanchi*,
Vol. IV, Plate 86

its available remnant at Sarnath, and (3) the abacus portraying the figure of the wheel alternating with the figures of four animals, the elephant, the bull, the horse and the lion, recalling the four turning points in the Buddha's life, viz., Conception, Nativity, Renunciation, and Fullness of Power.

The original wheel which the lions were made to

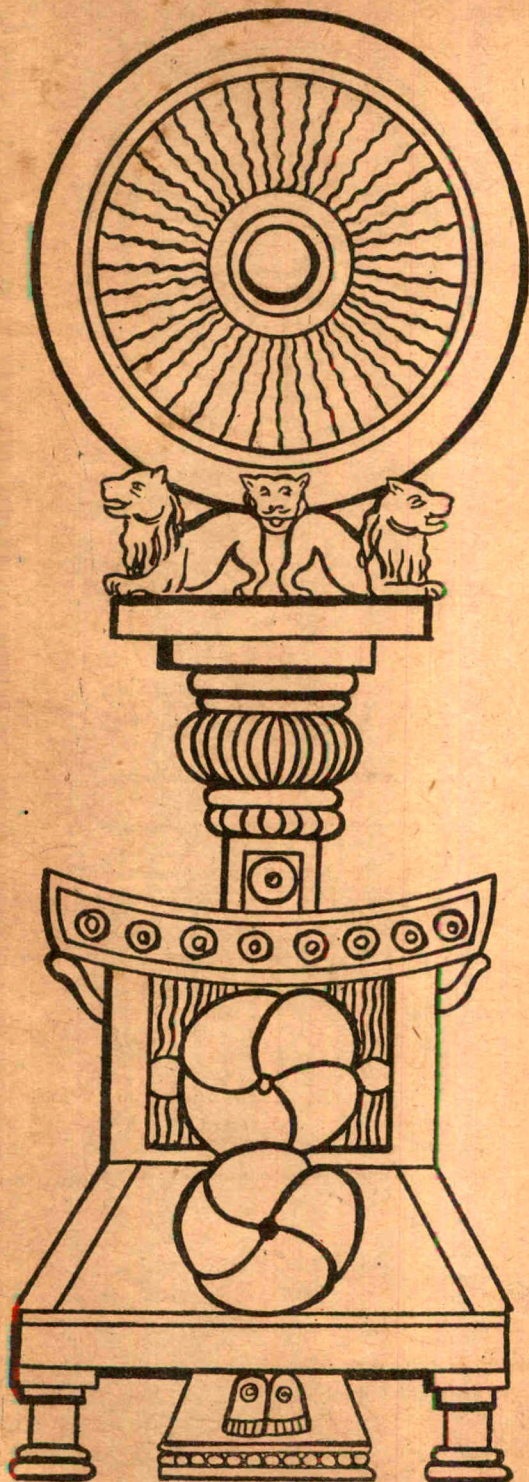
carry on their shoulders fell off from the pillar but is fortunately traceable in fragments which are still preserved in the Sarnath Museum. That wheel is now re-

stored to its original form and position in the illustrations appearing in this article.

Indeed, this wheel was originally supported on a short stone shaft which still remains to be discovered. But its existence is proved by a mortice hole into which the shaft was fitted. The hole has a diameter of 8", indicating the thickness of the shaft it was to hold. It was drilled into the stone lying between the heads of the four lions, and is still to be seen in its original form. Of the broken big wheel, four small fragments have been traced and preserved in the Museum. These fragments also show the ends of 13 spokes, and also indicate that the total original number of the spokes of the wheel was 32 as against the 24 spokes of the smaller wheel figuring on the abacus. (See p. 28 of *Catalogue of Sarnath Museum* by D. Sahni). Sir John Marshall also testifies to "four magnificent lions sitting back to back with a wheel between them."

That the wheel was the original and outstanding part of the capital of the Asokan column is further proved by its historical reproductions in the sculptures of the Great Stupa at Sanchi of about 2nd century B.C. which was also associated with Asoka. Further, this artistic tradition was so strongly established that it spread even to the South where it was embodied in the later sculptures of the Stupas at Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati. All these sculptures testify to the popular appeal of the Asokan architectural tradition, which should now be preserved and perpetuated in its pristine form as an expression of the ideal and message of Indian thought of which the Buddha and Asoka were such noted exponents. The wheel in its extant reproduction appears also to be very small in size, and occupies a very unimportant, inferior and obscure place in the scheme of the decoration adopted in the abacus of the Asokan capital where it simply alternates between the figures of animals which appear to be more prominent than the wheel. It was because, Asoka's design of the abacus was a part of the whole design which gave to the wheel the topmost priority of position as explained above. It is necessary in loyalty to Asoka's ideal that the wheel be restored in all our documents to its original form and position as seen in the illustrations now presented, in which it appears as the most outstanding and towering feature crowning the whole column.

Lastly, the form of the emblem is itself but the expression of a governing idea shaping it. It is possessed of a significance and symbolism which should not be missed. According to Asoka's design, the shoulders of the lions, if I may quote the apt words of the poet Milton, "were Atlantean shoulders, fit to bear the weight of mightiest monarchies," and so, Asoka placed on their broad shoulders the heavy burden of the spiritual empire which he sought to establish in India. Thus, the big wheel placed on the backs of the lions exhibits the superiority of the spiritual to



Longhurst's Nagarjunakonda, Plate XI(a)

the physical, or brute force, as represented in the lions. The wheel appearing in the abacus below the lions is there in a different context.

The later examples of the original from of Asokan capital are being presented in line-drawings to bring out more distinctly the form and beauty of the defaced and mutilated original. The Sanchi example shows the big wheel placed on lions in the same pose as the Asokan lions of Sarnath, but the second Sanchi example marks what may be judged by artists as an improvement upon the Asokan design by substituting for his lions elephants which are as much a representation of physical power as the lions, and are more closely associated with India, while they bring to the representation an added element of dignity, vigour and beauty.

It may be noted that the picture of wheel on lions occurs in as many as seven bas-reliefs among the sculptures of Sanchi. These seven reliefs are to be found on plates 27, 40, 69, 74, 82, 103 and 108 of Marshall's work *Monuments of Sanchi*. The wheel on three elephants is seen on page 86 of the same work.

A further noteworthy feature of the two wheels figured on the capital of Asokan pillar is that the top

big wheel was constructed with 32 spokes and the smaller and the lower one with 24 spokes. The 32 spokes were evidently designed to correspond to what are called in Pali Canonical texts the thirty-two *Mahapurusha-lakshanas*, or the thirty-two external characteristics of the Buddha as Superman. These are described and listed in such Buddhist sacred texts as *Digha*, II, 117, 19 ff; *Digha*, III, 287; and *Visuddhi-magga*, p. 234. The appellation *Mahapurusha* is applied in Pali texts to any eminent person, and specially to the Buddhas or *Chakravarti-monarchs*. An example of these 32 physical characteristics or personal beauties possessed by the Buddha was the *Chakra*-mark appearing on the soles of his feet. As regards the 24 spokes of the lower wheel on the abacus, they may be taken to correspond to the 24 main Truths of the Buddhist *Dhamma*, viz.,

1. Avoidance of the two extremes of (i) self-indulgence and (ii) self-mortification
2. Four noble Truths (*Aryasatyan*)
3. The eight-fold path (*Ashtangika-marga*)
4. The ten precepts (*Silas*)

Thus the total of these tenets of Buddhism comes up to twenty-four.—From *A.I.C.C. Economic Review*,

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PAINTINGS OF SUDHANSU BASU ROY CHOWDHURY

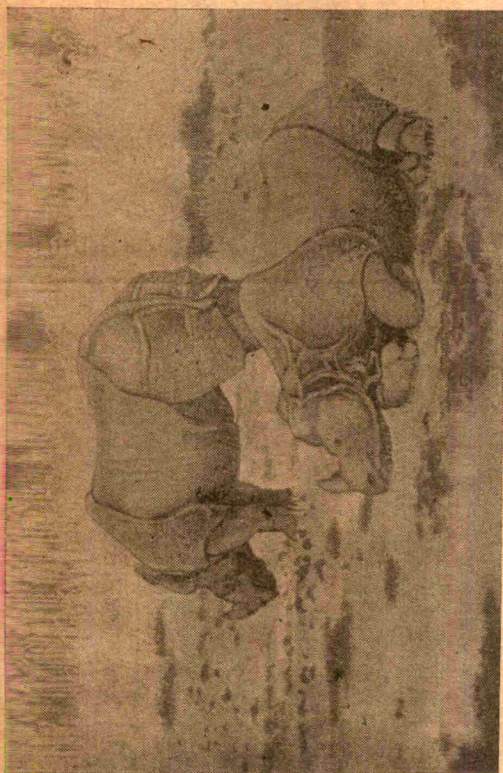
An Appraisal

By RANJAN GHOSH

WHILE writing this review-article on the paintings of Sri Sudhansu Basu Roy Chowdhury—one of the senior artists (I say this with some hesitation), it is dismaying to witness that he is less known than the excellence of his works with commendable success in different directions in the domain of art, actually deserves; and the salient reasons for the decadence of the art-appreciation among the people could be well traced to the vandal heel of negligence in our Universities and press in the past, to some extent. However, rapid changes in matters of art-education and appreciation notably in the press, which caters for ampler writings on art than before, are fast taking place—yet there is sufficient room for improvement in this direction.

Born in 1912, Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury started his education in art from his very childhood at the Jaipur Art College (Rajputana) in 1926. While a young boy of thirteen years of age, he became noted for his painting acumen and talent. During this time one of his paintings captioned under 'Unity' was highly appreciated and, later on, purchased by no less and no other a person than the great artist and connoisseur of art—the father of Modern Indian paintings,—whom you and I equally love and

adore—the late Abanindranath Tagore. This is the highest meed for a boy-aspirant artist as Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury was. Nurtured that he was in the exquisite scenery of Jaipur, which is the seat of religious temples and state-buildings—remarkably 'the old Palace of Ambar and the Palace and stables of the Maharaja'—having deep-rooted historical origin and high architectural designs, he got himself engaged in studying these historical buildings and religious temples during his seven years of stay at the Jaipur Art College. A few sketches of them are still lying with him. These are fine specimens of his neat drawing done with every meticulous care. In the realm of mythological paintings he has been equally successful. His paintings on the mythological Radha-Krishna love episode are unique due to their technical dexterity and lyrical tempo through his sweet and balanced blending of colour. On completion of his studies at the Jaipur Art College, he came to Calcutta and placed himself under the inspiring guidance of the late A. N. Tagore and gradually became one of his beloved students by dint of his unwavering devotion to and creative faculty of painting. During this period his works chiefly consisted of



A pair of rhinoceroses of Assam (Painting, 1952)



A study from the Zoo, Calcutta
(Painting, 1942)



The training camp of the wild elephants at Bhutan border, North
Goalpara District of Assam (Painting, 1953)

illustrations from the life of the Buddha and of landscapes—better known as "Bengal landscapes." In depicting the illustrations from the life of the Buddha, Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury has commendably revealed the contemplative aspect of his art. It is quite evident from the divine elements with which these paintings are tinged.

he went out on a perilous journey to the land of the hill tribes of Assam which brought all manners of troubles and discomforts and he passed several years there—sleeping in their huts, eating their food—being sequestered from the society as it were. An exhibition of his paintings on the social and cultural life of the hill tribes of Assam was held at Y.M.C.A, Chowringhee,



Expressing friendliness towards a stranger
(Painting, 1952)

Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury was not content long with his indoor works. His was a roving spirit lying dormant in him which could not be satiated with indoor works ensconced within the four walls of his studio. So, eventually, he went out of his studio—now enjoying the noble and sublime scenes from the Himalays, now visiting Himachal Pradesh—producing a series of beautiful, serene and mystical landscapes (through the medium of his skilled wash-work) which he painted during this roving period. It highly speaks of him as a fine landscapist. It may be worth mentioning here that a collection of his pictorial survey was exhibited at the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society at New Delhi in 1949. But his intense roving spirit which was floundering much for something more adventurous—pushed him still farther. At last



A Naga returning home from jhooming
(Painting, 1952)

(Calcutta, on the 13th May 1955, which earned high appreciation from a large section of the people and the press.

Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury has chosen the medium of water-colour in his paintings in which he is found quite at ease. With regard to the language or technique he employs in his pictorial creations—I find that at present he has swung over more to the Western technique. In doing so he is not at all found fumbling with it, but is one who performs this as if he has assimilated everything. It is interesting to note that he was early well-trained in Indian art. His illustrations from the life of the Buddha, Bengal landscapes and the like bear ample testimony to a high degree of success in this direction.

There are many who are inclined to look down upon his paintings as extremely decorative and illustrative in character due to an 'avidity for detail' with which very many of his paintings are tinged. They are of the opinion that these paintings give reference more to what he (artist) sees, not what he inwardly feels for them. It is unfortunate to remain acquiescent to such a confused and partial view of the artist's works without probing into what has led him to adhere to decoration and detail in his pictorial creations. It is in the fitness of things to discuss, at some length, this aspect (decoration and detail) of his paintings with a view to steering clear of confusion and misconception hovering about the minds of some people. The artist is intensely moved by certain social needs, which he tries to import into his paintings. "Healthy art is always harnessed to a set of social needs," says Eric

life of the hill tribes of Assam with the object of bringing about the warmth of our understanding about these hill tribes, who are still away from our understanding and about whom we still grope in the dark to a great measure. From the social point of view he deserves congratulations on his laudable attempt at dispelling our misconceptions and enigmatic views about these people living in our country.

He is keenly true to his visual experience and depicts what his eye sees. But should we remain satisfied to say that this is the only aspect in the matter of his pictorial creations? Do they not reflect something more than that? Do we not find—if we look a little sedately into his paintings—that these hill tribes are depicted in their different moods, sometimes appalled at the sight of an outsider (artist), sometimes found fatigued with their toiling labours in the



A Khasi lady of Shillong
(Painting, 1954)

Newton in his book *European Paintings and Sculpture*. This is what is applicable to Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury's art, to a great extent. The artist's visit to the land of the hill tribes of Assam was not undertaken haphazardly with a view to satisfying his capricious nature; rather the reverse. It emanates from his ambitious desire to fulfil some sort of social needs through the medium of his art. That is why he was, we find, goaded to the task of depicting the social and cultural



A Santal girl adorning herself
(Painting, 1943)

field. I feel, as many others would feel, that all these adequately reflect, at times, emotive expressions of the hill tribes. The reasons for his clinging to detail and decoration in his paintings are not far to seek. For, here he is going to introduce these hill tribes to us with their different aspects—mostly unknown to us previously. That is why he adheres to describe his

visual experience faithfully—but never losing its depth and brilliance in order that what he depicts could be ‘witnesses whose veracity no one would dream of doubting because he has sworn himself in to paint the whole visual truth’ and that it might be of immense appeal and understanding to the layman. So, judged from the view-points stated above, it gives Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury a very forceful *point d’appui* to represent his art with detail and decoration in that it affords some sort of panacea to the visitors. In this respect, he could be well compared with the Italian Flemish painters. Sri Basu Roy Chowdhury is greatly reputed for his animal paintings. In the series of the hill tribes of Assam there are many beautifully painted animals—specially the rhinoceroses, elephants and birds in the jungle scenes from Assam. However, I hope that he might not restrict himself to the art of visual truth alone all through his life and that he might once again move to the art of contemplation, in line with his earlier work, much more intensely than before.



Storm weather in the Simla Hills
(Painting, 1948)

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SOLUTION OF THE KOSI PROBLEM

By J. N. BOSE, F.R.G.S.,
Formerly of Survey of India

A report from his engineers led Alexander of Macedon to build Alexandria on a comparatively unimportant mouth of the Nile. At that time the Pelusiac mouth (near the modern Port Said) was the recognised port of Egypt, but the engineers foresaw the ultimate closure of all the eastern mouths by the drift of river detritus. Their judgment is confirmed by the need of today of the best dredges to maintain Port Said as a deep-water port. This piece of the Nile history is interesting as an early recognition of the migration of the river mouths in a direction contrary to the prevailing winds.

On the behaviour of rivers selecting their course for the outfall especially at the point of discharge, little seems to have been written since the formation of Alexandria.

Dally has pointed out some rivers shift their mouths to windward, citing the Mississippi, the Ebro and the Rhine as examples. We have evidence of the windward movement of the Rhine as we know that in Roman times the outfall was through the country now covered

by the Zuider Zee. It subsequently has been windward to the previous one.

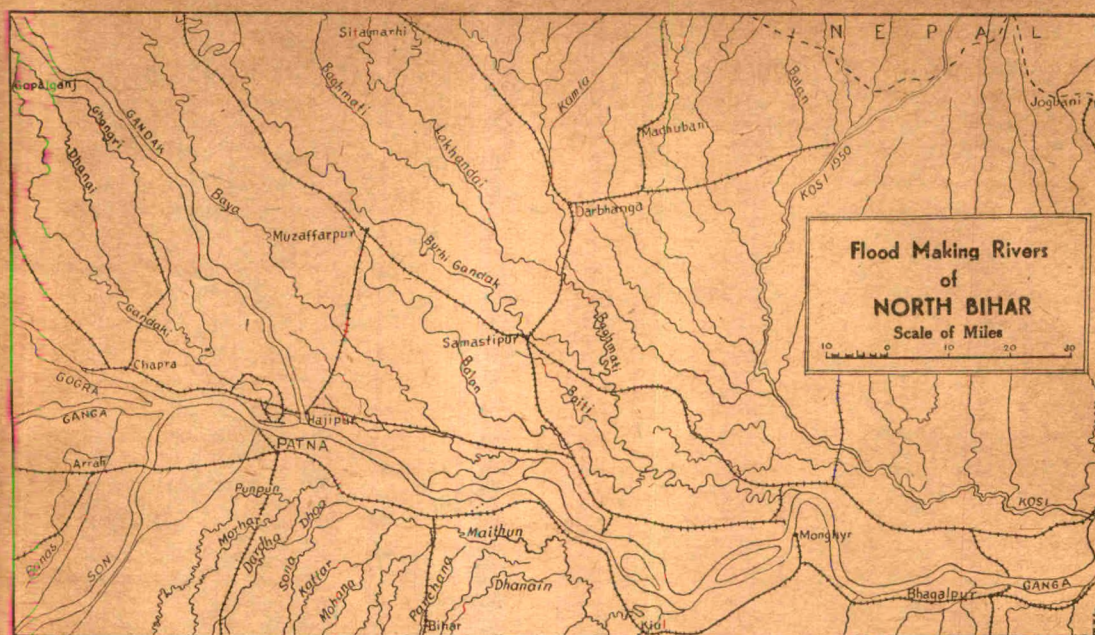
Vernon refers the movements of the Danube against prevailing winds.

The river Parana between the Paraguay and river Plate, which abrades the hard ground on its left bank whilst leaving the more easily removable alluvial deposits on its right bank undisturbed, seems to give a clear illustration of the action of Earth's rotation.

The Volga makes a great bend at Samara to avoid Zhenguli extension of the Russian plateau. Along the whole of the bend, cliffs fringe the right bank, which the river is constantly under-cutting, while from the left bank extends a great plain intersected by former channels of the river.

Thus we find that not only the Kosi but many other rivers in different parts of the world behave in peculiar ways, but none so violent and destructive like the Kosi.

But whatever may be the course of a river for its



discharge, it can be diverted to flow through a suitable channel by regulating along its middle course. Some examples will substantiate it:

About 6,000 years ago King Menes turned the Nile from the extreme western limit of the valley to the eastern limit to protect the Temple of Memphis from the eastern norrids.

It was about 5,000 years ago that some ancient Babylonian King, tradition says, Nimrod, turned the Tigris out of its course by a boldly planned work, which stood for 4,000 years until Halaku destroyed it and began the ruin of Babylonia.

One of the Chola Kings of South India constructed a massive dam of unhewn stone 1080 feet long, and from 40 to 60 feet broad, below the island of Seringapatnam, to keep the Cauvery separate from the Coleroon and drive it towards Tanjore district. This is still in existence, a road has been built upon it.

The Rhine has been regulated and a straight channel has been cut through its meanders near Karlsruhe.

Those who know London at the present day find it hard to believe that the Thames was ever fordable in its neighbourhood. The cement factories along the banks of the Thames by dredging clay from the bed of the river helped a great deal in deepening its channel.

The hydrographic nature of North Bihar indicate a gentle but uniform rise towards the foot of the Himalayas, with a belt of fairly high land along the bank of the Ganga and a gradual tilting from north-west to south-west; this has been disturbed at places

owing to tectonic movements and by the action of shifting channels.

We know that Pataliputra (Patna) in Chandra Gupta's time (about 320 B.C.) was at the confluence of the Ganga, the Gandak and the Son. The mouth of the Son has shifted westward some 20 miles in some 2,000 years since Chandra Gupta's time, considering that shifting had ceased with the construction of Son canals started in 1869. But the Kosi exhibiting all the features of a deltaic stream is advancing westwards more rapidly. Even in 1920 the Kosi with most of its channels flowed east of 87° longitude, but when the area was subsequently surveyed in 1935-38, the channels were found to have migrated westwards. What is the reason for this it would be difficult to say, neither Ferrel's law nor rotation of earth can be attributed for its cause, but it is a fact that the Kosi is moving against the general slope of the tract and in a direction contrary to the prevailing winds. This westward trend was recognised even in ancient legends. The wind in these areas blows from the east only in the rainy season, but from middle of September to middle of June, the prevailing direction of wind is from the west. By the action of such western wind the sand from the river-bed of the Son is heaped up to form sand-hills some to a height of 12 to 15 feet above the level of the country along the eastern bank of the river. North Bihar experiences about 50 inches of rainfall in the three months of the rainy season. Frequent rainfall reduces the water-absorbing power of both the soil and the air. The channels, wanting depth and gradient along their lower courses

are quite unable to discharge the accumulated rain water which when augmented by the sudden overflow from the vast upper mountainous regions make disastrous floods.

The Kosi after being united with several other rivers falls into the Ganga through a narrow mouth which is quite unable to discharge the vast volume of water. Dr. Singha has rightly said that there is hardly any other part of the country which drains so much water through so small an area. The position becomes worst when the Ganga is also in spate and prevents the Kosi waters to be poured into it resulting in an inundation of vast areas.

In order to save a huge loss of men and money every year the Kosi must be controlled. What are being tried by the engineers of the Flood Control Board are of course all possible means for the present by constructing dams, reservoirs and by diverting natural waterways from unstable to stable channels. An aerial survey of the areas in India which were affected by rivers with sources in Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Tibet would be made. A contour survey map would be prepared from this and after collection of various data and making experiments with scale models of the area, a permanent solution of the flood problem would be attempted.

It is clear and the map also shows that rivers of North Bihar cannot enter into the Ganga easily owing to the presence of high land along the bank of the Ganga. In order to avoid this high land they have to run parallel to the Ganga for some considerable distance and have to be united with several other streams; still not being able to discharge their waters, they make floods with accumulated waters.

The Kosi problem will be solved if the following methods are adopted in addition to the measures which are being undertaken.

By opening some new channels from suitable points to the Ganga cutting through the high bank of the Ganga, this accumulation of water may be discharged more easily. This method would involve some additional expenses for there would be the necessity of constructing several railway bridges at points where the channels cross the railway lines. It is evident that railway embankments in this part of the country are also responsible to some extent for floods by obstructing the natural flow of the country. More bridges for the escape of water should be provided for the railway lines.

In order that all the flood waters of north Bihar may safely be discharged through the Ganga, its flood level should be kept much below, lower than at present. This can be best effected if the bed of the Son from below the anicut at Dehri to its outfall with the Ganga be dredged deep to form a lake. The average width of this part of the Son is about 2 miles and the length some

80 miles. This portion of the Son is a sandy waste, even the banks up to some distance are not of any use, so the question of compensation and rehabilitation will not arise. The lake so formed will act like a safety valve, like the Stanley Pool of the Congo or the Tungting and Poyang lakes of the Yangtze. It will arrest any high flood in the Ganga below its junction with the Son, enabling the discharge of north Bihar to pass through the Ganga more smoothly. Needless it is to say that two good road bridges should be provided for the Son the first at Dehri-Bharun for the Grand Trunk Road and the other at Koelwar for the Patna-Buxar Road.

On fruition of such ideas as connecting the Arabian Sea with the Bay of Bengal with inland waterways by canalizing and connecting the Narmada and the Tapi with the Son and the Mahanadi and the Godavari through the Wainganga this piece of waterway will play an important part in the transportation by inland waterways.

There is an opinion that since the construction of anicuts at Hardwar and Narwara for utilizing the Ganga waters for irrigation canals, the water level of the Ganga in its lower reaches has been lowered, and it is one of the causes of the deterioration of the Bhagirathi water supply at the intake. Some may apprehend that if such a lake is made, even with the provision of lock-gates at the outfall of the Son the level of the Ganga may still be lowered. But this may not matter much if the Ganga barrage is made, and the channel of the Bhagirathi is improved and made navigable all the year round.

Floods of 1954 and 1955 were on an unprecedented scale. It is said that no such thing has occurred for several generations. In 1954, there were floods on a big scale almost throughout central Eurasia, causing disasters to China, India, Nepal, Tibet, Iran, Hungary etc. Even Australia and Egypt were unable to escape from this disaster. Tibet, where it seldom rains, had to suffer for floods.

Professor Soddy, famous for the theory of atomic disintegration and discovery of isotope, said that this sort of disturbance is probably caused by man-produced atomic radiation. Atomic research stations throw out many pounds of radium into the air every day. The atmosphere is ionized and this is bound to affect the weather. Particles of moisture in the already saturated air become electrified by the atomic radiation and are turned to rain. Normally they would only be turned to rain by particles of dust.

In this day, radio, television, atomic radiation, space-rockets and propulsions of aeroplanes cause so many waves and vibrations churning up the spatial ether, that, as if, weather, is no longer able to follow the laws of nature.

RAILWAYS OF THE U.S.S.R.

By SAROJ B. BISWAS

POSSIBLY, of all countries, Russia suffered the most from the ravages of the last world war which practically laid low her national economy and left a trail of waste and desolation almost everywhere there. Transport was crippled. So the post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation assumed the utmost importance and became the foremost immediate task to the Government of the U.S.S.R. Over and above, Russia, being a communistic state, took upon herself the sacred but onerous mission of maintaining her people at a high level, as such transport of food-grains and essentials of life became a matter of solicitude to the Government. Crops delivered by the tenants to the authorities are to be carried to the central stores; after this crop is stored the potato harvest sets in, followed by the sugar-beet and thereafter the state builds up reserves of winter coal and coke for the towns and factories. With the resurgence of national economy there has been a basic alteration in the concept of the same, greater stress is now being laid on the heavy industries, and a finished article, to take its final shape, is now required to pass for its different stages of production, through different factories either in Russia or her satellite countries, and this often entails frequent movements of a semi-finished article from one part of a country to that of another. All these go to make a heavy demand on the Railway transport and to meet that, the Railway administration has perforce to give priority to the freight service over passenger service. Russia like America is a land of vast distances between traffic points with a very little volume of seasonal holiday passenger. To ensure quick movement of goods, Express goods trains with corridor stock—practically an innovation, and heavy freight trains of 3500-4000 tons against the maximum of 2000 tons on the railways of Western Europe are frequently operated; for speedier freight services and quicker turn-round, as an experimental measure, on the main line in the South Urals region, and in the Donetz basin—an hub of the industrial activity of Russia, electric engines of 3500 V and 5000 H.P. capable of a service speed of 90 M.P.H. which are believed to be the most powerful of its kind in the world, work Express freight trains of 4000 tons. Electrification of the Trans-Siberian line (Moscow to Vladivostok)—5800 miles—portions of which have already been electrified, has been taken up and is expected to be finished by the next five years or so. The project on completion, will be the longest electrified section in the world, even much longer than the East to West Diesel Electric main lines of the Canadian or American Railways; for the transport of perishable goods like meat, fish and fruit, etc., trains made up entirely of articulated refrigerated rakes are run. Shunting is done by the Diesel as well as by the 0-8-0 steam locomotives.

But all these do not mean that the Passenger services on the Railways of the U.S.S.R. have been

neglected or have received scant attention. The first thing that strikes a visitor to Russia are the new stately magnificent station buildings, replete with all modern comforts, at Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, Smolensk, and other cities which have been erected on or near the sites of the old ones which were destroyed in the last war. The new station buildings are of Neo-Georgian or Gothic style, their floor and stairs are of marble with the express trains of the U.S.S.R. painted on the walls. In constructing these buildings, the ease and comfort of the travelling public and of the constituents and not the volume of traffic have been taken into account, so much so that the density of traffic does not warrant their construction on such a majestic scale. To relieve the tedium of passengers, waiting rooms at some of these stations are provided each with a small library, a wireless receiver, table games, and up-to-date journals and periodicals. As a tentative measure, in a modified form, this may be tried in the upper class waiting rooms of the Howrah and Delhi stations and retiring rooms of some busy stations. The reconstruction of these buildings followed and not preceded the restoration of the war-torn railway, its stock, structure, equipment and appliances. To cope with the evergrowing surface traffic, the communist Government of Russia constructed underground railways at Moscow and Leningrad, the only cities of the U.S.S.R. having this facility. The underground railway of Moscow, reported to be the most beautiful and convenient in the world, covers some 72 route miles and 12 miles more are under construction. The stations on the Moscow and Leningrad underground railways are miniature "palaces with mosaics, crystals and statues" (vide *Evening News of England*). The standard of discipline and of cleanliness is so high that no smoking is permitted in any of the above-mentioned stations—a very inconceivable thing to us. Execution of all these projects within a short compass of time shows not only the magnitude of the Rehabilitation and Development works accomplished by the U.S.S.R. but the wonderful grit and energy of the Russian people.

The railways of the U.S.S.R. operate some 70 Passenger train services, internal and international and the passenger travel comprises five categories, (1) Express (crack), (2) Courier, (3) Fast, (4) Passenger, (5) Local. The "Red Arrow" from Moscow to Leningrad and the Trans-Siberian Express from Moscow to Vladivostok are the only Express and Courier services respectively, while the long-distance fairly-quick trains, viz., to Brest Litovsk, Stalingrad, Odessa, Kharkov and other important cities and towns are fast. Most of the important main line trains are worked by Pacific engines; there being few tank engines, the tender engines are employed on local trains. Unlike India, there is no uniform serial number for

passenger trains, but in each zone, the passenger trains are numbered serially; as in India, the faster trains bear lower numbers. Though Moscow is the nerve-centre of the Railway system, the direction of the train is not generally reckoned from it. Those proceeding South to North, and West to East carry even numbers and those from North to South and East to West odd numbers; the only exception to this rule is the Moscow-Rostov route where the reverse order is observed. The Time Table is changed once yearly and incorporates drastic and material alteration suiting public convenience and requirement.

All the principal trains have got air-conditioned sleeping cars running next to the engine and restaurant cars as well. The sleeping cars being of rockette type, can vie in comforts and luxury with the most modern type of American Parlour and sleeping cars—the cream of present-day passenger accommodation; on the other hand as a matter of fact the standardization of these sleeping cars in design and model has resulted in the start at night, of all principal trains, as in America, from the originating stations, even though the journey be a short one and this often places at a disadvantage the tourist who wants to see at day time something of the countryside near about those points.

Five types of accommodation are provided on the passenger train: (1) International first category—double-berth compartments, (2) International second category—four berth compartments, (3) and (4) soft and hard classes of 32 and 38 berth compartments in which bedding is available at a supplementary fare, (5) open type hard class with 58 seats to a bogie. But single-berth compartments as obtaining on West European Railways are not provided on the Russian. A particular feature of the latter is that a mere possession of a ticket, as in Spain, does not entitle a passenger to entrain unless or until he has reserved a berth or seat as the case may be. To cater to international long-distance traffic, through luxurious sleeping cars run from Moscow to different centres on different schedules—daily to Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Bucharest and Warsaw, four times weekly to Sofia, thrice weekly to Peking and bi-weekly to Pyongyang in North Korea. The Russian trains booked for Central European cities have got to negotiate a gauge of 4' 8½" on the Railways west of Russia against that of 5' of the latter and the change of gauge is effected at the border stations by pushing sideways the wheels of the carriage and this work involving a train rake of 15 bogies takes 18 minutes against 15 minutes for the identical work done by the S.N.C.F. on the Pyrenees Frontier.

But as regards speed—an essential factor in the modern rail transport—the railways of the U.S.S.R. compare unfavourably with those of West Europe and of Great Britain and it may possibly be due to the Russian mind which does not always regard speed as

a prime factor as is evident from the fact that some trains on the main line of Russian Railways run for 1,000 miles stopping at each and every station. The overall average speed of the fast trains excepting the crack service varies from 30-32 M.P.H. and is still lower than the pre-war standard which was much below the same of the West European Railways and the average speed between two halts seldom exceeds 46 M.P.H. Due to havoc of the last war, the train speed had to be severely reduced but subsequent steady improvements in the timings of train suggest that by 1956 on some principal sections, the pre-war level of speed will not only be attained but exceeded, and with the completion of the electrification of the Trans-Siberian Line now in hand, there will be a considerable acceleration in the speed of trains which may cut down the present journey time by 40 per cent. The "Red Arrow," the fastest crack train of Russia, takes 9 hours and 40 mts. for her run of 404 miles—Moscow to Leningrad—at an average of 41.8 M.P.H. against 7 hrs. and 40 mts. taken by the British "Midday Scot" from London to Glasgow 402 miles, and 7 hrs. and 45 mts. by the "Rhinegold Express" of West German Federal Railways for 395 miles from Munich to Cologne, but she shows herself much better against our Delhi Mail taking 10 hrs. 55 mts. for 411 miles from Howrah to Moghal Sarai. It should be borne in mind that the "Red Express" though saddled with a heavier rear load has the advantage of a better terrain with long stretches of level and straight tracks.

TABLE NO. 1. OVERALL FASTEST TIMINGS

Railways of the U.S.S.R.

	Distance in miles	Time taken			
		1939		1955	
		H	Mt.	H.	Mt.
Moscow-Smolensk	260	6	41	7	28
Do-Leningrad	404	9	30	9	40
Do-Minsk	464	12	27	14	16
Do-Brest Frontier	483	30 (a)	20	21	21
Leningrad-Kiev	783	34	30	36	53
Moscow-Odessa	938	33	31	34	25
Do-Sochi	1,226	41	40	47	34
Do-Baku	1,580	(c) 57	35	63	35
Do-Tashkent	2092	95	40	84	26
Do-Irkatsk	3,226	107	53	115	15
Do-Manchurian Border	4170	149	45	160	15
Do-Vladivostock	5800	212	0	221	0

Indian Railways

	Distance in miles	Time		Taken	
		H.	M.	H.	M.
Howrah-Mokamch	273	6	58	7	54
Do-Mogal-Sarai					
Via G.C.	411	10	23	10	55
Do-Mogal-Sarai via					
Main line	463	11	52	13	02
A-ansol-Aligarh	693	17	43	19	09
Bombay-Muttra					
(W. Ry.)	778 (b)	20	12	20	42
Bombay-Delhi					
(C. Ry.)	957	30	50	27	25
Howrah-Bombay via					
Nagpur	1,223	38	20	37	50
Madras-Delhi	1,360			44	35
(G.T. Express)					

The G.T. Express has got at present the longest run in the Indian Railways.

(a) refers to 1948, in 1939 frontier terminated at Negoueloye.

(b) refers to 1939.

(c) via Kharkov—1,660 miles.

These tables show that not only as regards point to point speed, but as regards overall average speed of long-distance schedules, our trains on steam traction acquit themselves better than their Russian sisters with the exception of the "Red Arrow," but, for a proper appraisal, the performance of our trains should be judged in the perspective of punctuality records of the

railways of these two countries. The Russian trains have got to negotiate very long runs, some of which are the longest in the world, passing through widely different climatic and operating conditions; even with this handicap, the standard of punctuality is very high there, their trains generally run to scheduled timings, a late running is adversely commented on in the Press. Their punctuality record, which is quite likely to be better than that of ours of 74.79 per cent dwarfs to a certain extent the performance of our trains.

Despite all these achievements, the Railways of the U.S.S.R. have to contend with the competition of the nationalised Air-liner Aero-flot. The Aero-flot has got two classes of accommodation for passengers—Hard and Soft; its Hard class fares are slightly lower than the Soft class fares with berths on the trains, but the operating costs of the former being higher tilts the balance in favour of the latter.

The Railways of the U.S.S.R. sprawling from Central Europe in the west, to the Sea of Japan in the East, Arctic Ocean in the North, and the borders of Iran and Afghanistan in the South, cover approximately 70,000 route miles and are divided into 42 zones for operational purposes. It has got a uniform gauge of 5 ft. with the exception of Narrow Gauge of about 70 miles from Dudinka to Norilsk in the Arctic Region.

The Railways which were in a chaotic stage during the Czarist regime—and in spite of being wrecked by two world wars—now mainly through the zeal and untiring efforts of the staff and the Administration, occupy a prominent place in the world's transport system and this position, the distinctive method of training of the staff has contributed to, in no small measure; and

TABLE No. 2. INDIAN RAILWAYS

Showing non-stop runs—point to point—at speed of 40 M.P.H. and over as per current Time Table.

Names of the Railways	Sections	Distance in Miles	Time Taken Minutes	Speed M.P.H.	Remark
Eastern Railway	Gaya-Delhi-On-Sone	53	66	48.1	Mail train
"	Ondal-Burdwan	49	62	47.4	Tufan Express
Northern Railway	Partabgarh-Rai-Barielly	59	75	47.2	Amritsar Mail
"	Allahabad-Fatepur	73	95	46.1	Delhi Mail
Western Railway	Surat-Broach	37	47	47.4	Cujrat Mail
"	Gangapur City-Bayana	48	60	48	Frontier Mail
"	Muttra-New Delhi	88	114	46.3	"
Central Railway	Jabalpur-Narsingpur	52	65	48	Bombay Mail
"	Khandwa-Harda	64	82	49.4	"
"	Manikpur-Sankargarh	35	44	47.7	"
"	Bhopal-Bhilsha	34	43	49.4	Punjab Mail
"	Gwalior-Debra	27	33	49.1	"
South Eastern Railway	Raipur-Bhatapara	40	50	47.1	Bombay Mail

a picture of that railway system is incomplete without a brief description of the training.

The Railway Instruction School of Moscow provides up-to-date theoretical and practical training to the employees deserving promotion as drivers and signalmen; models of different types of equipment, signal and mockup of specialised appliances are shown and explained to the trainees. The school further operates a number of instructional coaches which visit running sheds, workshops and big marshalling yards and impart practical lessons to the staff in modern railroad operation and practices.

Over and above, the Institute of Transport at Dnepropetrovsk provides a specialised course of training in respect of all departments of the railways. Students aged 15-35 years only are admitted and are trained in a practical way for five years and during this period, they receive wages out of which they pay for their boarding and lodging charges. On completing the course,

the trainees should serve the railway on probation for two years. To make the nation railway-minded, instead of relying on the usual technique of training through models and demonstrations, two miles of narrow gauge railway with all replicas of modern railway working have been installed at Kharkov and nine other important cities and set apart exclusively for children of the ages of 14-16 years. The remarkable character of this unique system of training goes to make the railwaymen of the U.S.S.R. thoroughly conversant with their job and schools them to rise to the occasion and brave any situation however adverse it may be.

The steady and continued progress and development of this railway system against enormous odds is not only an object of admiration but one of thoughtful study to the people of other countries.*

* Materials regarding the Railways of the USSR obtained from the *Railway Gazette* of 5.2.54, 16.4.54, 10.1.55, 12.8.55; 21.10.55, 28.10.55 and 18.11.55.

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FATEHPUR SIKRI: THE REFLEX OF AKBAR'S MIND

By N. N. QANUNGO, M.A.,

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"MAN is the style"—they say in a literary composition. It is no less applicable in the study of the architectural style of any originality claimed by a great builder. Literary critics pursue Shakespeare's versatile and elusive personality through his dramas; so does the art-critic attempt to catch the master-mind behind a work of art, be it architecture, sculpture or painting. E. W. Smith reveals to us the very soul of Akbar's Fatehpur Sikri and sums up all that can be said about the architecture of Fatehpur Sikri, when he says, "Fatehpur Sikri is the reflex of Akbar's mind," which has since then become an aphorism yet unexcelled by any other. Akbar's genius was indeed of epic grandeur.

"The buildings of Fatehpur Sikri truly belong to an epic age—vigorous, virile, and full of youthful exuberance, as opposed to the effeminate grace of the Mughal architecture in general."—FERGUSSON: *History of Eastern and Indian Architecture*.

Herein we get a correct reading of a phase of Akbar's character. If Shahjahan's Moti Masjid and the Taj are the best lyrics in stone, Akbar's Buland Darwaza is an epic in the grandeur of conception and his Diwan-i-Khas is an epitome of classic boldness and imagination.

Akbar was an eclectic in religion and philosophy; so was he in his architectural taste. Havell says the truth by holding that "Akbar was an Indian of

Indians," if he does not mean by an Indian a Hindu exclusively; because whether as a ruler or as a builder Akbar was neither Hindu nor Muslim but truly an Indian, a rare synthesis of Hindu and Muslim. It was Akbar's wish to make Ancient India and Muslim India meet halfway, whether in religion, politics, intellectual heritage or in art. Fatehpur Sikri is not only the reflex of Akbar's mind, but also a reflex of the transformation of the communal culture and the communal Sultanate of pre-Mughal times into an Indian culture and a national State. Akbar was bolder in his departure from Islamic tradition in fine arts than he was in religion and State-craft. Havell further observes:

"The buildings of Fatehpur Sikri belong exclusively to the Buddhist-Hindu tradition . . . generally speaking, these elements (Buddhist-Hindu) are confined to surface decoration."

Apart from surface decoration, Havell says:

"There are some indications that the Hindu canons were practically observed also in the laying out of Fatehpur Sikri."

This, however, is also borne out by the ruins of the city-walls seen today. Diagrams of town-planning in Ancient India are mostly rectangular or square shape (B. B. Dutt: *Town Planning in Ancient India*). Percy Brown also says that the city-wall enclosed "an irregular area approximately two miles long."

(*Indian Architecture—Islamic Period*). Muslims clung to the Abbasid tradition of the circular city of Baghdad. The sixteen-sided citadel of Agra was an approximate approach to this tradition.

From generalities, it is necessary to descend to the particular. The simplest and the least decorated in Fatehpur Sikri is a solitary building, standing outside the Mahal-i-Khas. This was variously labelled as the Mint, the Record Room and the Library. The remarkable feature of it, is the absence of arch for constructive purpose, which Akbar discarded everywhere, in favour of the trabeated style of the lintel and the architrave. In Diwan-i-Am, the throne-balcony was modelled on the *sinhasan* of a Hindu deity without the representation of any un-Islamic animal-life or idols. Havell says that the style is borrowed from that of Hindu *chaturdol*; horizontal beams, pillars and bell, chhatris, kiosks, projecting balconies, dripstone along the roof are Hindu in technique. In Diwan-i-Khas the massive brackets spring towards the walls like the expanding leaves of a lotus from the octagonal central pillar. Havell points out that it is suggestive of Vishnu's lotus seat. In the so-called Jodh Bai Palace, on the orthodox Muslim doorway, the surface decoration with lotus, the Swastika, and carved brackets supporting the architrave are all Hindu. These are all reminiscent of the temple architecture of Western India. Havell and E. W. Smith contend that the design of the Panch Mahal is borrowed from Buddhist Vihara.

A bold departure from puritanism is evident from the animal representations as lions and peacocks on carved relief in Turkish Sultana's Palace, and fresco paintings depicting Sri Ram with bow and Sri Krishna in Bibi Maryam's Kothi give an air of Hindu influence. The Emperor's soul peeps through scenes of heaven and hell, picture of Madona, the Brahmin with his pig-tail on the once gilded walls of Bibi Maryam's Kothi. Here spiritual imagination, fed by Brahminism and Christianity, runs riot, as it were, in the tolerant heart of Akbar.

In Akbar's bad-room (*khwab-gah*), the quiet scenes of a country boat, gliding stream, etc., indicate the longing of Akbar's heart. Here was a grand experiment to emulate Ajanta and Ellora that befits a revivalist like Akbar.

Fatehpur Sikri reflects also the versatile genius, originality and the refined taste of Akbar. No two buildings of Fatehpur Sikri are alike in design and even two pillars are not exactly alike in carving. Akbar as a thinker was a combination of the grotesque and the sublime. His architectural style, though a novelty, had nothing grotesque about it. It displays all the wealth of oriental picturesqueness; but this is subordinated to a sense of proportion and restraint, wonderfully modern.

Fatehpur Sikri reveals Akbar's genius as a mili-

tary strategist. It is true that Shaikh Salim Chisti inspired its making. But at the same time, Akbar preferred it because of its situation on a small ridge, which was a sort of natural defence, its proximity to Agra and its strategic position from where the entrances into Rajputana and Bharatpur could be easily guarded. Havell aptly maintains that Fatehpur Sikri bears testimony to Akbar's wonderful capacity as an organiser and ruler of men. Percy Brown and Vincent Smith read Akbar the whimsical autocrat, writ large upon Fatehpur Sikri. Percy Brown remarks:

"We find an autocratic impulse to provide an architectural setting for the pageantry of his court."

Vincent Smith goes further by observing that

The building of Fatehpur Sikri "was a freak of an irresponsible autocrat, acting under the impulse of overpowering superstitious emotions and enjoying the sensation of absolute freedom from financial limitations."

What more can we expect from the author of *Akbar the Great Mogul*?

However, the deserted city of Fatehpur Sikri as a whole stirs up our imagination as a romance in red sandstone. Shahjahan could not build a Fatehpur Sikri nor Akbar a Taj, even if Akbar's resources were ten times greater. This is simply because the genius of Akbar was epic and masculine; whereas that of Shahjahan was lyrical and less robust. Shahjahan was a pining lover, and Akbar was a contemplative idealist, a dreamer with a will and optimism and a born rebel against everything conventional. Akbar was an experimentalist in government as well as in architecture; whereas Shahjahan was more of a realist, concentrating his resources on a fewer projects than those of Akbar. Akbar was less fortunate in his choice of the site of Fatehpur Sikri than Shahjahan in his selection for the site of a New Delhi. Uniform red of Fatehpur Sikri is less picturesque than marble with an inlay of stones of various colours. Shahjahan is said to have contributed to the glorious perfection of the Indo-Muslim style of architecture. But it drew its inspiration from outside, particularly from Persia; whereas Akbar drew his inspiration from the ancient tradition of Indian art. If there was anything national in the Mughal architecture, it was Akbar's conception of the Indian Empire and his essentially Indian style of architecture.

Abul Fazl says:

"His Majesty plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind in the garments of stone clay."

Here is the unassailable truth that the buildings were planned according to the hidden desire of his soul. As a study of Akbar's character, Fatehpur Sikri is a noble supplement of *Akbarnama* in this respect.

PHILOSOPHY OF SARVODAYA

By PROF. NEMAI SHARAN MITAL, M.A.

DURING the past four years since Vinoba started his march of Bhoodan Yajna, the word "Sarvodaya" has become quite common with us. And everybody is making use of this word according to his own conceptions and in order to suit his individual whims. Sarvodaya has become an elephant in the midst of the blind. Some regard it to be a political fiction of the frustrated while others define it as a programme of backward economy and still others would like to call it a moral movement with a religious colour. It would be doing injustice to an ideology, which claims to be a panacea for all the ills and evils of the present-day world, to define it piecemeal. It is, therefore, necessary to have a 'darshan' of Sarvodaya from different angles of vision.

Metaphysically, Sarvodaya is based on the assumption that the human soul is eternal, Good and Divine by nature. It is the "Satyam, Shivam, Sundaram" conception of the Atman. It regards truth as the final reality. Truth is that which exists. Existence implies endurance beyond time and space. Truth is incorruptible reality. The march of life according to Sarvodaya is the impatient pursuit of truth by human soul. When human soul gets settled in truth it attains the bliss, beyond which there is nothing to attain. This is similar to the conception of "Sthitaprajna" as defined in the second chapter of the *Shrimad Bhagwat Gita*.

'Truth is abstract and it is attainable by means of love.' Thus we find that ultimate reality assumes a three-fold character. On the one end there is soul. On the other there is truth. The joining link between the two is the bond of love. Love arises out of the nature of relationship between soul and truth. Soul is not something different from truth. Truth is there in the very nature of soul. When Soul becomes self-conscious, it has a natural attraction for Truth. This attraction is love. When love for truth becomes solidified Soul realises Truth. Love is that what we call "Bhakti"—that which joins.

Now when we talk of self-consciousness of spirit and when we use the term realisation, we cross the borders of ontology and have stepped into the domain of ethics and psychology. Sarvodaya holds that man is altruistic by nature and he is marching towards a higher goal of life. The entire human-effort according to this philosophy is explicable in terms of the human pursuit of truth. Truth is the state of bliss. Bliss means good or happiness. But it is not a transi-

tory or temporary pleasure. Man is all along making a ceaseless effort to attain happiness. He wants this happiness to be perennial without any break or without any paralysing wave of pain. This is the key to his altruism. Sarvodaya believes that pain is the natural outcome of man's pursuit of his selfish end, for, in that case ego of the various individuals is bound to come into clash and thereby breed pain and hatred. Moral effort according to Sarvodaya is an effort to realise the ultimate good. Ultimate good is Universal. Men have no different goods to achieve.

That good is the virtual good which is in consonance with truth. As already explained, truth is all pervading and eternal. Sarvodaya does not regard altruism opposed to egoism. The true test of egoism is that it should be able to secure a permanent satisfaction of all interests. This is not possible unless the individual identifies itself with the universal. Altruism is thus neither charity nor benevolence; it is merely a rightly directed demand of pure egoism in man. To speak in common man's language if man wants to be happy always, he must seek happiness for all and that what is not available for all is not fit for one too, for if one tries to have some exclusive privileges over others, one may have to suffer because privileges are not universal; and they, therefore, are not true. That which is not true can never yield pleasure. Pleasure is abiding agreeableness. That which is not agreeable for all times is not pleasurable. That, which today is and tomorrow will not be, must yield pain. This pain comes when short agreeableness, which we generally call pleasure, disappears. Thus morality consists in perception of true good of the self. All those actions are ethical which yield abiding happiness for all. Here we are reminded of the famous 'Kantian Canon' of universalisation. Christ also has said: "Do unto others as you would be done by them." Hindu *shastras* have also laid down this principle of morality in these words: '*Atmana pratikoolani paresham na samacharet*' i.e., 'Don't give others what you would not like to have for yourself.'

Sarvodaya fundamentally believes in the goodness of man. Man is good by nature and his moral effort signifies his rise. Every man is as good as the other. Therefore society consisting of a large number of individuals has to solve the problem of the "Rise of All." Sarvodaya does not uphold the ideal of utilitarianism. It regards man to be essentially rational. It is the

rational nature of man which distinguishes himself from the rest of the animal world. Good is not determined by physical utility. Hence, it is not a physical good. Good is ideal in character. It is identical with 'right.' Distinction between Right and Wrong is made by the faculty of reason in man. Now what is right? According to Sarvodaya, Right is that which serves all equally well. Right is not directed against anyone. It is universal good. Sarvodaya regards human body as the vehicle of soul for the realisation of truth. It is essentially a means. But because every man is rational by nature, his body cannot be placed under the rule of anyone else. There shall not be a double rule. Reason in man already governs his physical action and existence. Reason is the final government in Sarvodaya. Where a man is coerced to act against or without the command of his own reason, Sarvodaya would regard such a situation immoral and therefore unworthy of human beings.

Sarvodaya finds that it is innate in man to identify himself with the universal spirit, which has manifested itself in living beings. This identification in moral or spiritual sphere brings about a revolution in the entire social, economic and political structure of the society. It is named by Sarvodaya thinkers as Samya-Yoga. The term Samya-Yoga means that every human being has to link up means to share a common life on the basis of equality. All our thoughts, feelings and actions must conform to the good of the whole universe. Then and then alone we will be able to regard them as Right.

The philosophy of Sarvodaya when applied in the field of social relationship gives importance to the intrinsic value of man. Dignity of human soul is the core of Sarvodaya. All human beings are equally respectable and the good of each is inseparably linked with the good of the rest. There is no conflict or antagonism between the two. Man is born in nature as an animal with an additional faculty of reason. It is the society which gives man his true meaning. Humanity develops only in the society and therefore human personality has a social context and it owes debt to the society. The advantages of the human development must go to the society, of which man is a member. In order to understand the true relation between man and society we must meditate over the Vedic mantra:

"Purnamadah purnamidam

Purnat purnamudachyate.

Purnasya purnamadaya

Purnamevavasishtate."

"Whole is that, whole is this. Whole is born of the whole. And when whole is taken out from the whole, the whole still remains."

The famous philosopher Kant has recognised man as an end in himself. Man is a whole. Society is composed of many such whole-selves and is a com-

plete whole in itself. It is of course a strange phenomena to the Western philosophy but India has known it since time immemorial. Human-whole ought to behave in the society so as not to impede the progress of the social-whole and his actions must positively conform to the good of the rest.

In the economic and political spheres Sarvodaya philosophy stands for perfect co-operation as against the cult of competition in modern economy and polity. It regards every man as an end. It would neither allow economic exploitation nor political subjection. Nature has provided us with free gifts, i.e., land, air, water, ether and fire, for our physical existence. She has also sent us on to this earth in a physical garb. Our physical body is given to us to work over the gifts of nature and to produce the material required for our physical consumption. Nature has given physical body to everyone. She, thus, has made it obligatory upon everyone that one shall live by his labour. Physical labour is also essential to keep the body fit and to keep it in a working condition. It is, therefore, immoral for man to avoid physical work and to live upon the fruits of the labour of others. It would be a gross violation of the will of Nature.

Gifts of nature belong to nature and human beings share them equally in common partnership with one another, as children of Mother Nature. Means of production thus cannot be owned by anyone or a few individuals. As regards capital, it is the result of social saving and, therefore, it belongs to the society, and it should be employed in order to achieve social ends.

In political sphere Sarvodaya takes all government to be rooted in violence and coercion. Since these two are not congenial to the inner development of moral faculties of man, Sarvodaya thinks of a state almost independent of a government, governed by the law of self-discipline. Sarvodaya believes in a democratic society where people themselves exercise their sovereignty and assume the role of the master in the real sense. Sarvodaya visualizes the necessity of decentralising authority and power whether social, economic or political so as to make it react on the people from whom it emanates. Sarvodaya polity is a polity of village-republics, where village communities live a common life and enjoy a full-fledged Gram Rajya. This is called by Viroba 'Prajya' i.e., peoples' State and by Gandhi 'Ram Rajya,' i.e., State of Perfection. Thus Sarvodaya is a step forward in the march of human culture. From the greatest good of the greatest number Sarvodaya takes us to the perfect good of all.

*"Sarve bhavantu sukhinah, sarve santu niramayah,
Sarve bhadrani pashyantu ma kashchit dukkha-bhakt
bhavet."*

ALBERT SCHWEITZER

By "ELEVE"

WHAT the world lacks most today are men who occupy themselves with the needs of other men. But Dr. Schweitzer is one of those who has devoted his life for others for the last 81 years in a tiny French Protestant missionary settlement in the midst of a lake and river system known as Lambarene, a day and a half by boat from the port of Cape Lopez on Africa's west coast. On January 14 this year throughout the civilized world Albert Schweitzer, a medical missionary, a theologian, an organist, an interpreter of Bach's music and one of the world's great humanitarians, was honoured for what he is on his 81st birthday. Dr. Schweitzer is one of the most extraordinary men of modern times and most eminent. Few are honoured in their life-time like Dr. Schweitzer.

Dr. Schweitzer has many outstanding qualities: As an organist he once played before jammed audiences in churches and concert halls of Europe; his recordings are still ranked at the top of their field. He is a musicologist whose edition of Bach's organ works is a standard text; his biography of Bach has never been surpassed. He is a doctor of medicine whose 40 years of selfless pioneering as a missionary to the natives of French Equatorial Africa are bright highlights in the relations between the white race and the black. He is a philosopher who, like Spengler and Toynbee, has thought deeply about the crisis of Western culture. He is a protestant minister and biblical scholar whose historical criticism of the New Testament, early in this century raised a good many eyebrows. Above all, he is a man who decided to turn his back on the dazzling rewards the world wanted to give him in order to serve his fellow men. He has polarized his talents in the service of humanity.

Schweitzer, a parson's son, and the grandson of a minister and a schoolmaster, was not good at school. His mother used to weep over his report cards. Reading and writing came hard to him. Yet to anyone with eyes to see, all the shining threads which were to make up the fabric of an exceptional life were already present in the sensitive schoolboy. Schweitzer passed creditably in his studies at the preparatory school and at 18 entered the University of Strasbourg to major in philosophy and theology. While he was working for his licentiate in theology his first philosophical book *The Religious Philosophy of Kant* was published. As a Principal of Strasbourg's Theological College, he

compiled his lectures and produced a history of research into the life of Jesus called *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*—it was first to make his reputation international.

To make his philosophy a reality, Dr. Schweitzer decided to study medicine and serve the humanity as a doctor. And he planned to spend the rest of his life in Equatorial Africa. Why Africa? Because, says Schweitzer, there in all the world the need was the greatest, and the hands that were stretched out to help, the fewest. He studied for his M.D. at Strasbourg University. Many nights he worked at his desk without going to bed at all, his feet soaking in a bucket of cold water to keep himself awake.

In June 1912, Schweitzer married Helene Bresslau. Schweitzers spent their first months of married life compiling lists and carefully purchasing and packing medical supplies. And then in 1913 they set out for Africa. Since that day Schweitzer, in a climate notoriously hard on Europeans, laboured heavily in constructing new buildings—in which the doctor himself worked as woodcutter, carpenter, foreman and architect—in conducting morning and evening prayers, in distributing medicine and in treating backward African patients. The evenings were devoted to complete his multiple-volume work, *The Philosophy of Civilization*.

While celebrating every year his birthday should we not remember what he wrote of man and civilization? To the anguished world his message is:

"We are living today under the sign of collapse of civilization and should shore up the swaying creaking structure before it is too late."

Man must acquire a positive, optimistic ethic in a universe about which nothing positive or optimistic may be said. Man must start within himself, he believes, and build his ethic from the inside out.

How this humanity can be saved from the danger of being annihilated by the modern Hydrogen bombs? It can be if the individuals, nations and governments remember the phrase 'Reverence for Life.' Schweitzer felt all along that he must "show to all will-to-live the same reverence as I do to my own." It is good to maintain and to encourage life; it is bad to destroy life or to obstruct it. That is the basic principle. Schweitzer says about himself:

"I am life which wills to live in the midst of life which wills to live."



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HINDUISM THROUGH THE AGES: By D. S. Sarma. *Bhavan's Book University Series No. 37. Bharatiya Bidya Bhavan, Bombay. 1956. Pp. 303. Price Re. 1-12.*

Issued as a revised and abridged edition of the author's *Renaissance of Hinduism* (Benares Hindu University publication, 1944), this is announced to be "practically a new work," which is, "in effect, a short history of Hinduism from the earliest times to the present day, with special reference to the movements and personalities of the present Renaissance." The most considerable portion of this book (comprising 217 out of the 278 pages of its text) and, in fact, its most valuable part (Part III) deals with the modern period. This is sub-divided by the author into two sections entitled "Period of Hindu Reform Movements" (c. 1750-85) and that of the Hindu Renaissance (1885-1950). In this part the author takes up successively the great leaders of the movement, Ram Mohun Roy (and the later celebrities of the schism down to Sitanath Tattvabhushan), Ranade (the foremost figure of the Prarthana Samaj), Swami Dayananda (the founder of the Arya Samaj), Tilak (the spearhead of the Conservative opposition), Annie Besant (the most prominent figure of the Theosophical Society), Ramakrishna Paramahansa ("the morning-star" of the renaissance) and his great disciple Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore ("the Leonardo da Vinci of our Renaissance"), Mahatma Gandhi (whose life and teachings marked "the zenith" of the movement), Sri Aurobindo and Dr. Radhakrishnan. The concluding chapter (Chapter XXI) contains a thoughtful summary of the beneficent effects of the Hindu renaissance at home and abroad and its future prospects.

Throughout the work the author betrays evidence of his well-digested erudition. He has, moreover, the gift of clear exposition. Above all, his judgments on men and movements are, as a rule, extremely sound. Witness his balanced judgments on the teachings of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society (pp. 77-83, 97-8, 120-21), his appreciation of the movements of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda (pp. 137-47, 165-7), and his comprehensive analysis of the teachings of Tagore, Sri Aurobindo and Dr. Radhakrishnan (pp. 88, 228-30, 255-60). While all this may be said in favour of this work, we may be permitted to offer one or two criticisms. The author's dividing lines between the ancient and mediaeval periods (c. 1000 A.D.) and between the mediaeval and the modern periods (c. 1750 A.D.) are equally unfortunate. To this we have to add that the concluding chapter is altogether wanting in an esti-

mate of the impact of Renascent Hinduism upon the two other great religions in our midst, viz., Islam and Christianity.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MENTAL HEALTH IN THEORY AND PRACTICE: By Bahadur Mal, M.A. *Second Edition. 1955. Published by Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur. Price Rs. 2-4.*

The book forms the 12th Volume of the Sarvanand Universal Series of books brought out by a band of distinguished workers in memory of Swami Sarvanandji. It deals with the problems of mental health and discusses the nature of various physical and mental disorders. It is indeed a pleasant experience to find that a sane outlook and balanced views have been maintained throughout by the author. The supreme value of mental health has been rightly emphasised and the vexed problems of sex in children have been properly treated. Some of the current methods of mental treatment (including psycho-analysis) have been presented and their merits pointed out.

In addition to the theories, sound practical advice has been given and rules for the maintenance of mental health have been laid down. These practical suggestions constitute one of the chief merits of the book. The book has been rightly approved as a library and prize book by the D.P.I., Punjab. The reviewer would request the parents and guardians and teachers who are ultimately responsible for the proper mental development of the child to go through the small volume again and again.

EUGENIC AND EUTHENIC PLANNED PARENTHOOD: By Candra Cakrabarty. *Published by C. Cakrabarty, 81 Vivekananda Road, Calcutta-6. Price Rs. 5.*

The one hundred and fifty-eight pages comprise an unsystematic catalogue of facts and a rambling collection of views on all possible aspects of the sex-life of men. The aim of the book—if it may be described as such—seems to dazzle the readers with the vast amount of philosophical, historical and anthropological knowledge that the author possesses, rather than to help them with a few practical suggestions. The reviewer feels that nothing has been gained by the publication of the catalogue. The get-up is awful and printing mistakes abound (Candra Cakrabarty or Chandra Chakrabarty?).

S. C. MITRA

RAMATIRTHA—Scientist and Mahatma: By Dr. Hari Prasad Sastri. *Published from Shanti Sadan, 29, Chepstow Villas, London. Cloth-bound. Pp. 141. Price 7s. 6d.*

Dr. Shastri's two previous books entitled *Teachings from the Bhagavad Gita* and *The World within the Mind* have already been warmly appreciated by the reading public. The book under review contains a short account of Swami Ramatirtha's life and literal translations from his Urdu writings. Swami Ramatirtha of the Punjab is one of the few educated monks of Modern India, who following the epoch-making foot-steps of the illustrious Swami Vivekananda proceeded to the New World and preached the message of Vedanta there. Though he is not the founder of any Mission yet he is one of the greatest souls not only of India but of the whole world. That is why his inspired speeches in India and America have been collected and published in the four volumes of 'In the Woods of God-realisation.' Long ago an exhaustive biography of this angelic monk was written by Prof. Puran Singh of Dehra Dun and brought out from South India.

Swami Ramatirtha has been rightly called a Scientist and Mahatma according to the sub-title of this book. In pre-monk days he was a distinguished mathematician as a professor of mathematics in the Foreman Christian College of Lahore and then after meeting Swami Vivekananda in that city he renounced the world and embraced the monastic life. In that memorable meeting Swami Ramatirtha presented his valuable gold watch to Swami Vivekananda when the latter returned the same and put it with a smile in the former's pocket saying, "I shall wear this watch in this pocket." Swami Ramatirtha was a great poet and Vedantist and his sublime thoughts are expressed in poems enriched with profound devotion and realisation. Dr. Shastri, who knew the Swami personally, has taken great care of culling the best poems in Urdu and rendering them into English almost keeping intact the original fervour. 'I alone am,' 'I am the life of all' and such other poems have given vent to the lofty Advaitic mood in which the Swami used to remain absorbed almost always. Dr. Shastri has done a great service to India by broadcasting the inspired life-story and the enlightened message of this immortal monk and Vedantist from London where Swami Vivekananda delivered his masterly lectures on Jnana Yoga before him.

1. HEALTH AND HAPPINESS: Pp. 268.
Price Rs. 5.

2. HOW TO GET SOUND SLEEP: Pp. 166.
Price Rs. 2-3.

Both the books are by Swami Sivananda and published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivanandanagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The author who was a distinguished doctor in Malaya in pre-monk days gives in the first book a detailed and comprehensive idea about the fundamental laws of health and hygiene as an authority on the subject. The book, divided into nine chapters, reveals the secret of real health and happiness and emphasizes that a radiant condition of body, mind and soul produce ideal health. In the second chapter broad principles of Nature-cure are set forth very lucidly and miraculous effects of fasting are described. In the third chapter dietetics and a health menu are given. In the next, the novel story of vitamins is narrated in a quite interesting manner. The sixth chapter is devoted to the care of the eyes. Causes of glaucoma, cataract and other serious eye-diseases are detailed therein to enable us all to take proper care of these

important organs. It is a highly instructive book and repays a perusal to all sections of health-seekers.

In the second book the prevailing disease of sleeplessness is treated from different standpoints and its Allopathic, Homoeopathic, Biochemic, Ayurvedic and Naturopathic treatments are suggested. The author rightly thinks that a commonsense therapy is sometimes more effective than the medical treatment. Physical and mental relaxation, a cold wash of hands and feet, massage of warm mustard oil on the feet, a hot foot-bath and similar simple remedies before going to bed are found to be often effective. The facsimile of a letter containing a tribute from the West is printed at the beginning of the book. From this we are happy to learn that an international spiritual organisation in Europe conferred the Baron Cross of Honour on the author in appreciation of his services for the promotion of peace in the world.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THREE NAMES FOR NICHOLAS: By Rupert Croft-Cooke, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London.

Mr. Rupert Croft-Cooke is a skilful writer of considerable power. This is not "a story of a pilgrimage" as its publishers suggest. On the contrary, it is a very sad story of disappointment. Father Nicholas Mosslyn was dissatisfied with the conventional Christian way. So, with some immature hazy idea of a better Christian order, he left his loving wife and children and set out to realize his ideal. A land mine falling on a building gave him the opportunity of a second identity. Here, assuming a new name he joined the army. Nicholas believed that he found his ideal in three fellow soldiers.—Ned, Slipper Butts and Jack Wood. They remained together during most days of the War in Madagascar and in Burma. They faced and shared all hardships and dangers of war days with a kind of rough brotherliness. Then the war was over and Nicholas found with a shock that his comrades were not what he thought them to be. Their friendship broke up. Now, Nicholas felt a strong longing for his wife and children. He went to his wife, supposed to be a widow, where again he failed to reach a compromise. This sends Nicholas reeling towards his third identity. Though the atmosphere is one of moral confusion, the book is in many ways thoughtful and admirable. The story is touchingly sad with a very vivid appeal.

KRISHNAMAY BHATTACHARYA

A POEM OF PRAISE: By H. N. Spalding. Basil Blackwell, Oxford. Price 7s. 6d.

About sixty short poems, 'not for the fashion of these times,' but spontaneous, unobscure and inspired by noble sentiments. "The glory of man and the glory of God—that is their theme." Those who prefer depth to cleverness will, perhaps, find these refreshing.

CORNER MUSIC: By Amarendranath Bhattacharya. B.A. Agrawal Samachar Mudranalaya, Dharampeth, Nagpur. Price twelve annas.

Whatever appealed to his heart has been sought to be expressed in verse by the author. 'Spinning Wheel,' 'Sarojini Naidu,' 'Mango Groves of Plassy' and 'Viswa-Bharati' are some of the titles. As poems they need not be considered, but the reader might appreciate the sentiments behind them.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

THE WORLD PEACE: By *Kshitis Chandra Chakravarti, M.A., LL.B.* Published by *M. C. Sarkar and Sons, Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12.* Pp. 78. Price not mentioned.

The author is a devoted follower of Mahatma Gandhi and has written this book on the ideals preached by the Father of the Nation. World peace must be built up from the bottom; the individual, the family, the society, the nation, world opinion and co-operation, all shall make their contributions. A rational economic order, free from exploitation, entirely co-operative in method and ideal can bring the much-desired world peace. It must be attained by non-violence and preserved and developed under a non-violent system of administration.

The book is divided into twelve chapters and discusses the failures of past attempts for peace through violence, discusses non-violence, application of non-violence after world peace is attained, armed forces of India, Hindu-Muslim conflict, Communist menace, Pacifist conference, etc. To a Westerner Gandhiji's ideals may seem to be utopian but he has not yet found anything better in spite of tremendous progress of materialistic civilization. So all right-thinking men are considering seriously the Gandhian way to peace. The book is a pleasant study of the methods enunciated by the great leader of India of modern times.

A. B. DUTTA

GITASARAM OR GITA FOR ALL: By *Monoranjan Roy, M.A., B.L., B.C.S. (Retd.).* Published by *Sugajotri Prakashak Ltd., 41A, Baldeopara Road, Calcutta-6.* Pp. 132. Price cloth-bound Re. 1-8.

It is a pocket-size handy book, neatly printed, presenting to the reader the essential teachings of the Gita, which is the sum and substance or the essence of the Upanishads that contain the essential philosophy and precepts of the Hindu religion, by culling from the eighteen chapters of the Gita only those *stokas* (with text in Devanagari and English translation), which are most prominent and worth constant reading and meditating upon. In the preface, the author says that the Hindu religion is not based on casteism or narrow dogmatism, but is the most practical and universal religion in concept. The Gita has been the constant companion and solace of not only of the greatest men of our country, but attracted some of the eminent philosophers and litterateurs of the West, such as, Schopenhauer, Emerson, Aldous Huxley and others, for its universal and Yogic conception of life.

B. K. SEAL

SANSKRIT

DHARMA: By *Agamananda Swami.* Sri *Pamakrishna Advaita Ashrama, Kaladi (T.-C. State).* Price Re. 1.

VRIDDHATRAYI: By *Gurupada Haldar.* Published by *Bharatibikash Haldar, M.A., B.L., 77, Haldarpara Road, Kalighat, Calcutta.*

We have here two modern Sanskrit books. The first one is a Sanskrit version of a Malayalan work consisting of a number of discourses on *dharma*, the neglect of which is stated to be at the root of all the ills of the present age. The second one gives comprehensive and critical accounts of three well-known authors in ancient Indian medical science—Vridhdha-Charaka, Vridhdha-Susruta and Vridhdha-Bagbhata. As in all modern works of the type in the work under review there is sufficient accessory material in the

form of indexes facilitating its use in various ways. The absence of subject-headings or of a descriptive list of contents is, however, keenly felt in an otherwise very useful and interesting publication like this. A special point to be mentioned in connection with the book is that it—like its two predecessors, *Sanat-sujatiyam* and *Vyakarana Darsaner Itihasa*?—is not for sale. It is 'distributed free for the advancement of the cause of historical researches on Hindu Medical Science.' This is unusual in the present age. It may, however, be pointed out that our author has followed an old practice which favoured the gift of knowledge in the form of manuscripts and books, and denounced its sale in any form. Even as late as the 19th century, not to speak of older times, a number of very costly publications like the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were issued by reputed landlords of Bengal and distributed free among scholars. The practice was laudable though it was not an easy affair for all interested persons to get copies without asking for them, which might not always be considered to be commensurate with one's dignity and self-respect.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

VATSYAYANER KAMASUTRA (Second Edition): Translated and edited by *Nalini Kumar Bhadra.* *Bajajayanta Publishers, 7, Dinabandhu Lane, Calcutta-6.* Price Rs. 4.

With keen interest I have gone through Vatsyana's famous *Kamasutra*, rendered into Bengali and edited by Sri Nalini Kumar Bhadra. True it is that at the time of Vatsyana the physiology of reproduction was not clearly understood but the psychology and practice of matters sexual found no mean a place in the life of individuals. It was for them that the author of *Kamasutra*, a seer and a sage who led a life of renunciation and abstinence, dispassionately wrote this notable book to guide the married people so that even in their monogamous sex-life they could experience as many novelties and fascinating vicissitudes as far as practicable. Although there are here and there texts relating to love before marriage and extra-marital sex matters, it was never his intention to encourage and give a stamp of licence to free promiscuity. All that he did was to compare the baneful effects of a promiscuous life with the happy aspects of a normal and legal sex-life. So those who try to ban this famous book as pornography, without understanding its real value fall within the same category as mistaking a harmless piece of rope for a venomous serpent. One cannot but be surprised at some of the true conceptions regarding physiology of sex, so well depicted in the *Kamasutra*, which was written hundreds of years before modern physiology was born.

This book is much more than a mere translation as the author has tried to bridge many a gulf by explaining things according to the concepts of modern sexology. He has done well by basing his knowledge mostly on the lucid annotations of Yashodhar, known as the famous *Jaymangal tika*, which is supposed to be the best of all commentaries on *Kamasutra*. Nalini Babu has certainly done a great service to the Bengali literature by making this book available in an easily intelligible form through his faithful rendering of the original Sanskrit text into Bengali, to Bengali-speaking people. The introduction of the book is a learned discourse on the comparison of the knowledge that existed then with the modern knowledge about sex, which makes it interesting as well as instructive.

The style is elegant and lucid and leaves nothing to be desired. Nalini Babu deserves all our congratulations on and our hearty thanks for bringing out this book in Sanskrit translated into Bengali, from obscurity and oblivion to the forefront again.

R. K. PAL

HINDI

ISA KA SANDESH : By J. C. Kumarappa. *Hindustani Culture Society, Allahabad. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1.*

This is a Hindustani translation by Shri Suresh Ramabhai of the author's original in English, *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*. The latter is an interpretation of the central message of the life and teachings of Christ in the light of the Oriental background and beliefs of the times when He walked besides the Sea of Galilee. It is underlined with Shri Kumarappa's all-consuming intellectual fire which reduces to ashes what is false and feeble in "Churchianity." The Laws and the Prophets, the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, for instance, are expounded in a far wider ambit of significance than is to be often noticed in the exposition of those who sit in the pulpit, adorned with purple patches. The Hindustani Culture Society is to be congratulated on publishing the present excellent version, which is a distinct service to the noble cause of Communal Harmony in the country.

MAULASHRI : By Kamal Shukla. *Oriental Book Depot, Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. 403. Price Rs. 6.*

"Exertion is greater than destiny," says the Mahabharata. But the man of the world believes in the octopus-like omnipotence of Fate and, consequently, considers himself as helpless as soft clay in the hands of the potter. And yet the men and women, who have left their indelible impress on the ever-evolving humanity, have over and over again, proved in history that exertion if put forth in and with all the sincerity and strength of a pure ideal,—and an ideal has in it the toniesome touch of the Eternal—can conquer the strain and stress of circumstance and in the end, hold aloft the banner of Truth or Goodness in triumph over the tragedy of lives, broken by the buffets and blows of Fate. Thus, the perpetual duel between circumstance and self-exertion goes on. The present novel, which is out-of-the-ordinary in characterization, in creation of appropriate psychological climate and context and in choice of diction, depicts this duel realistically, almost with the authenticity of autobiography, of first-hand experience. The character and crusade of *Maulashri*, however, will haunt the reader for many a long day indeed. Shri Shukla bids fair to be soon one of our front-rank novelists, true to life as well as to the Life of all Life.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **VAGADAMAN VASHARAN — FOREST DWELLER :** By Pradyuman Kanchanrai Desai. *Price As. 12.*

(2) **SHAK-BHAJI VEGETABLES :** By Martand Rao S. Pandey. *Price As. 12.*

Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

Those who take interest in wild life so far as Gujarat is concerned can be counted on one's fingers. They are less than half a dozen. Pradyuman Desai is one of them. Many of our Indian rulers are *shikaris*

and they have to know the life and habits of their quarry. One such hunter is the Maharaja of Bhavnagar. He inspires in the writer a love for the study of their lives and here is the result: a fine production on wild life. How to grow vegetables, from sugarcane to serpent-gourd, from turnip to tomato, from carrot to cauliflower, all the necessary information is set out here in such a way as to help and guide all amateur vegetable-growers. About forty varieties are treated and all of them well.

(1) **AYOGYANI BARMASI :** By Baidya Pragji Mohanji *Reethod. Price Re. 1-8.*

(2) **GRIH, GRIHINI AND GRIHASTHA :** By Lalbhai Kahanbhai Desai. *Price Re. 1-4.*

(3) **SADACHAR ANE SUKHA :** By Upadhyay Siddhi Muni. *Price Re. 1-8.*

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

These three books are inter-connected in a way. If you are healthy, you can be a good householder (*grihastha*). And to be a good householder, you have to have *sadachar* (righteous conduct). The first book lays down certain canons as to how to meet the seasonal changes during the twelve months of the year from the health point of view, the utility of fasts, etc., uses of water, cow's urine, earth, etc., in other words, hydrography and terrapathy, followed by Gandhiji. Unless there is an efficient, competent and understanding lady at the helm of his domestic and social affairs, a *grihastha*, a worldly householder, is of no good, of no use to himself or to others. Shri Lalbhai Desai tells the reader all about her, how to secure her, how to honour her, how to preserve her, and as a result, become happy. Muni tells best in verse and prose (by means of Tales and Stories) how to become righteous, i.e., follow right, proper and righteous rules of life and if you do so, you are sure to secure happiness.

(1) **MADAN MOHANA :** By Keshari Prosad C. Desai. *Price four annas.*

(2) **GUJRATNAN TIRTHA STHANO :** By Durgashankar K. Shastri. *Price Re. 1-4.*

The above two books are published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1950.

Kavi Samnul verified the well-known and romantic long story of Madan and Mohana. Shri Keshari Prosad Desai who has taken a life-long interest in the education of women, has set it out in easy, understandable prose. Shri Durgashankar Shastri is both a scholar and writer and his description of the holy places of Gujarat besides partaking of the history of each place, is meant to be both a guide and a means of bestowing thought on the subject of the undertaking of pilgrimages and their genesis. This is a second edition.

K. M. J.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Second Five-Year Plan—A Draft Outline : Published by the Planning Commission, New Delhi. February 1956. Pp. 186. Price Re. 1.

Second Five-Year Plan (Summary of Plan-frame papers) : Published by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. December 1955. Pp. 38. Price As. 8.

The First Five-Year Plan—Questions and Answers: Published by the same. Pp. 88. Price As. 6.

India Has a Plan: Published by the same. Reprinted, July 1955. Profusely illustrated. Illustrated cover. Pp. 72. Price As. 10.

Land Reclamation: Published by the same. Illustrated. Pp. 24. As. 6.

Hyderabad State: A Regional and Economic Survey: By B. N. Chaturvedi. Published by Hyderabad Geography Association, P.O. Jama-i-Osmania, Hyderabad-Deccan. Pp. 152. Price Rs. 2.

Jarak-Katha-Sandoha: Selections from the Pali Jātakas (In Devanagari Text with Introduction and Notes): By Prof. N. K. Bhagwat. Published by International Book House Ltd., Bombay. 1955. Pp. xxx + 60 + 48. Price Rs. 3.

Home Care of T. B. Patients: Published by the Publications Division, Govt. of India, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Illustrated. Pp. 16. Price As. 6.

Prohibition—Questions and Answers: Published by the same. Pp. 16. Price As. 4.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Buddhism as a Way of Life

S. K. Ramachandra Rao writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Two thousand and five hundred years ago Buddhism emerged because of historical necessities. The ancient and austere Brahmanism had fallen into decadent days: the Buddha himself draws a sad contrast between the religion of the Brahmins of yore (*porananam brahmananam*) and that of the then contemporary Brahmins: corruption (*vipallasa*) had set in. Ritualism, useless and gruesome, was rampant everywhere. The warmth of humanity was lost in the cold and cruel shackles of dogma. The healthy values of life were obliterated in the mass of pedantic verbiage and intellectual anarchy. Into this scene of barren confusion was born Gotama, the son of age-old tradition, to bring order, concord and peace into the lives of men. A passage frequently occurring in the Pali texts indicates the real achievement of the Buddha:

"Just as someone might set upright again what had fallen down, reveal what had been hidden away, or tell a man who had gone astray which was his way, or bring a lamp into darkness so that those with eyes might see things about them—even so in many ways had Gotama made this doctrine clear."

For the Buddha life was more important than the intellect; "unshakable peace" was infinitely superior to all dogmas and discussions. His approach, therefore, was not theoretical but intensely practical. It is this emphasis on the quality of life that was conspicuously absent from the atmosphere of those days—precisely as is the case today. And the great merit of the Buddha lies in this that he proclaimed, as he alone could, by precept as by example, the way of life that surely leads to the highest end. As Dr. Edward Conze rightly points out, "Dharma is not really a dogma, but it is essentially a path." The Pali word *magga* is of great import: it implies walking or faring (*chariya*) by the aspirant to reach the very end of the round of births and deaths, the *summum bonum* (*paramattha*), which is tantamount to escape from sorrow, deliverance from all present and potential ills, final emancipation (*vimutti*), absolute purity (*visuddhi*), unaffected by stains of whatever kind. It is this goal of Worth (*arahatta*) that the Buddha envisages as the justification for the right way of life.

The way of life, followed by the common man appears to the Buddha to be vulgar. In the words of one of his disciples, it is like a pig's fat end by unclean things. Ordinarily, the mind of man is like a monkey, running hither and thither ceaselessly in vain pursuit after sense pleasures: such a mind deepens the roots of man in the worldly mire. He has endless desires, and much discontent; he delights in throngs, and hates quiet self-examination; he loves ease, and avoids discipline; he runs after excitements, and never

cares to settle down. His life is one series of increasing entanglements. From the womb of these entanglements spring up the unwholesome growths of ego-inflation, attachments and aversions. This entanglement is the foundation on which rises the entire body of sorrow from the oppression of which no man can ordinarily escape. Man thus passes on and is reborn, "obstructed by ignorance, and fettered by desire."

In the very first of his sermons, the Buddha advises his followers to eschew this common way of life given to search after sense pleasures, as it is low (*hīna*), vulgar (*gammo*), unworthy (*anariyo*) and harmful (*anattasamphito*). During his lifetime he must have pleaded vigorously against the common way of life, for he earned for himself the abusive epithet of "Unsettler." And, with all the gifts of a talented teacher, he describes in detail the way of life he has discovered, has followed and now recommends. He characterizes it as the Noble Way (*arya patha*), the one calculated to lead the wayfarer to utter freedom, absolute rest, unshakable calm. Although he believes in rebirth, the Buddha hastens his disciples to adopt this Way immediately (*akālikā*), for one can attain to Worth in this very birth (*sandīthike*). And the Buddha's is not a vain promise, for he holds out his personal experience as a testimony. He invites every man to follow the Way as he did, and be convinced by himself. In fact, his teachings are described as the "Come-and-See doctrine" (*Ehiassikaḍḍhamma*). He presents his own experiences as a guide for the aspirant who has started wayfaring, in order to give him the initial start. Beyond this, the Way in no way depends on, or bears any relation to, the Buddha.

The way of life recommended by the Buddha, therefore, is strictly personal for every wayfarer, who must do all the travelling himself. It is entirely his own affair: there is no grace of God to save him, and the Buddha no longer exists to help him. But the great body of doctrines (*Dhamma*) which the Master has left behind in lieu of himself, and the letter as well as the spirit of which has been preserved with remarkable fidelity by countless generations of alert and energetic monks, serves as a light in which the wayfaring may be done. This doctrine is composed of theoretical matter (*pariyāṭṭi*) as well as instructions for practice (*patipatti*): the latter is more important than the former, which is but its handmaid. So, essentially, Buddhism is a method, a discipline, a way of life to be adopted and intensely pursued.

And it must be admitted that, for following the Way fully and rightly, one must necessarily be a monk, withdrawing himself completely from worldly affairs. It is probable that for a long time Buddhism as a way was confined to monastic groups of earnest devotees whose sole enthusiasm was for emancipation. What the Buddha taught to the laymen was just common ethics—the abstaining from killing, from theft, from false speech, from sexual misconduct, from intoxicating

liquors; care of parents; following a clean vocation; and so on. The *Sigalovadasutta*, for instance, and the latter portion of *Dhammikasutta* detail a code of conduct a householder should follow; but there is nothing Buddhist about it. The gospel of the Buddha was meant for, and had a special message to, the few who renounced home for homelessness (*anagariyam*) in order to strive effectively for "putting an end to sorrow completely" (*amma dukkha'sankhaya*). Very revealing is the remark the Buddha makes:

For all its crest and neck so blue
the peacock ne'er can match in flight
the swan, nor layman emulate
an Almsman, when in lonesome wilds
the Sage is plunged in Reverie.

Munisutta, Sutta Nipata, 1. 12. 15.

For the renunciant the Way is rigorous but methodical. It is designated as *bhavana*, which is really a system functioning in two stages: cultivation of mental concentration (*samadhi*), and the development of clear insight into things as they are (*panna* or *vipassana*). Prior to the first stage must be perfected the virtues (*sila*), thus bringing under control mind and senses: this consists of proper speech, action and livelihood. Here the "whole heap of unwholesomeness" composed of sensual desire, ill-will, sloth-torpor, agitation-worry and perplexity, which obstructs the Way, is overcome. Mind prepared in this style must now be developed or cultivated so that the insight that is necessary for emancipation may dawn. This is the life-work of an ideal Buddhist monk. It consists of strenuous endeavour to check the arising of evil not yet arisen, to defeat evil already arisen, to develop good not yet arisen and to cultivate good already arisen; mindfulness (*sati*); and intent states of mind or concentration. Mindfulness takes the form of meditations, forty of which are mentioned and explained by Buddhaghosha in his great *Visuddhimagga*. This is the very essence of practical Buddhism. The setting up of mindfulness (*satipatthana*), which is the subject-matter of a sermon held in the highest esteem and studied with the closest attention by all serious monks in Burma and Ceylon, has been hailed by the Master as "the only way for the purification of beings, for overcoming of sorrow and lamentation, for the destruction of suffering and grief, for reaching the right path, and for the attainment of Nibbana."—*Satipatthana-sutta, Digha Nikaya, 22.*

It was one of the meditations of mindfulness, viz., *anapanasati*, that brought about the enlightenment of Gotama himself and made him a Buddha. For a monk, it is said, there can be no greater friend than this mindfulness over bodily and mental processes (*N'atthi eta'ise mitto yatha kayagata sati*).

Contingent on the vigour with which this practice is carried out, and also upon the ripening of one's good karma, the liberating Wisdom arises. This is the penetrating insight into things as they really are (*yatha-bhavanana*), the deep realization that whatever springs up *ipso facto*, subsides (*yam kinci sumada vadhama' sabbam tam nirodhadhammam ti*). Upon this realization sorrow is finally overcome, and *samsara* (life in the world) loses its poignant edge. This wisdom is composed of right views in regard to the truth that all composed things are transitory, sorrowful and devoid of self, and of the right aspirations. When this knowledge takes hold of the wayfarer he is utterly indifferent to worldly affairs; he becomes passionless (*virago*). This is the decisive support (*upatissayapaccaya*) for the occurrence of emancipation (*vimutti*).

Thus the way of life demonstrated by the Buddha as the most effective is analyzable into three natural aspects: the practice of virtues (*sila*), the practice of mind-control (*samadhi*) and the development of insight (*panna*). The three aspects, as shown above, are composed of eight principles: right speech, right action, right livelihood (the *sila* group); right endeavour, right mindfulness, right concentration (the *samadhi* group); right views and right aspirations (the *panna* group). The Way is, therefore, described as the Eightfold Path (*Atthangika magga*) and is hailed by the Buddha in the very first sermon as the "road leading to the suppression of sorrow"; and this is the fourth and the greatest of the four truths he discovered under the sacred *bodhi* tree.

This is the great Way recommended by the Buddha for the overcoming of the world's ills. It required, earnest devotion and great energy: it is, in fact, a struggle (*padhana*). It brooks no sort of compromise with the ordinary worldly life; it demands full application, which only a renunciant can afford. And one who successfully completes the journey is truly a victor (*jina*), a worthy one (*ajahat*). Such worthy ones are rare, as flowers on the *udumbara* tree.

Fanaticism and Tolerance

Prof. Dr. Helmuth von Glasenapp observes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

The word 'fanaticism' is derived from the Latin word *fanum* (temple). Originally fanatics were people who were believed to have been brought into religious frenzy by a god. The word is now generally used for all those who advocate with great ardour and zeal their religious or philosophical views. It is evident that no propounder of a new doctrine, no enthusiastic follower of a prophet or a system of thought lacks some fanaticism urging him to spread and defend the opinions which seem right to him. Objectionable and unwholesome is this enthusiasm only when it leads to blind hatred against those who do not share the same beliefs and when it induces a man to fight vehemently, even with arms, against any opponent or when he even tries to convert him by force. It is this hypertrophic and exaggerated form of fanaticism that we usually have in mind when we apply the word.

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The reverse of fanaticism is tolerance. The original meaning of this word connotes 'only a refraining from prohibition and persecution, it 'suggests a latent disapproval, for it assumes the existence of an authority which might have been coercive, but which, for reasons of its own, is not pushed to extremes. It implies a voluntary inaction, a politic leniency.' At the time when this word was first coined, the idea conveyed by it was not that of complete religious liberty or religious equality, but in the course of time it has acquired this sense.

This short analysis shows that both words comprehend a whole gradation: The scale of fanaticism is from legitimate enthusiasm to cruel persecution and wholesale destruction of temples while the scale of toleration is from silent disapproval of views which are condemned but against which prohibitory measures are not enforced for some reason or other to the acknowledgement of the full right of private judgement in religious matters.

So the different manifestations of the behaviour of individuals, nations, and religious organizations towards other creeds or persuasions represent, as it were, a scale which like that of a thermometer contains a great number of degrees between two extremes.

Taking this point of view as a basis, we find that there are border-line cases, which mark the transition from fanaticism to tolerance. Some men of broad outlook and an ironic nature, in one form or another, cling to the belief in the intrinsic superiority of their own religion. They try to show that all other religions are, as it were, preparative steps to their own because this alone contains the absolute truth and is a 'treasury of values hitherto unsurpassed and unsurpassable in future.' With the best of intentions, Christian theologians try to show that monotheism, the doctrine of the creation out of nothing, and redemption by grace are already extant in the religions of primitive tribes all over the globe, or Vedantins are eager to prove that Buddha, the great herald of a pluralistic philosophy of permanent flux, taught the Brahman of the Upanishads. It is clear that these well-meant attempts to adjust other religions to one's own by way of a dubious and forced interpretation will carry weight only in a purely subjective manner and will never convince the adherents of other doctrines. These followers of a different creed will see in this merely an attempt made with inadequate means to convert them to opinions which are not theirs. Endeavours of this sort are tolerant in so far as they tolerate other views to which they ascribe a propaedeutic value, but they are not free from fanaticism, for their exponents stick to their own belief as being the best one, and assign to all other creeds a place much beneath their own. They are, of course, far above the freezing-point of the scale which corresponds to utter fanaticism but they have not yet reached the degree of comfortable warmth which alone endeavours to give the same right to all views. Real freedom of thought in religious matters is only reached, when man possesses that intellectual breadth and humility which shrink from any claim to infallibility. The fact that every religion, actually in existence, is professed only by a minority, by a comparatively small fraction of mankind, should bring home to us that there are many ways of thought and worship. One has to take into consideration the fact that, as modern science tells us, humanity has existed for about 600,000 years and that the religious ideas and rites of human beings have always been in a state of permanent fluctuation. This does away

with the assumption that one special conception or cult will remain unchangeable for ever.

There is no doubt, that such a latitude of thinking is not suitable for everybody. Especially to Westerners such views seem only compatible with lazy indifference. But in India such a mental attitude has prevailed for many centuries as philosophical insight. Dr. K. M. Pannikkar has put it admirably when he says that 'a feeling that others may be equally right in the methods they follow is the essence of Hindu teaching.' It is for this that the six *darsanas* (schools of philosophy) are considered as equally orthodox, though two of them are atheistic, three theistic, and one pantheistic. It is for this that enlightened monarchs like Asoka and Harsa allotted their benevolence to all the various metaphysical doctrines that were in existence at their time.

The question that naturally may be raised is this: how may such a view harmonize with the idea that truth can be only one? The solution is simple. Every kind of religious or philosophical view is not to be considered as an exclusive dogma, it contains some fraction of truth, but this is limited by the varying capacities of men of a different intellectual calibre. Everybody is capable of grasping only that part of the truth which may suit him. The mind of all mortals is not so construed that it is able to understand everything. Each one of us can comprehend only a part of the inconceivable and inscrutable whole intermingled with errors and shortcomings of his own. Truth itself stands on a much higher level than all the manifold dogmas and teachings which contend to be the real, universal, definite, and final truth. Just

there may be many ways to the summit of a mountain, but everybody is only in the position to make use of only one of these paths at a time, so he can be firm in one faith only, as if, it were the only one. But what one must expect from him is a regard for the belief of others and a broad-minded understanding of their ways as separate legitimate approaches to truth.

Africa's Heritage

Benoyendra Nath Banerjee writes in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture* :

Africa is the world's biggest continent, if the two Americas are taken separately and the U.S.S.R. is

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excluded from Asia's land-mass; but it has a total population of only 17 crores, compared to Europe's 41, Asia's 121, and the U.S.S.R.'s 18. Except for the areas easily reached from the coast, information about Africa had been even lately 'drawn from hearsay and imagination rather than fact.' Apart from the difficulties of penetration, especially due to the great rivers of Africa being blocked a little distance from the mouth, 'by an accident of the position and shape of Africa with regard to our planetary air circulation, the rainfall and hence the vegetation distribution is such that, over a great part of the continent, either desert or forest fringes the coast, thus further rendering ingress difficult.' (*Livingstone's Travels*, Edited by Macnair, with geographical notes by Professor Miller, 1954, pp. 8-13).

MANY AFRICAS

Naturally, there are many Africas, and hardly any common tradition. But, in different parts of Africa, great strides had been made, in the course of history, in the spheres of administration, craftsmanship, learning, empire-building, and the tasks of civilization generally. In dealing with this subject, we shall confine ourselves to some striking landmarks and the contacts with Europe and Asia, leaving aside the evidences of racial and ethnographic similarities, perhaps due to living in the same land-mass, now partly submerged, in the days before recorded history.

One of the world's earliest civilizations flourished in Egypt; and though some of her ruling dynasties came from outside Africa, the original home of the historic Egyptians, the workers on the land, was a country near Uganda. The Egyptians of the new stone age (from 10,000 to 4,000 B.C.), undoubtedly native Africans, 'could draw pictures of the symbols of their deities and sacred animals and objects.' Then came the rule of the dynastic Egyptians, coming from the south in the fourth millennium B.C.; and if we take rapid strides over centuries and dynasties, we arrive at the pageant's closing days when Assyrians, Persians, Greeks under Alexander, and Romans under Caesar ruled successively over Egypt.

ALIEN DOMINATION

The Phoenicians, of Semitic origin, were the first alien colonizers of Africa 2,000 years before the birth of Christ. Later on, they founded, in the ninth century B.C., the city of Carthage (associated with Virgil's classic, as well as the refrain in the Roman senate *Delenda est Carthage*), which sent, under the African general Hannibal, an African army which put a large part of western Europe under duress and was just repelled from the very gates of Rome in 202 B.C. at the Battle of Zama. In fact, Rome's diplomacy in seducing away the Numidian and Mauritanian kings and chiefs and the citizens of Utica, a Phoenician city, from their Carthaginian alliance—and later subjugating them, instead of offering them home-rule—is the oft-repeated story of imperialism first tried on African soil. North Africa, from Egypt to Morocco, came under Roman control, and in A.D. 50, a Roman general is credited to have explored the head-waters of the Niger river.

The Roman contact bequeathed to Africa a class of natives who spoke Latin and lived in towns, and some of them even adopted Christianity. One of the first twelve martyrs of the African Church in A.D. 250 was a married woman of twenty-two, and she was canonized as St. Perpetua. In the second century B.C. lived two other Africans distinguished in history. One

of them, Septimus Severus, became emperor of Rome, and the other was Tertullian, one of the great leaders of Christianity, almost celebrated as the two other African bishops, St. Augustine of Hippo and St. Cyprian of Carthage. But, from the succeeding centuries, Emperor Severus's policy of persecuting Christianity was replaced by a new policy under which the Roman State made use of missionary activities in stabilizing empires! For a period, under Byzantine rule, Alexandria came under the control of the Greek Orthodox Church.

MUSLIM INFLUENCE

But it was from Persia that, from the seventh century onwards, came the Asian and Arab influence on Africa, which still permeates North, Central, East, and West Africa, not only in creating a sense of religious affinity, but also in creating commercial links of gold! The Muslim incursion into Africa was responsible for a new leaven of cultural inter-permeation centred round Kairowan, then the third holy city of the Muslims.

Gradually, some of the African chiefs embraced Islam. A mighty band of warriors began to overrun Europe, basing themselves on Gibraltar (Gebel Tarik, 'the hill of Tarik,' after the invading African general). It was ultimately at the Battle of Poitiers, in A.D. 732, that Charles Martel could check the combined African and Arab Muslim forces.

More important was the cultural boom. Kairowan, Cairo, and Alexandria competed with Cordova, Baghdad, and Samarkand: 'the Greek classics were rediscovered . . . Mathematics, medicine, and the physical sciences received fresh attention . . . From China the Arabs learned how to manufacture paper and transmitted the knowledge. . . . From the Indians, the Arabs learned new mathematical forms and new philosophies which they also imparted to the rest of the world' (de Graft-Johnson, *African Glory*, 1954, VI, VIII).

My sojourn in West Africa naturally roused my interest in the West African empires—The Ghana Kingdom and the Ghana Empire (A.D. 300-1076), the Mali Empire (1238-1488), and the Songhai Empire (1488-1591). Today, these would have been not even faint memories, but for the recorded Arabic texts, including the notes of Ibn Batuta, who was, incidentally, for seven years an adviser to the Emperor of Delhi, in the course of his travels.

The city of Ghana came into prominence through its gold trade and tales of its fabulous treasures. It consisted of two townships, one Muslim, with twelve mosques and many scholars, theologians, and priests, and the other pagan, which also had a mosque near the court of justice, intended for the use of Muslims who had to go there.

In the eleventh century, the Almoravids from the north attacked Ghana, and Abu Bekr not only overran Ghana, but his victory resulted in the southward movement of seven tribes some of them still being in positions of individual dignity and power in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, like the Ashantis, the Akans, and the Fantis. Under the Almoravids, again, African armies conquered the Iberian peninsula and stayed on until Granada fell in 1492; and the Moors in Spain 'founded a civilization far in advance of the Christian contemporaries.'

The Mali Empire was dominated by the resourceful Manding tribe. On the imperial throne of Mali mounted, in 1307, Mansa Musa, whose pilgrimage to Mecca was attended with such pomp that the whole world was dazzled for a time. He developed Timbuktu

as a great commercial centre, and it was in the University of Sankore of this city that the historian Ahmed Baba taught.

The Songhai Empire built by Sonni Ali, noted for his wars and craft, had Askia Mohamed I as a brilliant successor between 1499 and 1520. Askia's administrative abilities were very great, and he gave to his kingdom 'a territorial extent greater than at any time in its history.' Sankore University again became a centre of learning. Though a good Muslim, 'as a full-blooded African, he appreciated the fine qualities in indigenous African religions, and he created the post of high priest in charge of the ancestor cult.'

THE RAPE OF AFRICA

The fall of the Songhai Empire, before the Moroccan army under Jouday Pasha, occurred at a time 'when the Guinea coast was facing the full rigours of the slave trade era.' It was not merely gold, but human labour which called for the attention of adventurers and traders to the coasts of the 'Dark Continent.' And in this slave trade, all round the African coast, Arab traders had their big share. However, it should be noted: 'The Arab slave was not a prisoner; he might accumulate wealth and eventually buy his freedom, and he undoubtedly learnt much that was useful. . . . Arab slave-raiding, brutal in itself, fostered the development of military qualities in those attacked, and some who resisted successfully became slave-raiders in their turn, thus extending what well-earned the description, in its final phase, as an "open sore".' (*Africa Emergent*, Macmillan, 1954, II. 5.) In any case, Western penetration and subjugation had started as a steady movement.

The excesses of the slave trade still have their legacy in Africa: it has been pointed out that 'it was on a peasantry, in many respects superior to the serfs in large areas of Europe, that the slave trade fell. Tribal life was broken up or undermined, and millions of de-tribalized or decentralized Africans were let loose upon each other. The unceasing destruction of crops led to cannibalism in certain areas. . . . Tribes had to supply slaves or be sold as slaves themselves, for this, indeed, was the age of the gangster. The stockades of grinning skulls, the selling of one's own children as slaves, the unprecedented human sacrifices were all the sequel to this grand finale, the rape of African culture and civilization.' (Professor Emil Torday, as summarized by de Graft-Johnson in *African Glory*, p. 153). Perhaps, a hundred million persons were lost to Africa as a result of the slave trade. Livingstone was right when he characterized it as 'not trading: it is murdering for captives to be made slaves.'

In conclusion, let us remember the reflections by the sage of Lambarene, Dr. Albert Schweitzer: 'Ever since the world's far-off lands were discovered, what has been the conduct of the white peoples to the coloured ones? . . . Who can describe the injustice and the cruelties that, in the course of centuries, they have suffered at the hands of Europeans? Who has measured the misery produced among them by the fiery drinks and the hideous diseases that we have taken to them? . . . We are not free to confer benefits on these men, or not, as we please; it is our duty. Anything we give them is not benevolence, but atonement' (*On the Edge of the Primeval Forest*, 1922, XI).

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China's Growing Cultural Relations with other Countries

China's cultural contacts with 86 countries in the past six years are reviewed by the Acting-Director of the Bureau for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Chen Chung-ching, in an article in *People's Daily* of April 15.

He touched on seven aspects: China sent 28 companies totalling 2,373 people to give performances in 27 countries. Forty-two companies from 17 countries visited China, composed of 4,238 people.

In athletics, Chinese players took part in international swimming, table-tennis, basket ball, volley ball, marksmanship and automobile racing contests. China was now a member of 12 international athletic organisations and would take part in the Olympic games in November of this year. Many delegations of athletes came to China, including football teams from the Soviet Union, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Burma, volley ball teams from Rumania and India and a table-tennis team from India.

Chinese scientists, educationists, doctors, artists and journalists exchanged visits with colleagues abroad. Apart from the Soviet Union and People's Democracies, scientists visited Japan, countries of South-east Asia and Europe. They attended eight international scientific conferences. In addition, China exchanged students and professors with many countries.

Over 80 Chinese films in 2,100 copies were shown in the past six years in nearly 60 countries, including 12 countries of the Americas. China dubbed 440 foreign films, including 10 Indian, 4 Japanese and 3 Italian.

Up to December 1955, 12,155 books written abroad were translated and published in China in a total of 188,538,000 copies. These include over 10,017 from the Soviet Union, 620 from the People's Democracies and 1,518 from other countries, including 562 from the U.S.A. Peking Library exchanged publications with 138 organisations in 43 countries. The Library of the Academy of Sciences of China exchanged publications with 472 organisations in 41 countries, including the U.S.A., the German Federal Republic, Belgium, the Philippines, the Union of South Africa and Portugal.

China sent to 40 countries material for 290 exhibitions reflecting the cultural life of the Chinese people. Various exhibitions from 15 countries were held in China, and visitors to these exhibitions totalled 930 million.

Musical scores, records, paintings, handicrafts and data on language were exchanged with many countries. By 1955 the academy of sciences exchanged seeds and catalogues of seeds with 160 organisations in 15 countries. During 1955 the academy sent abroad 600 scientific papers and more than 2,000 specimens. Since 1952 China exchanged rare animals with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Japan. It received 269 and sent 1,674 animals.

Acting-Director Chen Chung-ching said that cultural contacts and co-operation were growing with

Asian-African countries. An Egyptian Cultural Mission was now visiting China and in the near future a noted Peking opera company would perform in Japan.

"Cultural contacts will also grow between China and the countries of Europe, America and Australia," he continued. "The Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries and other organisations have already sent or are about to send invitations to visit China to noted theatres in France, Italy and other countries. Well-known people in the world of culture and education in Australia and New Zealand will also be invited.

"It must be pointed out that the cultural contact between the people of China and the U.S.A. has been least in the past few years. It is not only the Chinese people who are dissatisfied with this state of affairs. No reasonable person in the U.S.A., too, can be satisfied with it. But the responsibility does not lie with us.

"The Chinese have always liked and respected the American people and know that in every field they have fine representatives; we have much desire to establish close and friendly contacts with them. In the past few years though we have not enjoyed American hospitality, yet, as hospitable people, we are ready to continue our invitations to American friends to come and see China, so as to know the peaceful life we live and our aspirations. The Chinese people are still hoping they will be able to see Progy and Bess put on by the Everyman Opera Company." He mentioned that an invitation accepted by the company last November could not be fulfilled because the US State Department refused them visas for China.

Chen Chung-ching concluded that differences in social system and ideology, as the facts showed, were no real bar to friendly visits and cultural contacts among the people.—*Hsinhua News*, April 15, 1956.

Alexander Fadeyev, a Noted Soviet Novelist

Reuter informs us that on May 13, the writer who had been suffering from chronic alcoholism, committed suicide at the age of 55, as he thought himself no longer fit for creative activity as a writer or as a public and social worker. Alexander Zhigulev wrote a short biography of the author in the *Tass News Agency Bulletin*:

Alexander Fadeyev, distinguished Soviet novelist, literary critic and champion of peace, was born in the town of Kimry, former Tver Gubernia (now Kalinin Region), in December 1901. His father was a peasant who later became a doctor's assistant.

In 1908 the Fadeyev family moved to the Far East, settling in Chuguyevka, a village in the South-Ussuri Territory, some 120 kilometres from the railway. There Fadeyev spent his childhood and received his education, first at the rural school and then in a school of commerce in Vladivostok.

Alexander Fadeyev was 16 years old when the Great October Socialist Revolution took place. He fought in the Civil War, as a private fighter in a partisan detachment and rose to brigade commissar. He took part in battles at Spassky and Khabarovsk, in the region east of Lake Baikal, and at Kronstadt.

His first literary efforts date back to his years at a school of commerce. During the Civil War he wrote for the *Partizansky Vestnik* (*Partisan Herald*). He is demobilized from the army following a severe wound, and in 1922 entered a mining school. There he combined studies with writing.


Fadeyev's first novel, *The Flood*, appeared in 1923. It dealt with the initial steps taken by the new Soviet regime in the remote South-Ussuri Territory, telling of the progressive-minded people there who dreamed of rivers, dams and new factories, of a new way of life.

That same year Fadeyev wrote his second novel, *Against the Current*, which in 1934 he revised and

renamed *Birth of the Amgun Regiment*. This is a story of the struggle which Soviet fighting men and their commanders waged against the Japanese interventionists.

Fadeyev's early novels were a preparation for his famous *The Nineteen*, published in 1927. The novel is laid against the background of the events of 1919 in the Soviet Far East, when the Japanese interventionists dealt the partisan movement there a heavy blow. A partisan detachment commanded by Levinson, which was pursued by the Japanese and the White Guards, was forced to retreat temporarily into the taiga, to the hills. *The Nineteen* shows how the partisans were steeled in grim battles. The core of the detachment, made up primarily of peasants, was composed of the miners Dubov, Goncharenko and Baklanov, staunch, mature fighters, highly disciplined and with great organizational ability. Metelitsa, a former shepherd, is another of the novel's outstanding characters.

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Levinson, commander of the detachment, is a character who comes vividly alive. The partisans elect this strong-willed man their leader because they have faith in his ability to see farther than they, in his clearer understanding of the aims and tasks of the struggle.

The partisan struggle in the Soviet East is treated in another of Fadeyev's novels, *Last of the Udeghs*. The first book of the novel appeared in 1930. To date, four of the six books planned by the author have come out.

The action of *Last of the Udeghs* takes place on the eve of and during the Civil War. Fadeyev paints a broad panorama of life among the various nationalities inhabiting the Soviet North and Far East. He tells the story of their struggle to establish a Soviet way of life, showing different social groups and their attitude to the swift historical developments.

Great mastery goes into the delineation of the Russian workers Surkov and Alesha Malenky. The ties of friendship that unite the different peoples and nationalities are shown; the reader is introduced to the life of the Udeghs tribe, the vivid figure of the Udeghs Sarl, the Korean woman Maria Tsoi, and many other fighters in the struggle to build a new life.

Fadeyev began work on the last books of the novel early in 1943, planning at the same time to make additions to those already published. But he laid this work aside to write *The Young Guard*, a novel about young people in Krasnodon, a mining town in Ukraine, who formed an underground organization to fight the fascist invaders. The novel is based on material which was found in Krasnodon after its liberation by the Soviet Army in February 1943. Fadeyev was fired by the idea of immortalizing those heroic young people in a novel dedicated to their memory. As soon as he learned of the organization he left for Krasnodon to gather material for this novel.

The Young Guard organization of Krasnodon was founded in the autumn of 1942, soon after the Hitlerite invaders occupied the town. Its commander was Ivan Turkenich, with Oleg Koshevoi the commissar. The organization existed about six months before it was discovered by the Gestapo. Fifty-six of its members fell into the hands of the fascists and were subjected to unbelievable torture. The leaders of the organization—Koshevoi, Tyulenin, Zemlukhov, Gránova and Shevisova—were posthumously awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union by the Soviet Government.

Fadeyev made a thorough study of the documents and material relating to the organization; he talked with the members of the organization, who survived and the parents of those who were executed. His novel was completed in 1945. After more material about the organization was discovered, he made some revisions in the novel for later editions.

The author paints a true picture of the horrors of war, the days of the occupation, the suffering of the people, the destroyed towns and villages. Under those difficult conditions the members of the Young Guard, led by Communists working underground, waged a heroic struggle against fascism with unparalleled

courage and disdain for death. They printed leaflets which told the truth about the situation at the front and in the country and distributed them, made raids on war prisoner camps and freed prisoners, fought against traitors, saved Soviet men and women from being driven into hard labour by the Hitlerites, and encouraged people to have faith in victory over the enemy.

Those were the young people whom Fadeyev uses as the characters for his novel *The Young Guard*. Splendid Soviet young men and women moved to acts of heroism by their love for their people.

The novel also presents people of the older generation, Shulga and Valko, men tempered in earlier battles. Other representatives of the older generation include the underground Communists Protzenko and Lyutikov, real leaders of the people, wise and far-sighted, who rally the devoted Soviet people to the struggle for freedom.

The Young Guard is undoubtedly one of Fadeyev's greatest works. It immediately became popular with the Soviet public and has been translated into many foreign languages.

At present Fadeyev is completing a novel called *Iron and Steel*. Chapters from this novel about Ural iron and steel workers have appeared in the magazine *Ogonyok*.

In addition to being a distinguished novelist, Fadeyev is an outstanding leader in the peace movement. He is a member of the presidium of the Soviet Peace Committee and the Committee on International Stalin Prizes "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations," works in the Bureau of the World Peace Council, and has taken part in many World Peace Congresses. He is a staunch champion of friendship among nations, cultural interchange, and the strengthening of international ties.

Fadeyev is a member of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the holder of many Soviet decorations.

Similarity Of Indo-U.S. Ideals Emphasized

New York.—An officer of the India League of America believes Americans and Indians share indestructible ties based on "the same fundamental ideals."

According to League secretary Hemendra K. Rakhit, "there will always be clashes and differences between democratic governments, because they are truly independent." But he has found that these difficulties do no hamper the friendship between peoples of democracies such as the U.S. and India.

In a recent interview, Mr. Rakhit said the India League has noticed a steadily growing interest in Indian people and in Indian affairs among Americans. And the weekly communications he maintains with India, he said, indicate the people are equally eager to learn more about America.

The League has over one thousand Indian and American members in various parts of the United States. Founded in 1939, the organization originally aimed to



promote the cause of Indian independence. But this has been broadened into an overall goal toward which the League works today—"to bring Indians and Americans together on a people-to-people basis."

This organization has no governmental connections. League officials this is a great asset because it ensures objectivity in interpreting problems of common interest to India and America.

The League's services have changed their character, too, over the years, according to Mr. Rakhit. The office in midtown New York now serves more as an educational and cultural centre. Today, the League provides speakers for clubs around the country. It furnishes bibliographies to schools and colleges. It also attempts to bring to public attention, through newspapers and magazines, a documented approach to Indian affairs.

Mr. Rakhit noted that in its earlier days the League spent much more time on dinners, speeches, and major publicity projects. It now confines such efforts to occasional events, like a recent dinner meeting to celebrate the anniversary of India's Republic Day.

League members and the general public attend these functions. Although Mr. Rakhit regards this as an important part of the programme, he feels the long-range educational and cultural activities are equally vital to promote Indian-American ties.

Businessmen, civic leaders, students and individuals from all levels of community life belong to the League. The president of the organization, Sirdar J. J. Singh, is one of the leading Indian businessmen in New York.

Mr. Rakhit has concrete suggestions for encouraging closer Indian-American ties on the "people-to-people" level.

Speaking from the India League point of view, he outlined the following:

"There should be more extensive and thorough press coverage of Indian affairs in American and of American affairs in India. There should be less spectacular and more substantial news. There are far too few reporters to cover the vast areas of both countries and they cannot do the comprehensive job that is needed.

"Every effort should be made to expand the cultural exchange between the two countries. The student exchange and the leadership training programme under the U.S. Department of State has been extremely beneficial to both countries. More visits of leaders and students between the United States and India would be much more valuable."

In the United States, the India League secretary said, the civic and community organizations, such as businessmen's groups and women's clubs, were doing a great deal to improve understanding between India and America.

Mr. Rakhit recalled that his more than 30 years in the United States have given him a first-hand knowledge of "the only country in the world where individual wealth has been put to use for public satisfaction." He said the United States has a democratic view-point—economically, socially, and politically.

The India League secretary also noted that the very basis of Indian culture was democratic.

Mr. Rakhit has been active in Indian activities in the United States for many years. He founded the Indian Student's Association in 1917, then the first Indian organization in America. He was also editor of *India Today*, a former League publication which was discontinued because of changes in League activities.

As a successful businessman who sells Indian products here, Mr. Rakhit believes the American feeling for

India has been reflected in the widening market for merchandise from his homeland. He estimates that this will grow tremendously when manufacturing processes and distribution methods in India have been improved.—*American Reporter*, April 25, 1956.

Background of the Crisis in Algeria

Rene Dantenron comments on the present situation in Algeria in the *World Around Press*, March 1, 1956, as follows:

The situation in Algeria which, only a few weeks ago, caused the French Premier, Guy Mollet, to be pelted with rotten fruit and stones, is not likely to undergo substantial changes for the better until the crux of the problem is understood far more widely than it appears to be. The background of the crisis is as complex as its consequences may be implacable unless the historical facts are broken down and viewed in their proper light.

France began to occupy the Algerian Sahara in 1890. The actual conquest and the policing were done by the French Foreign Legion, recruited mainly from citizens of other countries. Individuals who, for one reason or another, were seeking refuge from organized society in the scorching heat of the African desert and the rigorously disciplined ranks of the Legion.

The occupation was completed in 1901, but the skirmishes between the native Berber tribes and the Legion did not cease then and have not ceased yet.

World War II brought havoc to Algeria and only.

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in 1943 was order restored. An army was re-formed, composed largely of native troops. The nucleus of it, however, remained the Foreign Legion with four regiments, and with general headquarters in Oran and Algiers.

The commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the "Legion Étrangère" are native born Frenchmen, whereas the legionnaires, the men without a country or a name, become eligible for French citizenship after one term of service of five years and may retire on a pension after three five-year terms of service.

These retired legionnaires, for whom Algeria has become a place of immunity, are known as "les Colons" or settlers. Among them may also be found many of the pensioned officers and non-coms who, after serving a long time in the African colonies, also have no other place to go to.

These settlers are the ones who pelted Premier Mollet with 'rotten fruit and stones.' They are the ones whose lifework has been to subdue the natives and who have developed and Europeanized the Algerian coastline. Now they fear that they may lose their sanctuary and all that they have built up, if the natives, who outnumber them 9 to 1, should be given more political rights.

Algeria is a French dependency under a Governor-General who is flanked by a Consultative Council. Legislative power, however, rests with the National Assembly in Paris, to which body each of the three Algerian provinces or 'departments' sends one senator and several deputies.

In 1936 census revealed a population of 6,237,684 native Algerians, 853,209 French, 20,929 Italians, 2,976 Maltese and 91,942 Spaniards. Since then the population has increased to about 9 million natives and 1 million French.

The original population are Moslems. French citizenship was granted, in 1919, to all monogamous Algerians who (1) fought in World War I, (2) were landowners and (3) could read and write the French language. In 1944 this law was modified and citizenship was conferred on all French-speaking Algerians

with no strings attached in regard to their Moslem practices. And Government positions were opened to Moslems who qualified for French citizenship.

All of this goes back to 1944 but in 1956 the fact to be reckoned with are: (1) the "colons" or settlers who have found security on Algerian soil and wish to hold fast to it as well as to what they have themselves created, (2) the natives who, having had a brief of freedom, now demand independence and (3) a French economy which cannot afford to lose Algeria and if Algeria goes Tunisia and Morocco will follow.

It will be difficult to find a solution which will satisfy all these three parties. Nevertheless a solution must and can be worked out if those who are primarily concerned with it are left alone and are given opportunity to work it out peaceably.

Swiss Group Creates Dairy Industry for Nepal

Zurich.—For the first time in history the markets of Katmandu, capital city of Nepal (110,000) are being supplied with dairy products. A private group of Swiss citizens (*Schweizerisches Hilfswerk für Ausereuropäische Gebiete*) set up in Zurich last June, is offering specialized technical aid to areas outside of Europe. The creation of a dairy industry for Nepal is the first of its projects and already the collection and distribution of milk in Katmandu is bringing economic and health benefits to many of Nepal's citizens.

The same Swiss group, privately financed, is guiding some public-spirited citizens of Iraq in setting up a Pestalozzi-type village for mentally and physically deficient children. While international organisations are working along these lines on a larger scale, the Swiss group offers highly specialised skills and personnel "capable of inspiring the natives with a desire for progress without in any way harming their traditional cultures."—*World Around Press*, March 1, 1956.

